A History of
DEEDS DONE BEYOND THE SEA

By WILLIAM
Archbishop of Tyre

VOLUME ONE

Translated and Annotated by
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Now as we near the end of our labors we become painfully aware of the fact that the task of translating and annotating this work of Archbishop William has extented over quite as long a period of time as he required for composing it. As in his case, so also in ours, the work has suffered from many—if not as important—interruptions, with the usual consequence of many broken threads.

Several of those on whom we called frequently for help in the early stages of translation have already passed on to their final reward. Our debt was especially great to two of these: to Sister Frances Rita Ryan, C.S.J., and to Professor Joseph B. Pike, former head of the Department of Latin at the University of Minnesota, whose expert knowledge of medieval Latin was so generously placed at our disposal. The late Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, though immediately concerned with his legal practice, nevertheless gave generously of his time to untangle many a knotty problem of translation. And last, but not least, we wish to express our debt to the late Professor D. C. Munro of Princeton, who did so much to inspire this undertaking.

It is quite impossible to render adequate acknowledgment of assistance received from those of our colleagues who are primarily interested in medieval studies. The citation of their published works indicates but a fraction of our indebtedness, for they were repeatedly called on for advice and counsel at many meetings of the American Historical Association and of the Mediaeval Academy of America as well as on other occasions when opportunity offered. The complete list of those who have contributed in this way would include not only most of the American medievalists who have worked on the period of the Crusades, but also many other scholars in related fields. Old friends and fellow "Crusaders," Professors E. H. Byrne of Columbia University, F. Duncalf of the University of Texas, E. Joranson of the University of Chicago, and J. L. La Monte of Pennsylvania University, were persistently plagued with questions.

Part of our work was done during a sabbatical year (1939–1940) which events transformed from a visit at the scene of the Crusades to study at libraries in this country. A special tribute should be paid to the

authorities of Harvard University, whose usual hospitality was put to an extraordinary strain by an abnormal number of migrant scholars. They not only placed all the available space at the disposal of these visitors, but transformed seminar rooms and offices into studies so that all could be accommodated. The faculty was no less generous in hospitality, which it would be a pleasure to acknowledge, but we must here confine ourselves to naming those whose special researches were placed at our service. Among these must be included Professors R. P. Blake, S. H. Cross, N. S. B. Gras, C. H. McIlwain, and E. K. Rand. To Harvard University we are also indebted for the opportunity of discussing our problems with other visiting professors, among whom are included Professors C. W. David of Bryn Mawr, P. B. Fay of the University of California, W. K. Ferguson of New York University, Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, T. C. Van Cleve of Bowdoin College, and C. Webster of the American University of Beirut. Princeton University was no less generous in giving access to its magnificent collection of books on the history of the Crusades and the Near East. Its faculty was equally hospitable, and our gratitude is especially due Professors E. C. Armstrong, Gray C. Boyce, P. K. Hitti, and J. R. Strayer. The Universty of North Carolina proved to be an equally kind host, its authorities and faculty no less cordial. There Professors G. R. Coffman, U. T. Holmes, Jr., L. C. McKinney, and J. C. Russell lent us their advice on a number of problems. Thanks to the happy coöperation of the libraries of North Carolina and Duke Universities, the resources of the latter were also of assistance, and two of its faculty, Professors E. W. Nelson and Dorothy M. Quynn, were especially helpful. Conscious of the fact that we have failed to mention all to whom we have become indebted over the long interval of years, we must close the list by expressing to Professors D. Bjork of the University of California at Los Angeles, R. L. Reynolds of the University of Wisconsin, and Lynn White of Stanford University our appreciation for aid and comfort.

It would, however, be highly ungracious after acknowledging the assistance of other universities to fail to name that of our own, whose authorities have been more than kind in furthering this work. Likewise our colleagues in many fields have borne patiently with us while we drew on their special funds of knowledge. We hope that all of them will feel themselves represented if we single out for mention only

President Guy Stanton Ford, who encouraged and aided us in this work through all its stages, and Mr. F. K. Walter, librarian, who never failed us when we needed his help and not infrequently anticipated our needs. In like manner we hope that all the members of the Medieval Seminar who have given their help on these problems over the period of years will feel themselves included in the special mention of Gertrude Doxey, Beatrice Siedschlag, and Wentworth Morris, all of whom have since become worthy members of the historical profession.

In the more immediately punishing tasks of preparing the manuscript for publication our debt is likewise great. We have received from Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., and Mrs. A. C. Krey assistance which only bonds of relationship could command. Mrs. Zephyra Shepherd and Mrs. T. S. Basford both have rendered devoted service beyond all possibility of remuneration. The sketch maps were prepared for us by Mr. D. A. Melander, a student in architecture. A grant-in-aid generously allotted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York did much to further the final stages of our work and make its completion possible. Finally, our thanks are due to the Columbia University Press, to its vigilant editor, Dr. William Bridgwater, and to Professor Austin P. Evans, the editor of the series in which this work finds a place, who made countless valuable suggestions for improving both translation and notes. We wish also to pay special tribute to the latter's almost unceasing patience and good humor through the taxing labor of conscientiously editing this work.

In spite of all the help that these scholars and friends have given us, we cannot, of course, hope that the printed result is entirely free of error. Indeed the circumstances under which we have labored, the great lapse of time, the variety of sources from which we have drawn, the immensity of the task as well as our own natural fallibility have rendered it certain that many mistakes must have occurred. For this we can only crave the indulgence of the reader and invoke the prayer with which the good archbishop himself concluded his prologue.

E. A. B.
A. C. K.

Saint Paul, Minn.
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INTRODUCTION

The crusades still hold a place in the treasured memories of Western people which is approached only by the story of the discovery of the New World. To a long record of adventurous exploration, the crusading chronicles add equally romantic accounts of the pursuit of a pious ideal. True, the ultimate goal of that endeavor, several times so nearly won, was never fully attained. In the effort to reach it, however, much was gained that was never to be lost; for during the period of the crusades the civilization of Europe advanced materially, intellectually, and spiritually to new levels. Furthermore, all of Western Europe was involved in the effort to occupy the Holy Land. If the regions of France contributed most to this endeavor, the other countries did not lag far behind. Britain had its Richard Lionheart, Germany its Frederick Barbarossa, Italy its Bohemond and Tancred, the Lowlands their Godfrey of Bouillon, their Baldwins, and Robert of Flanders, and the Scandinavian lands their Sigurd "Jorsalfar." Nor, during the two centuries of greatest crusading activity, were the regions of Spain, of Ireland, and of Scotland unrepresented. The story of the triumphs and failures, of the heroic episodes and the tragic suffering involved in the crusades was, therefore, of more than casual concern to all the peoples in the Western world. The interest in that story, which began with the very first of the expeditions, as people back home waited anxiously for news of their relatives on the march, has continued ever since; and as the descendants of the participants have spread over the earth, they have carried that interest with them. As a result, there has grown up a vast literature about the crusades ranging from extravagant fiction, song, poetry, and drama to critical history and philosophical interpretation.

In this accumulation of literature the history of William, archbishop of Tyre, occupies a position of unique distinction. Its enduring importance is well, if whimsically, illustrated by the story that the British historian, H. Pirie-Gordon, chose to write an unsigned account of General Allenby's capture of Jerusalem in 1917, so that his work might be regarded "as the final anonymous continuation of William of Tyre." [1] This allusion, of course, was intended to refer to the fact

[1] J. L. La Monte, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 60.

that, in recounting the history of the later crusades, the writers of the thirteenth century were almost uniformly content to add their anonymous contributions to the story related by William of Tyre. William's account is generally regarded as the first comprehensive history of the crusades. Before his time, however, the First Crusade had been described not only by participants, whose accounts were necessarily incomplete, but also by men of letters, some of whom had tried to round out the earlier stories. On these primary sources of information William drew for part of the material in his earlier books or chapters. Taking Jerusalem as the center of his theme, he added to these antecedent works an introduction which ran back to the loss of that city by the Christians in 614 and continued on to the verge of its fall before Saladin in 1187. The manner in which he performed this task is well stated in the words of a modern historian: "This great movement found its fitting chronicler in William of Tyre, an historian who surpasses nearly all other of his medieval fellows as much in the artistic symmetry of his work as he does in the inherent interest and almost epic completeness of his theme." [2] Once this work became known, it was used by other writers as the base for their own addition of later events. Such additions, covering the two most active centuries of crusading history, were made by various scribes down to the end of the thirteenth century. William's work, therefore, comprises the main trunk of the literature on the crusades, the roots of which are to be found in antecedent writings and the branches in numerous later anonymous additions.

HIS LIFE

William of Tyre, the author of this work, was archbishop of Tyre from 1175 to 1184 or 1185; and he remained chancellor of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1174 until his death. So much of his career may be established on the basis of objective evidence.[3] The rest of our knowledge of his life has been built up chiefly from hints and incidental allusions in his record of his own times. This reconstruction—a process not unlike that by which scientists have reassembled

[2] T. A. Archer, "On the Accession Dates of the Early Kings of Jerusalem," *English Historical Review*, IV (1889), 89.

[3] There are surprisingly few references to William by contemporary writers. Mention of him is largely confined to legal documents, nearly all of which are listed by R. Röhricht in his *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani.*

the skeletons of prehistoric animals out of scattered bones—has resulted from the continuous efforts of a long succession of scholars, beginning with the first printed edition of the history in the sixteenth century and continuing down to the present time. The list of those who have contributed to this reconstruction of William's career includes Pantaleon, Bongars, Pastoret, Michaud, Ranke, Sybel, Jaffe, Riant, Kugler, Mas Latrie, P. Paris, Rey, Prutz, T. A. Archer, Röhricht, Hagenmeyer, W. B. Stevenson, D. C. Munro, Brehier, and La Monte.[4] This cumulative reconstruction has been accomplished through

[4] The authorities here cited are but a few of those who have had occasion to comment on William's career. So far as is known, the first attempt to write a life of William of Tyre is contained in one of the earliest printed editions of the work, H. Pantaleon, *Historia belli sacri verissime . . . authore olim Willelmo Tyrio . . . una cum continuatione . . . Cum praefatione Henrici Pantaleonis atque ipsius authoris vita.* The diplomat historian, J. Bongars, wrote a brief biography of William in his edition of chronicles of the crusades, *Gesta Dei per Francos.* C. Pastoret, who regarded William as of French origin, wrote an article summarizing the findings of scholars up to his own time for the *Histoire littéraire de la France,* XIV (1817), 587–96. With the opening of the nineteenth century came a new interest in the history of the crusades, represented by the monumental works of F. Wilken (*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach morgenländischen und abendländischen Berichten*) and also of J. Michaud. The latter devoted many pages to an appraisal of William as historian in his *Bibliothèque des croisades,* I, 134–68. Ranke submitted the sources of information for the history of the crusades to the critical scrutiny of his seminar, and one of his most brilliant students, Von Sybel, published, in 1841, a critical study of the literature of the First Crusade. He included an extended treatment of William's life and the value of his history for our knowledge of the First Crusade (H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs,* pp. 108–43). Critical scrutiny was then directed to William's account of the Second Crusade, where the similarity of his treatment to that of the *Gesta Ludovici VII* raised some question of borrowing. After considerable debate, William's originality was confirmed and the evidence summarized by B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs,* pp. 21–34; also his *Analecten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs.* It was unfortunate that Paulin Paris made little or no use of these critical studies, for the authority of his name was to lead many students of medieval literature to ignore them likewise. Count Riant, however, did not overlook the critical work of contemporary scholars but contributed to it significantly in his wide and varied studies on the crusades, some of which will be cited in the footnotes. It remained for H. Prutz to undertake a comprehensive and critical study of William and his work. This appeared in his "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* VIII (1882), 93–132, and was summarized in his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge,* pp. 458–69. Since those studies appeared, further contributions to our knowledge of William have been of a supplementary nature, often as an incidental part of other research. In his article, pp. 91–105 (see note 2), T. A. Archer sought to disentangle the chronological confusion of William's list of kings. This problem received further attention from W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East,* pp. 361–71. R. Röhricht added considerably to the knowledge of William's work as chancellor in his monumental *Regesta.* Important contributions likewise resulted from H. Hagenmeyer's editions of chronicles of the First Crusade, which are cited elsewhere. Additions, too, were made by L. Bréhier in *L'Église et l'Orient* and by J. L.

venturesome hypotheses and conjectures, many of which have proven mistaken, while others have served as brilliant guides to further advance. Indeed, erroneous conjectures regarding William's career began to appear long before critical scholarship applied itself to the subject. Unfortunately these early mistakes, as well as the false clues entertained at times by modern scholars, have likewise become a permanent part of the literature on the crusades, so that the unwary reader is easily beguiled into accepting error along with fact. This danger, which is illustrated in Grousset's recent three-volume history of the crusades, is so great that it seems essential to present here a summary of our present authentic knowledge of William's career.[5]

William was a native of the kingdom of Jerusalem, where he was born about the year 1130, perhaps in Jerusalem itself.[6] Probably both of his parents were from the West. Who they were, whence they came to Jerusalem, or when—none of these facts has been determined. Various conjectures have been offered as to the place of their origin, which has been variantly cited as England, Germany, France, and Italy. William, who has so much to say about the genealogy of others, is singularly reticent about his own, maintaining throughout all his

La Monte in his *Feudal Monarchy*. While these scholars have made the more substantial contributions since Prutz published his "Studien," nearly every modern scholar who worked on twelfth-century crusading history has helped to fortify our knowledge of William's life and works. An effort to summarize our present knowledge of the subject appears in the article by A. C. Krey, "The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 149–66. Additional bibliography may be obtained from the standard works of reference on medieval literature and history: M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie*; A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*; A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie*, Vol. II. Paradoxically enough, the brief notices by Gröber and Manitius are more accurate than those of Potthast or Molinier.

[5] R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II, i–ii, 757. Errors appear throughout the first two volumes in which he has followed chiefly the old French translation of William's work as edited by P. Paris. Many of these and some of her own errors appear in the edition of Caxton's *Godeffroy de Boloyne* by Mary Noyes Colvin. More unfortunate is the fact that both Potthast and Molinier, whose bibliographical notes are the standard reference of historians, have perpetuated several serious errors. Thus Hagenmeyer, or probably some assistant, in his last important work (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 85), was betrayed by Potthast into the use of 1190 as the date of William's death, though Prutz had thoroughly convinced him earlier that it was an error (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Galterii Cancellarii bella Antiochena*, p. 47).

[6] No evidence has yet appeared to challenge these conclusions of Prutz. J. B. Bury gives 1127 as the date of William's birth, in his edition of Gibbon (E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VI, 527).

work a silence so complete as to remain impenetrable to the present time.

The claims of the first two regions, however, may be readily dismissed. Those for England doubtless arose from a hasty confusion of the historian with the first William, archbishop of Tyre, who was an Englishman. Though our William has much to say of English participants in crusading affairs, his attitude is scarcely that of a person of English antecedents. He esteems Robert of Normandy, scorns Henry I, praises Stephen, and denounces Queen Eleanor. He dislikes Hadrian, the English pope, and ascribes the elevation of Ralph as bishop of Bethlehem to the fact that he was a fellow countryman of this pope. The claims for Germany as the home of his ancestors are even less convincing. His statements about German affairs are relatively few and the proportion of inaccuracies greater than for any other important region. In addition, he fails to mention a number of important German nobles who were in the Holy Land during his own lifetime.[7]

On the other hand, his references to France and to the regions of France are most extensive and usually very accurate. It has, therefore, often been assumed that William was himself of French origin. This view was held by Prutz, whose study of William of Tyre is still the most thorough ever attempted. There are grounds, however, for questioning this conclusion also. For example, William possesses an extraordinarily accurate knowledge of Italy, and, in referring to the history of Sicily, he includes a number of details which are inessential to his main story. Furthermore, he names Tancred as a hero almost equal to Godfrey, and not only lists France as "ultramontane," but identifies Henry of Champagne as, not from *Campania* in Italy, but from *Campania* "across the mountains." Such references would scarcely be expected of any Frenchman, or even of any son of French parents. In addition, there are other facts of his life, to be discussed later, which strengthen this hesitancy and incline one to suspect Italian, or Italian-Norman, origin.

The status and occupation of his father have not been determined. Pastoret, basing his statement upon a chronicle now lost, held that

[7] Notably Duke Henry the Lion (see E. Joranson, "The Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion," *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*). William, moreover, frankly confesses his ignorance of the names of many of the German leaders of the Second Crusade.

William was related to most of the leading noble families of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[8] This statement coupled with William's own complete silence regarding his forebears might suggest that he had good reason for concealing his genealogy. Against this inference, however, is the fact that William is known to have had a brother, Ralph, who is mentioned in a charter of the year 1175 as a witness to a transfer of property at Jerusalem.[9] Inasmuch as Ralph's name is placed low in the list of witnesses and carries no other designation than his relationship to the archbishop, it has been assumed that the father was neither of the noble class nor of military calling. In that event, he may very well have been a merchant or a notary, both of which occupations were well represented in the Holy Land at the time. As a rule such persons, if from the West, were of Italian origin.[10] William's own unfamiliarity with military matters, together with his sympathetic interest in the activities of merchants, imparts a certain degree of support to this supposition. Furthermore, the permanent Latin colony at Jerusalem at the time was so small that even ordinary merchants and especially notaries were on friendly terms with the nobles of the court.

William's boyhood, then, was spent in Palestine, probably most of it in Jerusalem. Such early recollections as are incidentally recorded in his history all center there. His work reveals an intimate knowledge of the streets and the buildings of that city.[11] Furthermore, his extraordinary command of languages could best have been acquired by a youth living in the East. This familiarity included knowledge of French, the language of the court, of Arabic, which shared with French the field of commerce, and of Greek, which was likewise extensively used in the East. In addition, he appears to have had at least a smattering of other Eastern tongues—of Hebrew and even of Persian. Latin

[8] See note 4. He cites a history by one "Étienne de Lusignan," which has since been lost.

[9] *R. Reg.*, no. 531.

[10] The activities of the Italian merchants, to which William himself devotes much attention, have been treated quite fully by recent historians. In addition to the great pioneer work of W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, see also H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, and the more recent publications of E. H. Byrne, especially "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century," *American Historical Review*, XXV (1919–20), 191–219, dealing with various aspects of the Genoese maritime empire.

[11] William's knowledge of the city of Jerusalem was the subject of a study by F. Lundgreen, "Das Jerusalem des Wilhelm von Tyrus und die Gegenwart," *Neue kirchlicher Zeitschrift*, XX (1909), 973–92.

was, of course, the language of the Church and of the schools, and William's exceptional command of it implies that he must have enjoyed excellent training. This circumstance arouses an interesting speculation as to whether he may not have received instruction along with Prince Baldwin, who was almost exactly his own age. To support this conjecture, it is possible to cite William's curious error regarding Baldwin's father, King Fulk, whom he indicates as about twenty years older than he actually was—a mistaken impression which might quite easily have persisted from his childhood.

It is probable that William decided early upon a career in the Church. Almost no one mentioned by him is accorded more genuine affection and respect than is Peter of Barcelona, who was prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre from 1130 to 1158, a period corresponding to the first twenty-eight years of William's life. The cathedral chapter over which Peter presided made definite provision for the training of priests. It would be no rash assumption, therefore, especially in view of William's later scholarship, to infer that he displayed an early aptitude for learning which must have commended him to the attention of his teachers. Probably it was this very fact that first brought William to Peter's notice and led to an intimate friendship which was to mean much to the lad. Though in the military, frontier state of Jerusalem there were hardly enough children to justify the development of important schools, there were few places in the West where more scholars were gathered.[12] True, most of these were pilgrims who had come only to visit the shrines of the Holy Land and intended soon to depart. Since, however, some of the older visitors planned to end their days there, the monasteries contained a number of men with excellent pretensions to scholarship. Among them Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord, was especially marked for his expert knowledge of Greek. An able, eager youth like William must, therefore, have had good opportunity to improve his learning by associating with such men, whether on journeys to shrines or in the monasteries and church establishments. Doubtless Peter of Barcelona guided the education of

[12] The Holy Land as a point of contact between scholars of the West and East in the twelfth century has scarcely received the attention that it deserves. D. C. Munro touched upon it in a number of his writings (see especially his "Christian and Infidel in the Holy Land," *Essays on the Crusades*), and C. H. Haskins treated one important aspect of the subject in his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, chap. ix. A comprehensive treatment of the topic, however, is still to be made.

his young favorite. It is a singular fact that William has little to say of military events that occurred during his late teens and early twenties. Even such a major event as the siege and capture of Ascalon in 1153 interested him less in its military aspects than because of the determined stand of Patriarch Fulcher in demanding the continuance of the siege after the king had despaired of taking the city. This patriarch, who had held the office since William's sixteenth year, was another churchman who commanded the young man's unqualified respect and affection. All indications, then, seem to point to William's early decision to embark upon an ecclesiastical career and to imply that he pursued his studies for the priesthood without interruption.

Whether he received his ordination at the hands of Patriarch Fulcher, who lived to William's twenty-eighth year, or at the hands of Peter of Barcelona, who became archbishop of Tyre when William was eighteen, is not known. Certainly his friendship with both men continued until their deaths, his admiration and affection for both of them to his own. Sooner or later William became a member of the archbishop's official family at Tyre; and almost certainly he was the canon of Tyre referred to in a document of 1161 and also in a deed of gift by Archbishop Peter in the year 1163.[13]

Sometime before 1163, William had gone "across the sea" to continue his studies. This period of his education he had intended to describe in his history, but only the caption of that chapter has been preserved. Whether it was lost or, more probably, never written still remains a mystery. As it is, his only reference to his education is included in an incidental statement in connection with the separation of

[13] The first of these documents (*R. Reg.*, no. 370) has been dated 1161 without more definite indication of day and month; the other (*R. Reg.*, no. 385) in 1163, likewise indefinitely, though Röhricht has placed it toward the end of the year. Both documents involve an adjustment of property between Archbishop Peter and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. A *Willelmus, canonicus . . . ecclesiae Tyrensis* is a signator of both. In the second, another William who was archdeacon of Tyre at the time is also listed. Röhricht has accidentally confused this William, who was shortly made bishop of Acre, with the historian, who did not become archdeacon of Tyre until 1167. It is possible for Canon William to have left Tyre with the pilgrims returning to Europe after Easter, 1161, and to have come back with the fall sailing from Italy in 1163. This would have permitted him two full academic years in the schools of Italy, quite enough for the "postgraduate" study of law, and still enabled him to sign both documents. Such a conjecture receives a certain degree of confirmation from the paucity and vagueness of his recollection of events in the Holy Land from 1161 to 1163. The events before 1161 as well as those for 1164 and 1165 are relatively fully and accurately reported.

Amaury from his wife, Agnes, before his coronation in 1163. William excuses his ignorance of this event at the time because he "was not yet returned from across the sea, where he was engaged in the study of the liberal arts in the schools." In translating this passage, a French chronicler of the thirteenth century, when Paris and the liberal arts were almost synonymous, assumed that any such allusion referred naturally to France and so translated the reference—an assumption which has been accepted almost without question by modern scholars.[14] At the time indicated, however, William was already thirty-three years old, much too old to be concerned with the ordinary liberal arts. The passage, therefore, must refer to some special study, such as law, which at this period was only just beginning to be differentiated from the liberal arts and was still frequently included under that term.[15] Since such knowledge was more and more being required of those responsible for the operation of the increased business of the Church, it was not uncommon for archbishops to send members of their establishments, usually archdeacons, to acquire this new training abroad. Such study, however, was done in Italy, not in Paris. It is, therefore, quite probable that Peter of Barcelona, still guiding the education of his protégé, had sent William from Tyre, perhaps in the interval between the dates of the two documents cited above, to equip himself for carrying on the legal business of the diocese. Certainly William was thus engaged when King Amaury ascended the throne, and it is possible that the dates of the two documents mentioned mark his absence from the kingdom quite closely. At any rate, by the fall of 1163 he seems to have been back at Tyre prepared to look after the legal business of the diocese.

Little is known of his life during the next four years. His friend and patron, Archbishop Peter, soon died, and Frederick, who succeeded him as archbishop of Tyre, was a very different type of man. He was a noble "according to the flesh" and much more interested in military affairs than was, according to William, proper for a churchman. Ultimately there was to be a quarrel between the two. For the time being, however, it may be assumed that William devoted himself

[14] See French translation included with Latin text in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux,* I, 1004.

[15] H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* I, 110, note 2. The evidence on William's probable study of law in Italy is assembled by Krey, "The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages," *Speculum,* XVI (1941), 149–66.

to the routine duties of his office. Whether these included all the legal business as marked out for him by Archbishop Peter or involved less specialized activities is not determined. It seems safe to assume that, with his legal training, he was naturally intent upon improving his chances of promotion in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. His friends and patrons, Archbishop Peter and Patriarch Fulcher, doubtless served as the models whom he would emulate. Under favorable circumstances he, too, might become an archbishop and, in his dreams, even a patriarch.

The year 1167 was to prove unusually fateful in his career. Throughout his life, the prospects of the kingdom of Jerusalem had been steadily improving; its boundaries were being extended, the advances insured by the erection of fortresses, and the gaps in its defenses secured in similar fashion. Ascalon, the last seaport in Muslim hands, had been captured and securely fortified against recapture. Indeed, the affairs of the kingdom appeared so prosperous that the king felt justified in embarking upon new adventures in Egypt, whither, just before his death, Baldwin III had already ventured. Amaury, Baldwin's brother, who was now king, had followed that lead by a series of expeditions of which the one in 1167 had been the most successful. Acting as the ally of the Egyptians against Saljuq invaders, he had penetrated well up the Nile. His men had been received in the sacred city of Cairo, and, finally, his army had succeeded in capturing the commercial metropolis of Alexandria from Saladin, who was just then entering upon his career. Amaury was dazzled by so much success. Earlier, anticipating the need of help in the conquest of Egypt, he had negotiated a marriage alliance with a Greek princess of Constantinople. Upon his return from the successful Egyptian campaign, this princess, Maria, with her escort, awaited him at Tyre, where their marriage was celebrated on August 28, 1167. The conquest of Egypt now seemed well assured. An eager student of history, Amaury foresaw his achievement as second only to the capture of Jerusalem, and he was determined to find a proper historian to record that triumph. This thought must have been in his mind as he rode back from Egypt; and the matter appears to have been settled when, three days after his marriage, he not only arranged to have Canon William made archdeacon of the church at Tyre, but also allotted to him an income perhaps somewhat larger than was customary in that office.

Just how Amaury's attention was attracted to William as the person best qualified for the task of writing this history, whether by impulse or by careful inquiry, is nowhere stated. Doubtless William had already displayed some of those qualities which were so well revealed in his final work. Certainly he was more highly educated than most of his colleagues; his knowledge of languages was probably superior, and his skill in speech and writing correspondingly marked. However, he had no training as an historian, nor, so far as is known, was he engaged in work of that nature. Furthermore, William appears not to have been very eager to undertake such an assignment, perhaps regarding it as a distraction from the career that he had mapped out. In fact, it required a definite assurance of Amaury's favor to overcome his reluctance; and the promotion to the office of archdeacon "at the request and in the presence of the king" was the first evidence of such favor. Had Amaury's judgment been as wise in his other enterprises as in his selection of an historian, he would doubtless have been regarded as the greatest king of Jerusalem.

Once committed to this task, William appears to have entered upon it with real enthusiasm and energy. He interviewed the king and his lieutenants about the recent Egyptian campaign with a thoroughness which must have been gratifying to his royal patron. Amaury's regard for his historian grew with their acquaintance—so much so that when the details of the treaty for Greek coöperation in the conquest of Egypt had been worked out, he sent William to Constantinople to obtain the emperor's signature. This mission probably afforded William his first glimpse of that great metropolis and his first acquaintance with Emperor Manuel, whom he found in camp some distance away in the Balkan regions. After some months, he returned with the treaty duly signed, only to find that Amaury, overpersuaded that he could achieve the conquest of Egypt alone, had already departed, ten days before, on that venture. Perhaps it was fortunate that William did not see the king again for more than a year, since his opinion of the move, which is recorded in this history, could not have been flattering. Before Amaury returned, however, William was forced to go to Rome to answer charges which his archbishop, Frederick, had there made against him. These charges, which doubtless concerned the income that Amaury had insisted upon for his historian, William evidently answered to the satisfaction of the papal court. Incidentally he im-

proved his knowledge of the curia. The affair, however, necessitated his absence from the kingdom through most of the year 1169, and he did not again see the king until the latter's return from another Egyptian expedition after Christmas, 1169.

When Amaury and William at last met, the latter resumed his historical labors by inquiring diligently about the two recent campaigns; but the outcome of the venture had spared William the necessity of expressing his condemnation of the king's course. Their friendship was thus resumed without friction. Indeed Amaury's admiration for his historian was so greatly increased that he now asked him to undertake the care of his son's education. This son, Baldwin, offspring of Amaury's earlier marriage with Agnes de Courtenay, had been legitimized in 1163 when Agnes was divorced on grounds of consanguinity.

Baldwin was nine years old and heir to the throne when, at the beginning of 1170, Amaury entrusted him to William's care—an assignment which William undertook with even more reluctance than he had felt in assuming his historical tasks. The latter duty, while adding little to his ecclesiastical stature, did permit him to continue his calling and enabled him to keep in close touch with men and affairs. This new duty, however, threatened to confine him closely to the person of the young prince for an indefinite number of years, thus removing him from the main flow of ecclesiastical promotions. The king's repeated urging, together with his very positive assurance of further royal favors, finally prevailed; and in 1170 William undertook the duties of tutor to the young prince. As events turned out, he was thus engaged for the next four years.

Having agreed, finally, to accept this assignment, William discharged it conscientiously, if not with enthusiasm. The prince had several companions—doubtless sons of nobles, though their names are nowhere stated—who shared some of his tutor's attention. In carrying out his commission William did not confine his instruction to letters; for, as he says, he was equally concerned about the moral and physical welfare of his charge. He speaks with pride of young Baldwin's skill in horsemanship; and other allusions justify the conjecture that William not infrequently accompanied these lads on rides through the countryside of Tyre. It was from the playground that William first learned that the prince was afflicted with a malady which was ultimately to be recognized as leprosy. This observation he at once, of course, reported

to the king; and then began a series of vain remedial treatments which were to continue up to the time of Baldwin's death. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps natural that the tutor should have developed a deep affection for his pupil, whose progress in all fields of instruction he records with pardonable approval. This attachment was returned with respect and admiration.

These new duties confined William closely, but they did not engross either all his thought or all his time. King Amaury visited Tyre as often as possible and, as a rule, saw much of William on these occasions. Their conversation turned frequently to the proposed history; and probably in their discussion of a proper background, or introduction, to the *Gesta Amalrici* they discovered the lack of any previous chronicle. There proved, indeed, to be no systematic account of any of the reigns in Jerusalem since Fulcher of Chartres had stopped writing, about 1127.[16] There were a number of accounts of the earlier period, but by 1170 these chronicles must have appeared crude and inadequate. At all events, Amaury appears to have decided that an adequate history of the kingdom of Jerusalem from its very beginning ought to be written. William concurred in this opinion and agreed to undertake the composition of such a work. By common consent, then, the *Gesta Amalrici* was laid aside, except for such notes as William might collect on current affairs, with the understanding that the earlier years of Amaury's reign were to be written when the account of the previous reigns had arrived at that point. For the time being, therefore, William was to work upon the *Gesta regum*, beginning with the council of Clermont in 1095 or, rather, with the supposed pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit in 1094.

Almost at once William began collecting all available written sources as well as a large assortment of oral tradition. He was, therefore, soon engaged in the actual composition of his work; and before long the king, on his visits to Tyre, was able to read extended installments, or, as he preferred, to listen to their reading. So rapid was William's progress, despite his tutorial cares, that Amaury was encouraged to

[16] The lack of a chronicle after Fulcher of Chartres had been noticed in the reign of Baldwin III. Whether at the instigation of this king or upon his own initiative, an anonymous author then undertook to write a history which should carry the narrative to Baldwin's reign. The author began by abbreviating Fulcher's account as the beginning of his own. He had scarcely finished this when he stopped writing. His work has been preserved under the title *Balduini III historia Nicaena vel Antiochena necnon Jerosolymitana* in *R.H.C.Oc.*, V, 133–85. See also *H.F.*, pp. 83–84.

press upon him still another task. Not content with an introduction that went back to 1094, the king was curious to know more about the Muslim history that lay behind the coming of the Latins. The splendor of that civilization, of which he had seen evidence in Egypt, doubtless whetted his curiosity. He therefore urged William also to write a history of the princes of the Orient. To facilitate this undertaking, he himself supplied William with certain Arabic accounts from which it might be compiled. These books were probably originally from the private library of Usamah which Baldwin III had confiscated in a shipwreck near Acre in 1154.[17] Only one of them, that written by Said ibn Batrik, is mentioned by William. Since, however, this carried the story only to A.D. 937, he must have used others as well. The work of Said, or Seith, or Eutychius, as he was variously designated, was so satisfactory that, for this earlier period of oriental history, William could content himself with translating it. He was thus able to make rather rapid progress on the *Gesta orientalium principum* as well as on the *Gesta regum*. Whenever King Amaury visited Tyre thereafter, he must have found himself well satisfied with the progress of both works. Meanwhile, William was not neglecting his duties as tutor.

Had such conditions continued, William's histories might well have been brought up to date in another four years. At least a full half of the *Gesta regum* was composed during this time, and there is reason to believe that a corresponding portion of the *Gesta orientalium principum* was likewise written. Unfortunately an unkind fate intervened in the form of an illness from which King Amaury died at the early age of thirty-eight. William blamed the king's premature death on the incompetence of the physicians, but this was only another way of confessing his own deep sorrow at the event. It meant not only the loss of a great personal friend. Scarcely less tragic was the thought that now his afflicted, and only partially educated, pupil, who was barely thirteen years of age, must assume the duties of kingship. His own career, too, was seriously affected. No sooner was the young king crowned than both the king and the kingdom were taken in charge by Milon de Plancy, whom William detested as the worst of the late king's advisers. There is some reason to believe that William decided to close his historical labors at this time. After all, he had undertaken them reluctantly

[17] See P. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades, Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*, p. 61.

at the king's request and with the assurance of the king's favor, neither of which any longer held. If he was to regain his place in the procession of ecclesiastical promotion, he saw that he must apply himself to those activities from which the more academic pursuits of writing history and teaching the young prince had so long distracted him. We may, therefore, picture him as devoting the next few months after the funeral of Amaury and the coronation of Baldwin IV to the completion of his historical writings up to the point which he had then reached.[18]

If such, indeed, was his purpose and those his activities, they were to be as suddenly interrupted as they had been undertaken, for in the fall of 1174 Milon de Plancy was murdered on the streets of Acre. Shortly thereafter Raymond III of Tripoli was chosen regent of the kingdom until the king should reach the legal age of fifteen. This turn of affairs marked a sharp change in the prospects of both the kingdom and William. The latter was now called upon to fill the vacant post of chancellor of the kingdom, and this office brought him again into close touch with his former pupil. The previous chancellor had occupied the bishopric of Bethlehem, an office likewise still vacant, as was the archbishopric of Tyre. Both offices were much sought and were, at the moment, so hotly contested that the regent did not feel ready to use his influence in obtaining either as the proper dignity for the new chancellor. William's own preference was doubtless for the latter appointment. Momentarily, however, his dignity and income were enhanced by assigning to him the archidiaconate of Nazareth, in addition to that of Tyre, which he already held. The difficulties of ecclesiastical politics were not fully unravelled for more than six months—not until June 6, 1175, when William was at last confirmed as archbishop of Tyre. Thus he whom the death of the king and the regency of Milon de Plancy appeared to have relegated to the obscurity of a minor ecclesiastic was, within less than a year, occupying a position of great dignity and influence in the affairs of both state and church.

For the next year and a half William probably spent most of his time at court, continuing, if in somewhat less formal fashion, his interrupted instruction of the young king. During this time, no doubt, he himself was learning from Raymond of Tripoli and others the more

[18] See Prologue, note 10. William's repeated allusion to 570 years as the period covered in his *Gesta orientalium principum* is obviously according to Muslim reckoning. The year 570 A.H. was the year of Amaury's death and betrays William's original intention of stopping the work at that point, A.D. 1174.

intimate details of the conduct of public affairs. Fortunately, his long and close association with Amaury had given him some insight into the practical problems of statecraft. All that learning and more he required in 1176 when, Baldwin IV having attained his fifteenth birthday and Raymond having automatically retired from the regency, he found himself chief adviser to the king.

Presumably, the major problems of state had been solved before Raymond's retirement. Royal succession had been safeguarded by the marriage of Baldwin's older sister, Sibylla, to William of Montferrat, a close relative of both the French and the German royal families. The alliance with Constantinople as well as the disorder aroused in the surrounding Muslim states on the death of Nureddin had excited good hope of success in the Egyptian venture. The other Latin states did not require any emergency aid. William's responsibilities as chief adviser, therefore, promised to consist chiefly in the continued instruction of his royal pupil.

If such was his conception of his role, his expectations were to be rudely shattered within a year by the appearance of a number of unexpected emergencies. William of Montferrat died in June, 1177, leaving his young wife pregnant. An embassy arrived from Constantinople to press the execution of the alliance for the conquest of Egypt, but the king was taken seriously ill. At this juncture Count Philip of Flanders also arrived with a considerable military force from the West. The presence of this army aroused the cupidity of the other Latin states, each of which had plans for the expansion of its frontiers. The probability that the king was in no condition to make immediate use of Philip's army led them to exert every means in their power to turn it and him to their own ends. To add further to the confusion, one of Philip's lieutenants, the advocate of Bethune, saw in the situation an opportunity to advance his own family interests. He therefore prevailed upon Philip to urge the marriage of the advocate's sons to the sister and the younger half sister of the king. This suggestion was both unexpected and unwelcome to the barons of Jerusalem, because the proposed marriages did not promise to add power, prestige, or even influence to the kingdom. Following all these complications, it became William's unfortunate duty to act as intermediary between the sick king, the royal council, Philip, and the Greek envoys.

The diplomatic problems created by the impact of so many conflict-

ing aims and purposes might well have taxed the resources of one far more highly skilled in statecraft than William. To begin with, he sought to execute the Greek treaty, Philip to serve as leader of the military forces. At the same time, he invoked both canon and customary law against any proposals for the marriage of the king's sister until a year should have elapsed since the death of Sibylla's husband. This decision created an impasse with Philip, which the latter finally resolved by accepting the invitation to help the other Latin states, both Tripoli and Antioch. Some of the forces of the kingdom accompanied Philip on this campaign; and to add to William's discomfiture, Saladin chose this moment, while the crusading army was engaged in the siege of Harim in northern Syria, to make a grand invasion of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In this crisis William accompanied the king, who, though sufficiently recovered to assume the command of such forces as remained in the kingdom, probably handed over the active direction of the army to Renaud de Châtillon. It was a brilliant campaign, and, though Saladin's larger force had swept a wide countryside virtually up to the walls of Jerusalem itself, the small royal army was able to inflict a disastrous defeat upon him. Under the circumstances William may well be pardoned for regarding the victory as a miracle and, in view of the ultimate failure of the larger army under Philip to take Harim, as a judgment of the Lord regarding the righteousness of their respective undertakings. For fear that Philip, on his return, might seek to prejudice the West against the court of Jerusalem, William hastened to send his story of these events to the chief rulers in that region. Fortunately, the leading chroniclers of England and Normandy accepted both his story of the events and the evidence of the Lord's judgment.[19]

William's sense of relief after the successful campaign against Saladin and the departure of Count Philip, whose various efforts had come to nothing, continued with the more favorable conditions of the following year. The king's health was improved. Saladin's defeat had been too disastrous to permit of any further immediate threat. Instead, the king was able to extend and fortify his eastern border. William's thoughts could, therefore, safely turn to ecclesiastical affairs.

Circumstances were now so shaping themselves as to encourage his

[19] Robert of Torigni, the so-called chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, William of Newburgh, and Ralph of Diceto all have more or less extended accounts of the events of 1177 in the spirit of William's interpretation.

hope of attaining the highest ambition of his life, the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Amalrich, the incumbent, who had already held the office for more than twenty years, was growing old and feeble, and at the funeral services for the king's brother-in-law he was too ill to officiate. The selection of William to perform that honor, therefore, also carried certain implications of probable succession to the office. This impression was heightened when the patriarch was likewise unable to accept the invitation to attend the Lateran council which Pope Alexander III was summoning in 1178. The leadership of the ecclesiastical delegation from Jerusalem therefore also devolved upon William, who, as prospective patriarch, had every reason to look forward to the meeting as an opportunity to advance the cause of both the church and the state of Jerusalem.[20]

Neither southern Italy nor the papal curia was strange to him and there is every reason to believe that he enjoyed the months between his arrival and the opening of the council in the following spring. Certainly he made many friends among the ecclesiastical dignitaries who had assembled for the gathering from all parts of Christendom, for he was chosen to draw up a record of the personnel and acts of the council. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of that body and was one of the leaders in the fight to impose some curb upon the complete independence of the military orders from the local hierarchy. His success on this occasion must have afforded him not only deep satisfaction, but also consolation for the earlier total failure of his idol, Patriarch Fulcher, to obtain a similar concession from Pope Hadrian IV. Pope Alexander, too, was apparently favorably impressed by William, for, after the council was over, he asked him to undertake a special mission to the imperial court at Constantinople. This request undoubtedly involved some preparatory negotiations for a union of the Greek and Roman Churches—a project again made possible by Emperor Manuel's great friendship for the West. Though this undertaking prevented William's early return to Jerusalem, he was wise enough to see that it offered him yet other opportunities for advancing the interests of both kingdom and church. He was not a stranger to the

[20] Peter, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, is listed as the personal representative of Patriarch Amalrich, but William, as in his own list, is recognized as leader. For the various accounts of the personnel and acts of this council see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. XXII. It is probable that some of these accounts were based upon that drawn up by William.

court at Constantinople and, indeed, found himself warmly welcomed there, where the emperor detained him for seven months. During this time he witnessed not only the betrothal of the emperor's son to the daughter of Louis VII of France, but also the marriage of the emperor's daughter to Conrad, a brother of William of Montferrat.[21] Reconciled to his departure, perhaps by a special mission which William agreed to discharge for him at Antioch, the Emperor Manuel finally reluctantly permitted his guest to depart.

After an absence of almost two years, William came back to Tyre feeling certain, no doubt, that he had made good use of his travels. He returned, however, to a very different Jerusalem from that which he had left in 1178. Baldwin's feelings toward him had not altered—there is no evidence of that—but quite definitely the health of the king had changed for the worse. The leprosy, progressing on its remorseless course, had become aggravated by intervals of acute illness. These incapacitating spells had raised the question of regency and, incidentally, that of succession as well. On these questions the nobles of the kingdom had various opinions which led finally to the formation of two factions. Sibylla, the king's sister, who had hitherto been an instrument of state policy in the solution of this problem, finally decided that her marriages were primarily a matter of her own concern. On this theory, she had given her heart to a handsome young adventurer, Guy de Lusignan, a man of even less consequence than the son of the advocate of Bethune. In this resolve she was abetted by her mother, Agnes, whose influence over the king had greatly increased during the periods of his illness. Such a marriage was opposed by the older, established nobility of the kingdom and by Raymond of Tripoli in particular. Had William been present, he certainly would have opposed it also, and his intimate friendship with the king might have prevented it. In his absence, however, the influence of Agnes prevailed; and when it was announced that Raymond of Tripoli and Bohemond of Antioch were entering the kingdom with followers, the king was persuaded that they had sinister designs upon the throne which could best be thwarted by hastening the marriage of Sibylla and Guy. Baldwin, accordingly, granted his permission, and just before Ray-

[21] William only partially describes the elaborateness of the ceremonial involved in these wedding celebrations. Their significance in the diplomatic designs of Manuel is treated by Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 605.

mond arrived the marriage was rushed through, at the unprecedented time of Holy Week. Guy therefore had become a potential regent and successor to the throne, and in these pretensions he was supported by virtually all the newcomers and adventurers who were seeking lands and place in the East. The old, established nobility, however—those whose fiefs were founded by grandfathers or even great-grandfathers—rather generally preferred Raymond of Tripoli as regent. Thanks to Agnes, the king's mother, however, Guy's party was now in control of the court; and as fate would have it, at just this juncture Patriarch Amalrich finally died. King and clergy, according to all accounts, almost solidly supported William of Tyre as his successor, but, since custom required the presentation of two names for the king's consideration, the clergy also suggested that of Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea. The chief qualifications of this candidate were his attractive personality and the friendship of Agnes. Nevertheless, since the party in control at court refused to countenance the election of one so closely associated as William with the opposing faction, these slight virtues sufficed to guarantee the election of the second nominee.[22] In the midst of so much clamor, the feeble king probably lacked the strength to assert his own preference for his former tutor, and on October 16, 1180, Heraclius was duly made patriarch.

This act closed to William the door of further ecclesiastical promotion, for Heraclius, his junior in service, promised to live as long as he. The hostility of the court party, also, made it clear that his influence at court was virtually at an end. For as long as his enemies controlled the king, all the knowledge of international affairs that he had gained at Rome and Constantinople would be wasted. Though he was still chancellor of the kingdom, William's services were now demanded as little as possible, probably only upon the most formal occasions. Such a turn of affairs must have been a bitter blow to his feelings. In 1178, as the most influential, if not most powerful, official in the kingdom, he had been sent to advance the fortunes of his state and church in the greatest centers of the world. Now on his return, he found himself shorn of both power and influence. In reflecting upon his plight, how-

[22] The account of this election is furnished in great detail by Ernoul (see L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, pp. 82–86). The party divisions in the kingdom of Jerusalem at this time are most fully discussed by M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140–1187)*, *passim*.

ever, he refused to shift his allegiance from either his country or his king. If he could not serve them directly by personal advice and activity, he could still do so indirectly. In some such spirit he now resumed the writing of his histories.

For the next two and a half years this was apparently his chief occupation. He interspersed the hours of his writing with reading, much of it in the classical authors with whom he had become acquainted in his school days. His audience was no longer the king and court. He was writing, he realized now, for all Christendom. With this larger purpose in mind, he went back through his earlier work and added many items of geographical and archaeological lore which his more immediate audience had not required. Doubtless, too, as he reread some of the earlier passages in his history, he revised them in light of his fuller knowledge and changed viewpoint.

He could not, however, be altogether oblivious to current affairs. No one understood the situation of the kingdom or its place in international affairs better than he. Nearly everything that the court party did must have seemed to him blundering or worse. Since for the time being there was a truce with Saladin, who was therefore free to devote himself to Muslim affairs in the east and north, the kingdom rested under an illusion of security. To William, however, the ominous significance of Saladin's activities in uniting the Muslim world was perfectly clear. The situation called for the utmost efforts to marshal every resource against the impending attack. Instead, he saw the court party committing one act after another to alienate the loyalty of the established barons. Matters reached a climax in the spring of 1182, when the king's advisers provoked him to the verge of declaring war on his most powerful vassal, Raymond of Tripoli. Civil war at this juncture, William realized, would mean suicide for the kingdom. Hastily, therefore, he interrupted his writing and, with the saner members of both factions, prevailed upon the king to become reconciled with Raymond. Perhaps the special grant which Baldwin made to the archbishop of Tyre in April, 1182, to which Raymond of Tripoli was a witness, served to mark that reconciliation and William's part in it.[23] However, the court party remained in power, its capacity to err undiminished. Two ill-advised engagements with Saladin in the summer and fall of that year both resulted in defeat. These disasters were crowned by

[23] *R. Reg.*, no. 615.

Saladin's contemptuous departure to the Muslim North without troubling so much as to make a truce with the kingdom. This unnecessary series of injuries and insults disgusted William, and he decided to stop recording so shameful a series of blunders. His friends tried to induce him to continue his writing, but for some time he resisted all their appeals.

The king, who, at the end of the year, was again able to move with his troops, stopped at Tyre to celebrate Christmas. His conversations with his old friend and tutor have not been recorded, but they could not have included much that was complimentary to the conduct of affairs by Guy and other members of his following.

When Saladin again invaded the kingdom in 1183, the greatest levy ever mustered within the kingdom was called out against him. Guy was in command, for the king was again ill. There was much bickering among the Christian leaders but no action, and Saladin's cavalry virtually held Guy's army in a state of siege. When Saladin finally withdrew, the great army was disbanded without having struck a blow. The people were disgusted at the incompetence of such leadership. When Saladin struck again to besiege Kerak, ancient Petra of the Desert, the king himself assumed command, though he gave the active military direction to Raymond. Not only had Guy forfeited the confidence of the king, but his further conduct had so incensed Baldwin that the latter, pulling his ebbing strength together in one final effort, deprived Guy of the regency and made arrangements to insure against any possibility of his succession. He even tried to compel his sister to divorce Guy. In this effort he was unsuccessful; but he did get the barons of the realm to recognize the son of William of Montferrat as his heir and Raymond of Tripoli as regent for a period of ten years. This was the last important act of Baldwin's reign.

With Raymond again regent, William felt that the kingdom was in competent hands. Furthermore, a truce which Raymond made with Saladin assured immediate peace, and the future again looked hopeful enough for William to feel justified in resuming his writing. Some stroke of illness, however, must have befallen him about this time; for in 1184, when he revised or wrote the preface to his work as a whole, he described his plan of dividing the work into twenty-three books, to which he would add as events dictated, and then closed with the ominous words *vita comite*. And, indeed, the twenty-third book

was only just begun, the choice of Raymond as regent being the last entry, when he died. The circumstances of his death and its exact date are undetermined, but it must have occurred some time before May, 1185, when his vice-chancellor was already established as chancellor.[24] He did not live, therefore, to see that his fond hopes were illusory; that, through the repeated blunders of the faction which he had always opposed, Jerusalem was to fall, as he had feared that it might, before the united Muslim power of Saladin.

The events of the next two years were to establish the soundness of William's judgment. In 1185 Baldwin IV finally succumbed to his leprosy. The son of William of Montferrat bore the title of Baldwin V for scarcely a year, dying in 1186. The ousted faction, led by Joscelin, the brother of Agnes, and Sibylla, then perpetrated a *coup d'état* by which Guy was made king of Jerusalem, and Raymond's regency was ended with bitter feelings. When Saladin resumed hostility in 1187, the situation of the summer of 1183 was repeated. This time, however, Guy chose to fight, permitting Saladin to pick the battlefield of Hattin.

[24] William's death is usually erroneously dated, e.g., 1190 by Potthast and Hagenmeyer; 1186 by Molinier and Röhricht. It was a natural mistake for later Western chroniclers to supply William's name for that otherwise anonymous archbishop of Tyre who was preaching the crusade in the West in 1188 and 1189. Joscius, a former suffragan of William's, was then archbishop of Tyre. Prutz had demonstrated this error fully and clearly in his "Studien." R. Röhricht's conclusion (*Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, pp. 391–92, note 5) that William's death could be fixed within the interval October 17 to 21, 1186, the dates of the last extant document mentioning William and the first mentioning Joscius as archbishop, has been accepted by many recent writers. This too must be regarded as erroneous. The interval itself is quite too brief to have allowed for the death and burial of William, the election and consecration of Joscius. Furthermore, Joscius is not characterized as "elect" but referred to as one already well established. Likewise the mention of William in the document of October 17 is not convincing evidence of his existence at the time. The document records the closing of a legal case in which William appeared as one of five judges delegate appointed by Pope Urban III some time before. The names of all the judges would be included, for the sake of the record, whether they were living at the time or not. Indeed, it is quite possible that William was not living at the time of the original appointment, which was made at Rome sometime in 1185. The only implication it could have regarding William's life is that Pope Urban III had not yet heard of William's death when he made the appointment. William's death must have occurred before May 16, 1185, when his vice-chancellor, Peter, already appears as chancellor (*R. Reg.*, no. 643). It is quite unlikely that William could have been deposed from that office, which he still held in 1184, for his friend, Raymond of Tripoli, was regent of the kingdom. The last events recorded by William occurred early in 1184. The failure of the papal chancery to be aware of his death by the end of November, 1185, when Urban III became pope, might imply that William had died after the spring sailing of that year. His death can therefore not be placed later than the early spring, 1185, and it can hardly have been before then.

Since virtually all the forces of the kingdom had been mustered, their disastrous defeat permitted Saladin to regain, at one stroke, nearly all that the crusaders and the kings of Jerusalem had acquired in the previous eighty-eight years.[25] Tyre alone, of all the cities in the kingdom, remained in Christian hands to become a base of operations for the recapture of Acre in the Third Crusade. A kind fate had spared William the tragic happenings of these years. They were, however, fully foreshadowed in what he had written. The events of 1187 only added the period to the epic which his pen had inscribed through the year 1183.

HIS WORKS

Such is the story of the life of William, archbishop of Tyre, as nearly as the cumulative efforts of scholarship to the present time have permitted us to know it. Although he was important both as a churchman and a statesman, his fame rests almost entirely upon his work as a writer and an historian. Not all of his works have been preserved. Virtually none of his state papers, written chiefly as letters in the name of the king, survive, except as they are echoed in contemporary chronicles, including his own. Of the documents which he issued as chancellor only a few, which record transfers of property or confirmation of privileges, remain today. These are all of a routine character, a number of them obviously the product of the chancery without much, if any, personal attention from him, though they bear his signature.[26]

The account of the Third Lateran Council which he wrote at the request of his colleagues, a copy of which he deposited in the archives at Tyre, is lost. It is not improbable, however, that some of the accounts of this council which have been preserved were drawn from this report.[27] Even more regrettable is the disappearance of his *Gesta orientalium principum*. Copies of this work were known to exist more than a century later, one of them at St. Albans in England, but these have apparently since become lost.[28] Something of its nature, however, may

[25] For these events, which occurred after William's death, see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 68–145; Stevenson, *Crusaders*, pp. 230–56; and *R.K.J.*, pp. 402–72.

[26] Thus several of the documents which bear his signature as chancellor were drawn up in Jerusalem while he was absent at Rome and Constantinople (*R. Reg.*, nos. 577, 579, 582, 587, 588, 591, and 593).

[27] See note 20.

[28] Matthew Paris, in his *Historia minor*, specifically mentions the two works of William as in the library of St. Albans, where he invites his readers to consult them

be learned from the borrowings made from it by Jacques de Vitry, William of Tripoli, and, indeed, by William himself.[29] The only substantial work that has been preserved is the one which is here translated. Fortunately, this is so extensive that it permits a fairly adequate appraisal of his qualities both as an historian and as a man of letters.

Whether William supplied a title for this work as it finally appeared we do not know. It is certain, however, that the title which it now bears was devised in Western Europe. As indicated by the story of his life, he started three histories, not one alone, and all of them at the request of King Amaury. The first was the *Gesta Amalrici regis* upon which he began work in 1167. This task, however, was interrupted in 1170, in order to satisfy Amaury's request for a comprehensive introductory work on the earlier history of the kingdom. The title of this second work may be taken from William's description of it as *Gesta Hiersolymitanorum regum.* This work was to extend from the First Crusade—that is, from 1094 or 1095—to the beginning of Amaury's reign in 1163. The third history, begun some time after this, but long before 1174, was the *Gesta orientalium principum,* which was designed to recount the history of the Muslim East from the time of Muhammad to the "present." William worked at these last two tasks simultaneously up to about 1175. Though during the next five years his other cares did not permit of any systematic writing, he appears not to have neglected his histories altogether, and toward the end of 1180 he again resumed his task. By 1182, when the course of events in the kingdom so disgusted him that he decided to close his account, he had brought the *Gesta regum* near enough to the *Gesta Amalrici* to permit a hasty welding of the two into a single continuous narrative. Then viewing the work as a whole, he found it inadequate for the enlarged reading public to which he was now addressing his work. It required, he now realized, more explanatory material and a general rounding out. To accomplish this, he selected material from the *Gesta orientalium*

(F. Madden, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, historia Anglorum sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor,* I, 163). The library of St. Albans shared the vicissitudes of other English monastic libraries in the sixteenth century, but the manuscript of William's chief work in the British Museum is believed to be the one from St. Albans. The manuscript of the *Gesta orientalium principum,* however, is missing.

[29] The probable use of this lost work by Jacques de Vitry had been noticed by others, but Prutz completed the proof, and his conclusions are supported by the two later studies of G. Zacher, *Die Historia orientalis des Jacob von Vitry,* and P. Funk, *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke.*

principum, and inserted a summary introduction to link the first loss of Jerusalem by the Christians in 614 with the determination to recover it in 1094 or 1095. At the same time, he added other selections from that work to explain more fully some later events in connection with the Egyptian campaigns. It is probable that the story, as he thought he was ending it in 1182, carried the continuous narrative up to the end of 1179 or early 1180. He may, however, have made some further revisions when he again took up his writing toward the end of 1183 or early 1184. His preface, which he wrote in 1184, describes the arrangement into books and chapters according to his final plan, which included the prospect of such further additions as circumstances might dictate. The prologue, however, was probably the last chapter that he wrote. He had carried his narrative to 1184.

WILLIAM AS HISTORIAN

In appraising William's work as an historian it is necessary to bear in mind that he had had no special training for his task. His schooling had been directed toward a career in the hierarchy of the Church, and he was already well started upon this career when he was called upon to write history. His specialization, if such it may be called, was in the field of law; and for several years before he took to writing history he had probably been engaged in the legal work of the church of Tyre. Furthermore, he was already well advanced toward middle age when he began his work as an historian. These facts are evident in his work, where men and affairs are viewed with both the moral judgment of a churchman and the objectivity of a lawyer, and where ecclesiastical and legal matters are accorded an unusually large amount of attention. What steps, if any, he took to acquaint himself with the requirements of his new task when he agreed to write the *Gesta Amalrici* in 1167 are not known. His immediate procedure is clear enough. It was to interview leaders of the recent Egyptian campaign on the events of that campaign. In fact, he interviewed not one, but several, taking good care to weigh and sift all their testimony with judicial thoroughness. As late as 1170, this was still his procedure. Presumably he usually wrote the results of his inquiries as soon as he was satisfied that he had the necessary information. Noteworthy of his work at this stage is the range of information which he deemed pertinent to his task. This included the details not only of the Egyptian campaigns, but also of the

diplomatic negotiations regarding them. In addition, he decided that he must acquaint himself with the characteristics of the land and the people, as well as gain a detailed knowledge of court ceremonial at Cairo and of the commercial interests and importance of Alexandria. In all these inquiries he was following no contemporary chronicler.

It was when he began his second work, the *Gesta regum*, that he found himself confronted with the more conventional problems of the historian. Much of this history, especially the earlier portion, had to be drawn from written sources. William's use of these sources, however, is not conventional. He was not content, as were most chroniclers of the period, to select one account and incorporate it either as a whole, or in abbreviated form, in the body of his own work. For the First Crusade he clearly used the written accounts of the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, as well as those of Raymond d'Aguilers, Walter the Chancellor, Fulcher of Chartres, and Albert of Aix. Apparently he had these works in his study as he wrote, and he drew upon all of them. If at times he appears to follow one writer to the exclusion of others, this preference is almost always due to the fact that the particular material appears only in the one. Usually his own conclusion is derived from a comparison of several accounts. Where these conflict, he either follows his own judgment or, occasionally, presents the divergent statements. Sometimes, as in the case of the more fanciful stories of Albert of Aix, he refuses to accept obvious exaggerations, even though these offer the only written account of the matter in question. He also drew on oral tradition.[30] In fact, he appears to make no distinction between this variety of knowledge and the accounts of these chroniclers of the First Crusade. He mentions none of them by name, but regards them all as setting forth merely the testimony of tradition, which must be weighed and sifted. In the light of his own sense of what

[30] Von Sybel, in a somewhat hypercritical vein, left the impression that William followed Albert of Aix quite closely to the taking of Jerusalem and Fulcher of Chartres thereafter. Hagenmeyer has done much to correct von Sybel's error. In his successive editions of writings on this period (*Ekkehardi*, 1877, *Anonymi*, 1890, *Galterii*, 1896, *Epistulae*, 1901, and *Fulcheri*, 1913), Hagenmeyer made almost a line-for-line comparison of each of these accounts with that of William as well as those of other later writers. His final judgment on William's use of these sources is most nearly expressed in the introduction to his last work (*H.F.*, pp. 85–91). This is more fully corroborated in the copious footnotes of all of these works, to which should be added his *Chronologie* (H. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la première croisade, 1094–1100," and "Chronologie de l'histoire du royaume de Jérusalem: règne de Baudoin I," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VI–XII).

was reasonable, he reserved the right to reject and correct any or all of their statements, for he was aware that he possessed a more accurate knowledge of the geography and the antiquity of the region as well as a fuller acquaintance with the course of later developments. His own account, resulting from this practice, is almost entirely set down in his own words, relatively rarely in those of his sources. Unlike them, too, he preferred, irrespective of the length of time involved, to follow a particular topic through from some definite beginning to its conclusion. In all these respects, his usual procedure followed no contemporary model. In fact it is almost that of a modern historical scholar and, to that extent, is superior to any of his contemporaries.

William apparently followed the same general plan in dealing with Arabic sources for his *Gesta orientalium principum.* Since, however, the work itself is lost, this can not be as fully determined as in the case of the *Gesta regum.* Furthermore, he mentions only one Arabic source by name.[31] That, however, stopped at A.D. 937, whereas William specifically states that his own work extends at least to 1182. The other sources which he used were only partly included in the collection of Arabic books to which King Amaury gave him access. It is quite clear from passages dealing with Muslim history that he must have drawn some of his information from oral sources and some from inscriptions on buildings. Likewise there were some matters of Muslim history about which his sources differed, or were so uncertain that further investigation was required. Since Tyre in his time maintained four mosques to serve its Muslim inhabitants and visitors, William probably had little difficulty in finding learned Arabs or books to help solve his difficulties.[32]

The circumstances under which he composed his histories—the changes in his own position, the irregular intervals of writing over a period of seventeen years, and the haste in which he closed his work, leaving no opportunity for either rewriting or complete revision—all enable us to follow the improvement in his historical craftsmanship. He wrote at first as the literary client of a royal patron, Amaury I,

[31] See Prologue, note 8.

[32] The Spanish Arab, Ibn Jubair, spent some ten days at Tyre in 1184. He was more than favorably impressed by the pleasant relations between Christian and Muslim existing there. A portion of the account of his journey which was a pilgrimage to Mecca appears in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux,* III, 445–51.

intent primarily upon the entertainment and edification of the king, and perhaps also of the court. Though too mature and too conscious of an independent ecclesiastical career ever to become a mere servile courtier, he reveals in his earlier work less critical ability than is apparent in his later writing. With Baldwin IV, his former pupil, William's relations with the king were almost reversed. He was no longer the client, but the adviser and mentor of the young king, whose infirmity rendered that relationship a pathetically responsible one. Though he was still writing for a personal and immediate audience, his tone, from this time on, was sobered by his responsibilities. Edification and entertainment were still to be served, but instruction in affairs of state became his dominant motive. The shift in politics which made William almost a stranger to the court also brought about a further development in his point of view. His audience was no longer personal or immediate. It was, instead, the reading public of all Latin Christendom, and his purpose that of insuring the continued existence of his own nation, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. There was little room now for idle words. All the keen insight into international affairs that he had accumulated at Rome and Constantinople and had hoped to place at the disposal of the king, went, instead, into his work.

Though, when he resumed writing in 1180, he worked upon the material in Books XVI to XXI, much of the earlier portion was written from notes made as early as 1167 (e.g., Book XIX, chapters 13–32) and required little revision. His full development as an historian, therefore, must be sought in whât he composed and wrote after 1180, more distinctly in Books XXI to XXIII (inclusive) and in his prologue to the work as a whole. During the period of his apprenticeship, he had learned much about the writing of history as well as about the problems of statesmanship. He therefore no longer allowed himself to indulge in those concessions to person or office to which he had occasionally yielded in his earlier writing. The legendary and the trivial disappeared before the stern judgment of more mature knowledge fortified by a passionate patriotism. The survival and welfare of his country imposed obligations which neither personal friendship nor respect for high office could compel him to shirk. Likewise, his inclination to supplement the usual medieval explanation of events as due to divine interposition, a tendency already present in his earlier writing, now also reaches its full development. Indeed, few writers in any time have

viewed their own age with sterner impartiality and insight, or with fuller understanding. More unusual yet, applying to himself the same rigid standards that he exacted of others, he resisted the pardonable impulse to denounce those responsible for his own personal disappointments. Even Agnes de Courtenay, the chief offender, is censured only once and then for an act not concerned with himself. His impartiality, which even scientific historians of modern times seldom equal, is, however, scarcely less impressive than his critical skill in sifting the highly emotional, fragmentary, and partisan oral testimony from which his information was derived. Thus, his analysis of the reasons for both the Greek uprising against the Latins at Constantinople in 1182 and for Saladin's success has required but little addition or correction from modern scholarship.

Coupled with these sterner virtues, William's advance in the gentler arts of the historian must also be noted. He allowed himself no arbitrary prejudice regarding race, creed, or social class. Not only Latins, but Greeks and Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, and Turks were capable of praiseworthy acts. So, too, were peasants and merchants and nobles. Even the Muslim was acknowledged to have commendable moral standards and ideals. In his earlier writing, William had frequently repeated the conventional prejudices of the West, but now this tendency was almost completely gone. His conception of what should be included in recounting the events of the past remained as broad as ever. Only the trivialities of court gossip, to which he had occasionally lent ear in his earlier work, were rejected. The ordinary concerns of life, its industries, architecture, and social life, continued to receive his attention along with the more usual military and ecclesiastical, diplomatic and governmental affairs. And all of these, except the military, were treated with greater sympathetic insight than was customary among the chroniclers of the time.

In so many respects William so nearly approaches the standards of modern historical scholarship that it is a matter of surprise to find him in any way subject to the limitations of his own age. Yet, since his point of reference continued to be, or perhaps became even more strictly, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, he at times lacked breadth of outlook. Though he touched upon matters of concern not only to the whole Mediterranean world but to Western Europe also, he confined himself almost exclusively to the connection of those matters with the land in

which he dwelt. Only rarely did he choose to consider the broader aspects of the problems with which kings, emperors, and popes had to deal. Therefore, at times he was unjust in his judgment of their policies toward the kingdom of Jerusalem. In the same way, he never ceased to be a churchman of the secular hierarchy. This inclination, which led him to devote a disproportionate amount of space to the problems of ecclesiastical organization in the East, has also laid him open to the charge of entertaining a certain bias against the military and monastic organizations which had gained more or less complete independence from the secular hierarchy of Jerusalem. These faults, if such they be, seem to have grown upon him with the years and are even more marked in his later writing.

That, also, is true of another defect which reflects his lack of any formal training for his work as historian. Though almost no medieval chronicler who touched so wide a field can be said to be entirely free from chronological error, William's mistakes are greater than usual. He was scrupulous in tracing the succession of events within each given topic. He was almost meticulous in noting the sequence of related events as he wrote. His difficulties arose when he had to enter in his history separate, unrelated events whose only bond with the rest of his material was chronological. So, also, he had not made a habit of translating the several systems of reckoning used by his sources, both written and oral, into a single system. Furthermore, his absence abroad while he was studying law not only prevented him from obtaining direct information about the early years of Amaury's reign, but led also to a serious hiatus in joining the *Gesta Amalrici* to the *Gesta regum*. The year 1166 is accordingly almost a blank, and the events of the years 1160 to 1163 are very inadequately recorded. He did not realize until far too late the need of a systematic framework of chronology to bind his work together. By that time, the task had reached the proportions of a major problem in historical research which he had neither the necessary aid nor the leisure to undertake. As a consequence, the chronological framework which he hastily evolved is more often confusing than helpful. For example, the Arab chronology, several times used without designation, conflicts with the Christian era. Again, the reigns of the separate kings are variantly stated—in the aggregate, in successive regnal years, and in terms of the Christian era, the three forms frequently conflicting. By the irony of fate, the reign which

offers the greatest chronological inconsistency is that of Amaury, who was responsible for William's writing of history. Several modern scholars have sought to reconcile all this divergence, Stevenson kindly suggesting that the chronological calculations were superimposed upon the work by some later person.[33] One need only read the prologue, however, to realize that William alone was probably entirely responsible for the confusion which makes it necessary to determine every doubtful point of chronology in his text by comparison with other independent sources.

WILLIAM AS A MAN OF LETTERS

No appraisal of William's work would be complete without some consideration of its literary quality. As he so eloquently states in his prologue, this quality in his work was as much a matter of his conscious concern as the truth of his statements. His Latin is singularly pure, Manitius noting only two terms lacking classical justification.[34] The range of his vocabulary is unusually wide. In these respects he compares favorably with the best of his contemporaries, even with John of Salisbury. Both reflect a careful study of the classics and, more than that, a genuine appreciation of letters.[35] His favorite authors, to whom,

[33] See note 4.

[34] One of these, *loricator*, he took over, apparently with pleasure, from Albert of Aix. See Manitius, *Lateinische Literatur*, III, 430–39.

[35] It is impossible to determine fully the range of William's knowledge of classical literature. Prutz is inclined to ascribe to him a knowledge of nearly all the authors cited by him as well as those quoted without citation who have been identified by the editors of William's text. Manitius, on the other hand, is very conservative in his estimate of William's classical learning. Unlike John of Salisbury, William had little occasion to draw upon classical literature for information. His own interest in classical writings appears to have been primarily literary and aesthetic. His use of them was largely to enrich his vocabulary and to enhance the expression of his own thoughts of the moment. Such an interest might lead him rather to drink deeply of certain favorite authors than to explore as wide a range of authors as possible. Thus in the case of Ovid he cites only the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides*, but innumerable phrases indicate that he was also thoroughly familiar with the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. His familiarity with Cicero is similarly inadequately revealed by his direct citations. The fact that so large a proportion of his quotations from classical authors appear in the portions of his work manifestly written after 1180 seems to indicate that they were not a mere reminiscence of his grammar-school days but the result of a genuine passion which he was indulging in those later years. It is, however, doubtful whether his knowledge of Greek extended to familiarity with the ancient works. All his citations of Greek classics, except those from Josephus, have been traced to Latin translations. The works of Josephus too were available in Latin translations, though not all of these have yet been printed, and it is quite possible that William, like Fulcher of Chartres, drew upon them. Perhaps it would be more

in his later years, he again turned for comfort and satisfaction, were Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Cicero. Beyond any Latin prose writer of his day William was a raconteur. This quality of his work is revealed not only in those stories which later literature was to appropriate, but also by his consistent practice in tracing a series of connected events from some definite beginning to a logical ending. Doubtless his personal inclination toward such treatment was enhanced by the fact that he wrote originally for an aural audience, a fact overlooked by historians but finally noted by literary scholars.

This desire to round out his tale for the benefit of his listeners, however, did not lead him to indulge in the colloquialisms which such practice so easily breeds. His language remained pure, his imagery dignified and elegant. Indeed, urbanity in discourse was a quality which he prized so highly that he is very sparing in his use of the term of *literatus*—a highly complimentary description which very few persons were able to win from him, and most of these only in limited degree. The quality of his literary judgment is even more directly indicated by his use of the word *urbanitas* itself and by his evident approval of the great Muslim caliph, Harun al-Raschid, who still enjoyed such reputation among Arabic scholars. In this refinement of expression and outlook William far excelled all other Latin writers of his time. This particular quality of his style, however, can not be explained solely on the basis of his reading of the Latin classics; for the broad human tolerance and genteel scepticism which marked his writing was also derived from acquaintance with Arabic literature and from association with cultivated Arabs in the cosmopolitan and sophisticated society of the East.[36] These attributes did not represent merely an artificial veneer which William had acquired through study and conscious effort, but rather the nature of his genuine preferences.

William's sense of literary form was not confined to the rounding out of single episodes and related events. It increased with the years; and when at last he decided to conclude his writings, he was evidently dissatisfied to issue them as three separate works. They were all, he

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accurate to represent William's classical learning as somewhat less than that estimated by Prutz but greater than that allowed by Manitius.

[36] This quality of urbanity for which William is so preëminent among the Latin writers of the twelfth century is also marked in the vernacular literature of this century, especially in the court epic. It is possible that Eastern, Greek and Arabic, influence may also have played an important role in this development.

realized, grouped around a unified theme, the loss and recovery of Jerusalem, and to this central theme each contributed. A union of the *Gesta regum* and the *Gesta Amalrici* had been foreseen, but the volume on the princes of the Orient had been planned as a separate enterprise. However, events of 1094 and 1095 no longer seemed to him to present a proper beginning for the royal chronicle, which he now thought ought to include the original loss of Jerusalem by the Christians. Hence, from his *Gesta orientalium principum*, he supplied a summary of events back to 614. This step was not the only part of his final revision which was dictated by his aesthetic sense. In his treatment of the separate kings of Jerusalem he tried also to achieve a certain uniformity. To this end, he planned to allot two books to each ruler, the first to open with a pen picture and the second to end with an account of the king's death. The two exceptions to this arrangement—the one book for Godfrey and the three for Baldwin III—were amply justified by the relative length of their reigns, Godfrey ruling only one year, while Baldwin's reign extended over twenty, during part of which time his mother was joint ruler. Since the amount of material involved in the separate reigns varied considerably, these dictates of form involved William in some difficulty. For example, the last years of Baldwin II and the whole reign of Fulk required a good deal of padding —a fact which probably accounts for the amount of petty court gossip and the number of ecclesiastical documents which William saw fit to include in his discussion of Fulk's reign. By these various devices, however, he was able to accord a relatively equal amount of space to each of the several kings. Events themselves were to give to his work, as he finally shaped it, the complete unity which his sense of style, if not his patriotic hopes, dictated, for Jerusalem was to be lost again in less than three years by a series of circumstances which he had recounted, in almost perfect rehearsal, in the years 1182 and 1183.

Certain conclusions emerge from this account of William's progress as an historian and the analysis of his achievement as a writer. If he lacked technical training for the task and thus fell into errors from which more adequate preparation might have saved him, he likewise was free from the restrictions which such training might have imposed upon him. Had he been more technically proficient, he might not have chosen to include in his work so full a treatment of so many human activities and interests. And even judging his performance by the stand-

ards of modern historical scholarship, there are relatively few respects in which he is excelled by any of his contemporaries. Without doubt, many were more accurate in their general chronology, and Otto of Freising, for instance, was more profound in his philosophic conception of history. Similarly, John of Salisbury was more fully, if not better, acquainted with classical literature as a source of illustration and comparison in human affairs. Yet none excelled William in critical use of written sources or equalled him in sifting oral testimony or judging contemporary events. None equalled him, either, in freedom from prejudice, whether racial, social, or religious. The impartiality of his judgments, the breadth of his tolerance, and the range of his interests exceeded those of any of the contemporary chroniclers. The purity of his language, the dignity of his treatment, the interesting manner of his narrative are all of distinctive excellence. In the combination of all these qualities his work is superior to that of any other Latin historian since classical times and, until the period of the late Renaissance, is scarcely equalled by any later writer.

WILLIAM'S INFLUENCE ON LATER WRITERS

William's history has been recognized by all later historians as a primary source of information on its period. For the years between 1144 and 1184, it has admittedly been their chief, and often their only, source. Their debt, however, is much greater than has generally been admitted. William's statement, at the opening of his sixteenth book, to the effect that hitherto he had had to rely upon "tradition," but that henceforth he was writing as an eyewitness, has been misinterpreted to mean that he had drawn the previous material from written accounts. As a matter of fact, however, there was no written account beyond 1127 or 1128.[37] One, it is true, had been undertaken in the

[37] This is probably the most persistent and universally accepted error regarding William's work. Virtually every writer on William, even the most critical, has repeated it, though not one has made any attempt to designate what written sources William used for the period from 1127 to 1144. The abortive chronicle sponsored by Baldwin III is in itself convincing evidence that there was no Latin treatment of that interval. There was an Arab chronicle covering the period, that of al-Qalanisi, but William owed little, if any, of his information to it. Nor is there any evidence that he knew the Armenian chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (*Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Edessa* in *Receuil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens*, I, 1–150). Obviously he could scarcely report as eyewitness the events occurring at the time of his birth or during his infancy. For such material he was dependent upon the reports of others, hence "tradition."

reign of Baldwin III; but the anonymous author of that chronicle succeeded only in writing his introduction, an abbreviated version of the account of Fulcher of Chartres, to which he added a paragraph or two. William was doubtless familiar with this work, but it was of little use to him, and it did not supply him with any material later than 1128. The material after that date was not to be found in written sources and had therefore to be gleaned from the recollections of living witnesses. William's statement, then, must mean that in 1144, at the age of fourteen, he felt old enough to begin taking note of historical events. The period for which he is the chief primary source, therefore, must be extended back to 1127. For the period before that time he had used the chronicles already mentioned, but to them he added a considerable amount of new material—of antiquarian lore, for example, both literary and archaeological, of geographical information, as well as an appraisal of past events in the light of later developments. Furthermore, he made good use of both the royal and ecclesiastical archives, and in a number of instances drew additional information from the testimony of a few eyewitnesses who were still living in his time. In other words, even for the period from 1094 to 1127 William's history has some value as primary source material. A more correct statement of the importance of his work would include recognition of the fact that for the years from 1127 to 1184 it remains our chief primary source, and for the period before 1127 an important supplementary chronicle.

The influence of William's work was not limited to its value as a source of contemporary information for later historians. Instead, various circumstances suggest that it became early and widely known. It is quite impossible to determine how many copies were made under his own direction. However, the resources of the archiepiscopal household, not to mention the additional help of professional scribes with whom Tyre appears to have been well provided, would certainly have permitted the completion of more than the two known copies—his own and the incomplete one which he had circulated in 1182.[38] None of the

[38] The conjecture that William circulated some copies of this work as he thought he had completed it in 1182 rests not only upon his many allusions to 1182 as the time when he stopped writing and the statement of that resolve in the prologue to the twenty-third book, but also upon the performance of Ernoul in his continuation of William's history. After a brief summary of some of William's earlier books, Ernoul launches upon his own continuation at about the year 1180. This was about the point reached by William at the close of his twenty-first book, much of which

nine manuscript copies which survive has been dated earlier than the thirteenth century.[39] Therefore, at best, they must all be regarded only as copies of the first version, which probably reached at least some readers within little more than two years after William's death.

At that time, Tyre was the only important place in the kingdom of Jerusalem still remaining to the Christians. It was, therefore, a city of refuge for all the Latins who had escaped Saladin's hands. How many of these whiled away their idle hours in the archbishop's library can not be stated, but those who did must have had the opportunity of reading, or even of copying, William's history. During the next four years, when Tyre was the chief base of operations for the siege of Acre, the men of letters who accompanied the Third Crusade probably also found that library an attractive place of resort. To what extent William's history served them as a source of information, a point of departure, or a model of treatment for their own accounts is likewise indeterminable.

Before 1192 at least one English chronicler was acquainted with the work, though not with the author, for prior to that date he announced his intention of adding his own account of later events in the East to those earlier chronicles which William had written so *eloquenter et eleganter*. Ernoul possessed a copy—probably the earlier version which Balian d'Ibelin had received in 1182—which he used as the basis of the French continuation of William that he wrote, later, in Cyprus. At least one copy was circulating in France early in the thirteenth century, there to become the basis of the work ascribed to Bernard the Treasurer. Jacques de Vitry appears to have found a copy of both the *Gesta*

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clearly was written in 1182. The events which follow in the next book—the marriage of Sibylla and Guy de Lusignan, the hostility of Baldwin IV toward Raymond of Tripoli, and the election of Heraclius as patriarch,—were not of a nature to afford William any pleasure. Balian d'Ibelin, a member of the older nobility whose lands lay close to Tyre, was undoubtedly one of "the friends" who were interested in William's history. It was this Balian whose service Ernoul entered as a young squire, possibly shortly after the death of William. At any rate, Ernoul was serving as Balian's squire in the battle of Hattin in 1187. Nearly a quarter of a century later, Ernoul, then a distinguished jurist of Cyprus, undertook to write his continuation of William's history. A number of his statements, including the story of William's death at Rome, are so clearly contradicted by William's own statements (Prologue, Books XXII and XXIII) as to suggest that the copy of William's history which he had did not include these later portions. This could be most easily explained on the assumption that Ernoul possessed or used a copy which William had sent to Balian in 1182.

[39] Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, I, 560.

regum and the *Gesta orientalium principum* in the bookstores of Damietta in 1218. Pierre des Roches, bishop of Winchester, brought copies of both these works from the Holy Land in 1231, and either these, or copies, were mentioned by Matthew Paris as among the proud possessions of St. Albans.[40] Both Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris derived their accounts of crusading history before the Third Crusade almost entirely from William's history.[41] Perhaps it would not be far amiss to say that thereafter nearly all Latin chroniclers who had occasion to write on crusading history followed the same practice indirectly, when not directly. William's interpretation of that history certainly became the commonly accepted version in England, where its influence may be clearly traced as late as in the standard history of the crusades by Archer and Kingsford.

Nor was William's later influence confined to the clergy and to writers of history. In the story of what the Christian warriors had accomplished in the lands beyond the seas, the whole secular world, including the military nobility and the merchants, took a naturally deep interest. Though the members of this laity had been increasing in literacy, Latin was still an awkward, if not an unknown, medium to most of them. French, however, which was rapidly becoming a universal language for chivalry and commerce, they could both read and write. Probably for this reason, Villehardouin and Robert de Clari composed their accounts of the Fourth Crusade in that tongue, while Ernoul, who had command of both languages, chose also to write his continuation of William's history in French. Similarly, some unknown scribe,

[40] Marianne Salloch is certain that the anonymous Latin continuator of William's history was at work upon his task as early as 1192. It is also probable that the earliest French translation of William's work was made from a twelfth-century manuscript (see L. de Mas Latrie, "Essai de classification des continuateurs de l'histoire des croisades de Guillaume de Tyr," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 5th ser., I, 38–140). It is not clear whether Jacques de Vitry acquired his copy of this work of William at Damietta in 1218 or only the copy of the *Gesta orientalium principum*. It is certain that he possessed both when he wrote his own work. If he did obtain it there, it was probably also a twelfth-century copy. The copy which the bishop of Winchester brought back from the Holy Land in 1231 may have been made in the thirteenth century. Whether Matthew Paris obtained this copy as a permanent possession or made from it his own copy for St. Albans is uncertain, but the unusually beautiful copy of William's work in the British Museum, which is said to have come from St. Albans, is dated in the thirteenth century (Madden, ed., *Historia minor*, I, 163, note 4).

[41] H. R. Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, chronica majora*, II, xxxi.

realizing that William's account would be of interest to this increasing audience, translated it at an early date into a French version, which soon gained wide popularity. Likewise, when Bernard the Treasurer published his continuation in 1232, he accompanied it with a French translation of William's work; and, as new crusades occurred, further additions were made to the various popular versions. This process continued to the very end of the thirteenth century and was carried on in both the East and the West. How many different writers participated in these continuations has not yet been determined. At least seventy-one manuscripts containing a French translation of William's history, together with more or less extensive continuations, are known to be extant.[42] So far, L. de Mas Latrie ("Essai de classification des continuateurs de l'histoire des croisades de Guillaume de Tyr," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 5th ser., I [1871], 38–140) has made the most serious effort to determine the relationship of these differing versions both to each other and to William's original. His work, however, has served mainly to reveal the magnitude and complexity of the problem, which still awaits a definite solution. Meanwhile we are still uncertain whether the first French translation served all these continuators or whether several of them made their own independent translations. In either case, every continuator was consciously or unconsciously persuaded to compose his own addition on the model thus provided.

On the whole, it appears that the accord extended to William's work was based on some wider appeal than its value as a source of information for later historians. It is significant that no subsequent chronicler seems to have felt called upon to improve the quality of his writing. Instead, all appear to have been content to supply their contributions anonymously. This practice began as early as 1192, when one writer—probably an Englishman—undertook to add his account of recent events to those which William had already reported; and it continued as long as crusading armies still marched to the East. Even in the twentieth century, as has been already stated, Pirie-Gordon chose out of deference to William to write an anonymous account of General

[42] If the translations into Italian, Spanish, English, and Norse be included, the number is considerably greater. Riant, who made the count in 1881, felt convinced that the number would be greatly increased if private collections could also be canvassed. The illuminations on most of these manuscripts have made them exceptionally attractive to collectors (see P. Riant, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits de *l'Eracles*" in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 247–56).

Allenby's capture of Jerusalem. And Grousset, whose comprehensive history of the crusades appeared in 1938, twenty years after Pirie-Gordon's account and more than seven and a half centuries after William's, frankly accepted not only William's plan but most of his words as well. All this tribute bears testimony to the fact that, in a sense, William has established a norm for the writing of crusading history.

It is probable, indeed, that his influence upon later historical literature was even wider than has been suggested. He may have supplied to later historians not only information which they used, but also something of his own broader conception of the scope of history and of the functions of the historian. His tolerance, his sympathetic interest in a varied range of human activities, above all his impartiality and his courage in applying to the men of his own times, whatever their station, the same standards that he applied to other men and other times—all these virtues his superior historical outlook reflected. It would be interesting to know to what extent the later historians who reveal some of the same qualities were indebted to him.

The question is made all the more intriguing in the use of William's work by Matthew Paris, commonly recognized as the greatest English historian of the Middle Ages. In the manuscript of Matthew's *Historia minor*, there is a marginal notation that the writer had personally obtained the copy of William's work from Bishop Peter of Winchester, who brought it from the Holy Land in 1231. The excerpts which Matthew made from it are almost identical with those made by Roger Wendover, historiographer of St. Albans to 1235. Matthew, who succeeded Roger in that position, was probably already acting as his understudy during the previous years. It is not improbable that Roger had Matthew prepare those excerpts for his own chronicle. If so, it is interesting to speculate how deeply Matthew's own conception of history may have been modified by such careful study of William's history on the threshold of his own career. Doubtless part of the difference between his own general outlook and that of Roger Wendover is to be ascribed to the influence of William of Tyre. Matthew's work was to serve for centuries as the model of historical composition for later English historians, if not also for the historians of continental Europe.

It is always difficult to establish the indebtedness of later writers to any single author for such intangible values as are involved in a broader conception of their tasks. In the case of William, it is particu-

larly hard to trace this relationship, for, in the prolonged process of copying and recopying the French version of his work to accommodate the later continuations, all traces of his original authorship gradually became obliterated. The predominantly lay interest served by the French version led, even in the first translation, to the omission of much of William's ecclesiastical matter. In the later versions even the personal allusions originally preserved in the third person disappeared. So completely, indeed, were all traces of his authorship erased by the fourteenth century that the Dominican, Franciscus Pipinus of Bologna, retranslated a portion of the work into Latin, ascribing it to Bernard the Treasurer, and remaining quite unaware that it had been originally written in Latin far superior to his own. It is all the more astonishing, therefore, that Caxton, who translated a portion of William's history from a French version into English, correctly ascribed its origin to William.[43]

If William's personal reputation thus suffered in this drift toward anonymity, the total effect of that circumstance was undoubtedly to expand the circle of his influence. For in promoting his own work, each anonymous copyist or continuator gave added circulation to William's. In fact, the number of manuscripts of the various continuations still extant would imply that William's history must have been known in nearly every castle and considerable town in Europe. As perhaps the most widely read chronicle in the later Middle Ages, it could scarcely have failed to help shape the cultivated lay mind. This fact, in itself, must have provided a more appreciative public for those later historians who wrote both in Latin and in the vernacular. Doubtless Joinville and Froissart were familiar with it.

It was probably also through the French versions that William exercised his most important influence on literature. Certainly, as he depicted Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, Nureddin, and Saladin, so do these figures appear in literary works from Dante's *Divine Comedy* down to those of our own day. His history continued to furnish material and inspiration for literature, even though, in the process of borrowing, later writers lost all touch with the original

[43] L. A. Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum scriptores ab anno aerae christianae 500 ad 1500*, Vol. IX. It is no less remarkable that the learned editor who selected this excerpt from Pipino's chronicle should have been unaware of William's Latin original. In contrast, Caxton's identification of the authorship of only a portion of the account which he obtained from its French translation seems truly remarkable.

work. Both literature and history are therefore the richer for the contributions which William made to each field. That he has not received full recognition in either is doubtless due to the prepossession of later scholars with national concerns. Historians interested in the crusades or the Near East of the twelfth century have not failed to appreciate his greatness, but his true place in both history and literature remains still to be appraised.

EDITORIAL PROBLEMS

The edition of William's history used as the basis of this translation is that prepared by A. Beugnot and A. Le Prevost for the French Academy. It is still, though made nearly a century ago, the best edition available. A critical edition, in accord with the best modern scholarship, has not as yet been undertaken. The task involves not only the collation of all existing manuscripts of the Latin version, but also a careful comparison with the various Old French versions, which are even more numerous. Mas Latrie has indicated the magnitude of the latter problem. Neither the edition of the Old French version included with the Latin by Beugnot and Le Prevost nor the edition by P. Paris quite meets the needs of modern scholarship. Perhaps the preparation of such an edition of William's work will require the collaboration of several scholars and years of time. It is, however, a highly desirable undertaking, all the more so in view of the importance of William's text in the literature of the crusades.

The present translation has been done by Mrs. Babcock. Her aim was to present to English readers a clear account of William's story of the crusades and of the kingdom of Jerusalem. To accomplish this end, she found it necessary to break up the occasional long periodic sentences of the original and to paraphrase some of William's idioms. While, therefore, this translation is not quite literal, it has nevertheless been kept as close to the original as the demands of clarity would permit. The style of any writer usually suffers in translation, and that has doubtless happened in the case of William. Yet anyone familiar with the original will probably be pleasantly surprised to find how much of his style the translator has managed to preserve.

The transliteration of proper names, whether of place or person, is always a vexing problem in dealing with medieval sources. In the translation of William's history, this difficulty has been many times

multiplied in that so much of the scene is laid in the East. There many great civilizations have flourished, each leaving not only archaeological remains but also active traditions. There almost any city or landmark has borne in succession well-known Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Arabic names, all in turn modified by Latin occupation. Hither came pilgrims from every point of the compass, with dialects as varied as the regions from which they sprang; and all were naturally anxious to identify many places of Scriptural fame. William, whose life was spent in the midst of all this confusion and whose learning gave him contact with all of these elements, could not fail to reflect this varied influence. He, too, indulged occasionally in the practice of identifying places of Scriptural and other ancient interest, in such cases offering two or more names by which such sites were formerly known. In other instances, he uses only the one name—Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Latin, or French—by which the place in question was most commonly known in his day.

The translation of these names into modern terminology, however, presents additional difficulties, because the region has since undergone further vicissitudes and extended periods of alien occupation with consequent modification of place names. Then, too, must be added the complications introduced by modern scholarship. French and German scholars have contributed the bulk of research on this region and period, using names peculiar to their own languages. Until very recently English scholars have been but little interested in any of the crusades except the third. Consequently there is no standard English form for most of the names either of place or of person. The lack of such a standard evidently accounts for the use of the Old French terminology by the British authorities in Palestine under the mandate. Their map of Palestine in Biblical times—a period in which long English usage has established accepted spellings—was issued in English. For the period of the crusades, however, the British authorities appear to have been baffled and finally decided to issue their map with the Old French names.[44] Inasmuch as these names were not standardized originally, are relatively cumbersome in spelling, and seldom occur in conventional atlases, this solution of the problem has not been very helpful.

[44] *Palestine of the Crusades*, compiled, drawn, and printed under the direction of F. J. Salmon, Commissioner of Lands and Surveys, Palestine, from information supplied by the Department of Antiquities and Père Abel of the École biblique et archéologique française.

The choice of names for the purposes of this translation has, therefore, of necessity been arbitrary. The example set by the editors of the *Cambridge Medieval History* in their map of "Latin States in Syria" has seemed eminently sensible.[45] In general, in the case of the older and better-known places, the names used in Biblical times have been adopted. In some instances, as in the case of the town known variously as Neapolis, Naples, Naplouse, Nabulus, the modern form, Nablus, seems simpler and less confusing and is therefore preferred. In the case of the more obscure and minor places where the identification of a place is uncertain, William's name for it has been retained. In a few instances, particularly of fortresses and castles which figure only in the history of this period, the Old French names are used. It is hoped that this practice will not unduly tax the ingenuity of the reader who wishes to locate these places in the atlases.[46]

The names of persons offer no less perplexing problems. Family names were quite uncommon in Western Europe at the beginning of the twelfth century. In fact, the use of these cognomens was partly the outgrowth of the confusion created by the occurrence of so many similar or identical given names in the armies of the crusades or among the throngs of pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land. In many instances the surname was derived from the place of origin in Europe, but many other devices for specific identification occur. Difficult as was the problem in the case of the Latins who came from various parts of Western Europe, the unfamiliar names of the Eastern peoples added greatly to the difficulties of the Latin writers who tried to record them. Most of these chroniclers learned those names only by hearsay, filtered through a variety of speech and accent, and did the best they could to transliterate the resultant impression. Little wonder, then, that some of these names appear in no less than ten different forms in various accounts or even that the same chronicler may write the same name in several different ways in the course of one account. T. E. Lawrence, the almost legendary hero of the World War, who was faced with the

[45] *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. V, map 51.

[46] The standard historical atlases (e.g., W. R. Shepherd) contain the more important places mentioned as pivotal points in William's detailed geographical descriptions. The most complete and accurate maps of Syria now available are those of R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*. The sketch maps prepared for Grousset's history are based upon those of Dussaud and are especially adapted to the history of the crusades. The map of the Palestine Survey is useful only for Palestine.

same problem in chronicling his adventures in Arabia and Palestine, remained quite unabashed when his publishers found him guilty of the same error.[47] William, who derived his material from so many different sources, written and oral, Latin, French, Arabic, and Greek, and whose history was written at intervals over a period of nearly twenty years, was peculiarly liable to such errors. Under the circumstances it is truly remarkable that he did not commit many more than he did. La Monte, whose researches in genealogy of crusading leaders have involved extended study of this history, has paid high tribute to the general accuracy of William's information.

For the reader's benefit, the editors have sought to use the same name for the same individual throughout. Very few of the persons mentioned by William have attained a standard English name. Where they have, e.g., Godfrey of Bouillon and Saladin, these are used by preference. The largest proportion of Western names in William's account were of French origin. The men came from the regions of France or adjacent to it, and many of those who came from England or the Norman states of Southern Italy still bore French names. Where the individual is identified by the place of his origin in France, the modern French form of the place and the French preposition have been used even though the given name, if common in the English-speaking world, appears in English. In other cases the French form is used in full. The English preposition is arbitrarily used where the individual is identified by the fief which he holds in the East. Persons from other parts of Europe, whose places of origin have been clearly identified, are cited by the name now assigned to their respective regions. Latin names have been used where the identification of the individual is uncertain and most frequently in the case of the clergy. Occasionally even more arbitrary decisions have been made in order to avoid confusion. For example, Amalricus is a name borne simultaneously by a king of Jerusalem and by the patriarch of Jerusalem, while the contemporary patriarch of Antioch has the closely similar name of Aimericus. All of these are mentioned frequently. The king, therefore, appears as Amaury, the patriarch of Antioch as Aimery, and the patriarch of Jerusalem as Amalrich.

More help is now available in the case of Eastern names, which proved so troublesome to twelfth-century chroniclers. Thanks to the

[47] T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, publisher's note, pp. xv–xvi.

efforts of Lane-Poole [48] and to the editors of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, a high degree of standardization has been attained in the transliteration of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Egyptian names. Some of these names, however, appear here in their more familiar English form, as, for example, Saladin, Nureddin. The sensibilities of the Arabists have been respected in the use of their preferred "Muhammad," which is spelled in six different ways in the Latin text of William, but in most cases the editors have had to content themselves with an approximation rather than an attainment of the desired standard. Fortunately, the *History of the Arabs* by Hitti, which contains most of these Eastern names in their standardized form, is now generally available.

Terms describing institutions, customs, practices, and devices no longer used or peculiar to certain localities and times have been a source of perplexity. Some of these—as, for example, many feudal terms—do have modern equivalents or have become expressed in distinctive English terminology. Others, such as the honorific titles used by the Greeks and other Eastern peoples, have no exact English equivalents. In these cases it has seemed best to adopt the term used in the Latin text.

The editors have sought to reproduce the text of William's history as faithfully as the process of translation has permitted. His divisions of the work, which he appears to have made in 1184, have been retained. It has, however, been necessary to supply captions for the books, for which he devised no titles. The captions for the chapters have been retained as he wrote them. Where names of persons or places have been standardized for the sake of clearness, William's original spelling of them has usually been reproduced at the first mention. At other times, his form has been indicated in the notes. His revisions, repetitions, and occasional inconsistencies have been retained as they appear in the text. The editorial comment offering corrections has been reserved for the notes. His errors, chiefly chronological, have likewise been retained, and corrections have been made in the notes. His quotations from antecedent literature, Scriptural, classical, and medieval, where these have been identified, are likewise cited in the notes. William's great familiarity with Scripture led him frequently to combine phrases from several verses as suited his needs. At times, too, he has paraphrased verses. These instances, when identified, have been men-

[48] S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties, passim.*

tioned in the notes. The King James version, more familiar to most English readers, has been used as the guide in this translation. In some instances, however, where William's quotation is either missing from the King James version or translated in a different sense, the Douay version has been followed. These exceptions are indicated in the notes. It has been the aim of the editors to keep the notes down to a minimum while at the same time supplying the reader with sufficient information to clarify the text. Doubtless they have erred on one side or the other more often than they have known. For the help of the reader who desires more information, however, the notes include references to works of modern scholarship which deal with the various matters more fully. Many of these works are cited in abbreviated form after the first mention in each book. A complete list of works cited with their full titles is included in the bibliography.

A History of
DEEDS DONE BEYOND THE SEA

PROLOGUE

William, by the grace of God unworthy minister of the Holy Church at Tyre, to the venerable brethren in Christ to whom the present work may come: Eternal salvation in the Lord.[1]

THAT it is an arduous task, fraught with many risks and perils, to write of the deeds of kings no wise man can doubt. To say nothing of the toil, the never-ending application, and the constant vigilance which works of this nature always demand, a double abyss inevitably yawns before the writer of history. It is only with the greatest difficulty that he avoids one or the other, for, while he is trying to escape Charybdis, he usually falls into the clutches of Scylla, who, surrounded by her dogs, understands equally well how to bring about disaster. For either he will kindle the anger of many persons against him while he is in pursuit of the actual facts of achievements; or, in the hope of rousing less resentment, he will be silent about the course of events, wherein, obviously, he is not without fault. For to pass over the actual truth of events and conceal the facts intentionally is well recognized as contrary to the duty of a historian. But to fail in one's duty is unquestionably a fault, if indeed duty is truly defined as "the fitting conduct of each individual, in accordance with the customs and institutions of his country." On the other hand, to trace out a succession of events without changing them or deviating from the rule of truth is a course which always excites wrath; for, as says the old proverb, "Compliance wins friends; truth, hatred." [2] As a result, historians either fall short of the duty of their profession by showing undue deference, or, while eagerly seeking the truth of a matter, they must needs endure hatred, of which truth herself is the mother. Thus all too commonly, these two courses are wont to be opposed to one another and to become equally troublesome by the insistent demands which they make.

In the words of our Cicero, "Truth is troublesome, since verily from it springs hatred which is poisonous to friendship; but compliance is even more disastrous, for, by dealing leniently with a friend, it permits

[1] In this, his final revision, William is addressing himself clearly to a reading audience. Originally he addressed his work to King Amaury and later probably to King Baldwin IV, both of whom preferred to listen to his reading of it.

[2] Terence *Andria* I. i. 41.

him to rush headlong to ruin" [3]—a sentiment which seems to reflect on the man who, in defiance of the obligations of duty, suppresses the real facts for the sake of being obliging.

As for those who, in the desire to flatter, deliberately weave untruths into their record of history, the conduct of such writers is looked upon as so detestable that they ought not to be regarded as belonging to the rank of historians. For, if to conceal the true facts about achievements is wrong and falls far short of a writer's duty, it will certainly be regarded as a much more serious sin to mingle untruth with truth and to hand to a trusting posterity as verity that which is essentially untrue.

In addition to these risks, the writer of history usually meets with an equal or even more formidable difficulty, which he should endeavor to avoid in so far as in him lies. It is, namely, that the lofty dignity of historical events may suffer loss through feeble presentation and lack of eloquence. For the style of his discourse ought to be on the same high plane as are the deeds which he is relating. Nor should the language and spirit of the writer fall below the nobility of his subject.

It is greatly to be feared, therefore, that the grandeur of the theme may be impaired by faulty handling and that deeds which are of intrinsic value and importance in themselves may appear insignificant and trivial through fault in the narration. For, as the distinguished orator remarks in the first *Tusculan Disputation,* "To commit one's thoughts to writing without being able to arrange them well, present them clearly, or attract the reader by any charm is the act of a man who foolishly abuses literature and his own leisure." [4]

In the present work we seem to have fallen into manifold dangers and perplexities. For, as the series of events seemed to require, we have included in this study on which we are now engaged many details about the characters, lives, and personal traits of kings, regardless of whether these facts were commendable or open to criticism. Possibly descendants of these monarchs, while perusing this work, may find this treatment difficult to brook and be angry with the chronicler beyond his just deserts. They will regard him as either mendacious or jealous —both of which charges, as God lives, we have endeavored to avoid as we would a pestilence.

As for the rest, there can be no doubt that we have rashly under-

[3] Cicero *De amic.* xxiv. 89.

[4] Cicero *Tusc. disput.* I. iii. 6.

taken a work far beyond our powers, in the accomplishment of which our language is entirely inadequate to the grandeur of the subject. Nevertheless, we have accomplished something. For just as those who are inexperienced in painting and not yet admitted to the secrets of the art are allowed usually merely to trace out the first design of a picture and apply the rough colors, while later the hand of a more skilled artist adds, with nobler colors, the finishing touches of beauty, so we, ever adhering strictly to the truth from which we have in no wise departed, have laid, at the expense of much effort, the foundations upon which a wiser builder by his excellent treatment may erect a more finished structure.[5]

In view of the many dangerous complications and pitfalls attending this task, it would have been far safer if I had remained silent. I ought to have held my peace and forced my pen to rest. But an insistent love of my country urges me on, and for her, if the needs of the time demand, a man of loyal instincts is bound to lay down his life. She spurs me on, I repeat, and with that authority which belongs to her imperiously commands that those things which have been accomplished by her during the course of almost a century be not buried in silence and allowed to fall into undeserved oblivion. On the contrary, she bids me preserve them for the benefit of posterity by the diligent use of my pen.[6]

Accordingly we have obeyed her behest and have put our hand to a task which we can not with honor refuse. We care but little what the criticism of posterity concerning us may be, or what verdict may be given as to our feeble style of writing while dealing with a subject so noble.

We have, forsooth, obeyed. Would that the result might prove to be as effective as the zeal with which it has been done! Would that it might be as worthy of praise as it is devoted! Drawn by the charm

[5] This figure of speech suggests William's acquaintance with large-scale painting, which may seem strange to those who associate such painting only with a later period in European history. William, however, alludes elsewhere to paintings, notably at Antioch and at Constantinople, and Vasiliev notes an instance of such painting by Byzantine artists in Palestine during William's time (A. A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 179).

[6] Such an expression of devotion to the abstract ideal of a "nation" is very unusual in the twelfth century, when feudal loyalty to person still prevailed almost everywhere. Only the church had commanded such abstract loyalty. This passage, therefore, marks one of the earliest and clearest instances of the expression of nationalism.

of our native soil, disregarding the inadequacy of our powers and the labor involved, not relying on the aid of genius but moved by genuine affection and sincere love, we have entered upon this task.

To these incentives there was added the command of King Amaury I, of illustrious memory and distinguished record in the Lord (may his hallowed soul enjoy rest!). This command, together with many other urgent reasons, induced me to undertake this work. Moreover, at the order of the king, who himself furnished the necessary Arabic documents, we have also written another history.[7] As the principal source for this we have used the work of the venerable patriarch of Alexandria, Seith,[8] son of Patricius. This history begins from the time of the false prophet [9] Muhammad and extends through five hundred and seventy years [10] even to the present year, which is the 1184th of the Incarnation of the Lord.[11]

For the present work, however, we have no written source, either in Greek or Arabic, to guide us. Except in the case of a few events which we ourselves witnessed, we have depended upon tradition alone.[12] We have followed the order of events. It begins with the departure

[7] For the fate of this work see Introduction, p. 26.

[8] *Said ibn-Batrick* in the Arabic but better known to the West under the Latinized form of the Greek translation of the name, Eutychius, son of Patricius. He was born in Egypt in 879 and became famous as a physician. He was for many years Greek patriarch of Alexandria. His history of the Arabs, which extended from the time of Muhammad up to 937, was published with a Latin translation by Edward Pocock (*Contextio gemmarum, sive Eutychii annales*).

[9] Literally, "Seducer."

[10] This number is derived from the Arabic count of years. That William should here use it as though it were the equivalent of the Christian year 1184 is strange. As a round number 580 would have been better, for 570 A.H. extended from August 1, 1174, to July 21, 1175, whereas 580 A.H. reached from April 13, 1184, to April 3, 1185. Elsewhere—several times in fact—he uses 570 as equivalent to 1182, though on one occasion (Book XIX, chap. 21) he employs the exact equivalent 577 A.H. The persistence of the figure 570 in his mind, therefore, would seem to indicate some special significance. The year 570 A.H. was the year of the death of King Amaury at whose insistence he had written the work. It is possible that he had originally closed his history of the *Princes of the Orient* at that date and thereafter thought of it as covering a span of five hundred and seventy years. If, as there is every reason to believe, he worked in great haste toward the end of the present work, this habitual thought might have recurred, even though he had actually added to the other work.

[11] This is the last date mentioned in the book. It is cited again toward the end of the preface to Book XXIII where the phrase "if life be granted to us" (*vita comite*) also occurs. These two passages were probably the last which he wrote.

[12] This statement is somewhat misleading. William could have had in mind only what he had written since 1180, of which this statement was entirely true. The earlier portion of his work, written before 1174, was chiefly derived from previous chronicles, to whose use he several times refers.

of those brave men and leaders, beloved of God, who, at the call of the Lord, went out from the kingdoms of the West and appropriated with a strong hand the Land of Promise and practically the whole of Syria. Starting from that point, we have continued the history with great fidelity over a period of eighty-four years, to the reign of Baldwin IV, who holds the seventh place in the list of kings, if Lord Godfrey who first ruled there as duke be included.[13] In order that anyone who is interested may be more fully informed about the condition of the oriental lands, we have set down first,[14] briefly and concisely, at what time they lay under the yoke of servitude and how intense were the sufferings endured. We have also described the condition of the faithful, who, in this intermediary period, dwelt among the infidels in this land, and then, what it was that, after so long a period of bondage, roused the princes of the kingdoms of the West to assume the responsibility of a pilgrimage for the purpose of liberating their brethren.

If the reader will consider the many different cares which rest upon us, he will realize that we are greatly wearied by the variety of these demands. First, we have great responsibility in matters relating to the famous metropolis of Tyre, which rests under the protection of God, and over which we have been chosen to preside, not because of any merit of our own, but by the grace of God alone. Secondly, we have charge also of the business of the lord king, in whose sacred palace we hold the dignity of chancellor. Various other pressing matters which arise from time to time also demand our attention.[15] Taking these facts into consideration, the reader will then be more inclined

[13] The practice of the chancery of Jerusalem, over which William still presided, was to reckon the years of the kingdom and the number of reigns from the coronation of Baldwin I in 1100. Godfrey, who was the first ruler of Latin Jerusalem from August, 1099, to July, 1100, had refused the title of king, preferring the more pious title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre." This is an excellent illustration of the effect of William's belated decision to correct the slight upon Godfrey's fame involved in his omission from the list of kings. The habits of a lifetime of reckoning otherwise proved too stubborn to overcome even here. After correcting the place of Baldwin IV in the list of the kings to seventh from the customary sixth, he failed to correct the years of the kingdom, which should then have been eighty-five instead of the customary eighty-four. See Introduction for discussion of William's chronology.

[14] The translation does not bring out the full meaning of William's *praemissimus* which indicates that the inclusion of this oriental material was an afterthought and not part of his original plan. He "prefaced" or "set down before" what he had already written, the summary of the earlier portion of his *Gesta orientalium principum*.

[15] For the account of his life and activities see Introduction, pp. 4–28.

to grant us indulgence if he finds in the present work anything to which he may only too justly take exception. For when one is occupied with many varied interests, it is impossible for the mind to respond with the same vigor and give careful consideration to each subject. It is impossible to devote as much effort to each individual interest, when the attention is divided in this way, as when mental energy is applied wholly to one thing. Under such circumstances one more readily deserves pardon.

The whole work has been divided into twenty-three books and each of these into a certain number of chapters, that the reader may more easily find whatever he seeks in the different parts of the narrative. It is our intention, if life be granted us, to add from time to time to what has already been written those events of our own era which the vicissitudes of the future may bring forth, and to increase the number of books as the amount of subject matter may warrant.[16]

We are convinced, nor are we wrong in the belief, that this work gives plain evidence of our inexperience. By writing it, in our desire to obey the dictates of affection, we have betrayed those defects which might have been concealed if we had remained silent. Yet we prefer to be found lacking in that which puffs up rather than in that which edifies. For many who have come to the wedding feast without the former have been deemed worthy to sit at the table of the king, but those who have been found among the guests without the latter qualification well deserve to hear the words, "How camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment?" [17] May the Lord, who alone is able to avert it, in His gracious mercy prevent this fate befalling us!

We know well, however, that error is ever wont to attend a multitude of words,[18] and that the tongue of a poor mortal easily incurs guilt. In a spirit of brotherly affection, therefore, we invite and exhort our reader in the Lord, that, if he finds a real point to criticize, he seize upon it without hesitation, with true kindness, and, by correcting our sin, win for himself the reward of eternal life.[19]

[16] This was written in 1184. The first part of the preface to Book XXIII reveals a different state of mind and a decision to end his writing in 1182. It is not clear whether he made the division into books then or at the later date. Possibly some of the twenty-first book, certainly all thereafter, were written after 1182.

[17] Mat. 22: 12.

[18] Prov. 10: 19.

[19] This recognition of the possibility—rather the certainty—of error in his work is a further tribute to the scholarly quality of William's mind. Not infrequently medieval writers, like Gregory of Tours, invoked anathema on anyone who should change even a line of their writing.

May he also remember us in his prayers and thereby win favor for us with the Lord, that, wherever in this work we have fallen into error, it may not be imputed to us for death. May the Saviour of the world, out of His abounding goodness and never-failing mercy, graciously pardon us, for we, wretched and unprofitable servitor in His house, are accused beyond measure by our own conscience and with justice dread His tribunal.

THE PROLOGUE IS ENDED

THE FIRST BOOK BEGINS

CHRISTIANITY AROUSED FOR THE RELIEF OF JERUSALEM: PETER THE HERMIT AND OTHER BANDS BEGIN THE MARCH

1. *Relates how, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius, Omar, son of Khattab, the third leader of the Arabs after Muhammad, seized all Syria.*

In the time of the Roman Emperor Heraclius,[1] according to ancient histories and Oriental tradition, the pernicious doctrines of Muhammad had gained a firm foothold in the Orient. This first-born son of Satan falsely declared that he was a prophet sent from God and thereby led astray the lands of the East, especially Arabia. The poisonous seed which he sowed so permeated the provinces that his successors employed sword and violence, instead of preaching and exhortation, to compel the people, however reluctant, to embrace the erroneous tenets of the prophet.

When Heraclius returned in triumph from Persia, he brought back with him the Cross of the Lord.[2] He remained for a time in Syria and, while there, ordained the venerable Modestus bishop of Jerusalem. The churches in the Holy City had been overthrown by Chosroes, the wicked satrap of the Persians. Heraclius authorized Modestus to restore these and himself arranged for the necessary expenditure.

At this time, Omar,[3] son of Khattab, the third in succession from

[1] Heraclius, emperor 610–640. Muhammad (571–632) had established his faith and insured its success when he returned to Mecca in A.D. 622. This year was later chosen as the beginning of the Muhammadan era, being known as the year of the Hejira, or in its abbreviated form, A.H. Arabia had been won to the new faith before the death of Muhammad, and the expansion of Islam beyond its borders was also foreshadowed.

[2] War between the Byzantine Empire and Persia had been more or less chronic. There had been a lull in the war when Chosroes II (590–628) came to the throne. Maurice befriended the young king, who was having difficulty with rival claimants. William's account of the renewal of war is substantially correct. During the early years Chosroes II was victorious. He took Jerusalem in 614. The relic of the Cross was returned to Heraclius after the assassination of Chosroes and the defeat of the Persians in 628.

[3] Omar, son of Catab (Khattab) was the second of the so-called orthodox caliphs or "successors" who followed Muhammad. These were Abu-bakr 632–634, Omar 634–644, Uthman 644–656, and Ali 656–661.

Muhammad and the heir both of his kingdom and his false doctrine, had already seized Gaza, a famous city of Palestine, with a countless force of Arabs. With his own legions and a vast horde whom he drew along with him, he then invaded the territory of the Damascenes and seized Damascus. Heraclius himself was at this time in Cilicia awaiting the turn of events.

When the emperor was informed that the Arabs, swollen with presumptuous pride because of their vast numbers, were invading Roman territory and not hesitating to claim the cities thereof as their own, he realized that his strength was not sufficient to encounter such a host and to curb their insolence. He preferred, therefore, to retire in safety to his own land rather than to trust the uncertain vicissitudes of war with unequal forces. But the afflicted citizens had looked to him for their only protection, and, on his departure, the violence of the Arabs increased to such an extent that in a short time they had seized all the country from Laodicea in Syria to Egypt.

In another work,[4] we have explained with great care who Muhammad was, whence he sprang, and the circumstances which led him to the presumptuous folly of claiming to be a prophet sent from God. His manner of life and conversation, the lands over which he ruled, and the duration of his power have also been described. Who his successors were and how those who follow him in the same error spread these wicked doctrines throughout practically the whole world has likewise been set forth, as will appear clearly in the following pages.

2. *Of the circumstances which enabled Omar to seize the East so unexpectedly; and how, when he came to Jerusalem, he ordered the Temple of the Lord to be rebuilt.*

CERTAIN circumstances had made easy this conquest of the Orient. A few years before it took place the Chosroes just mentioned invaded Syria by force of arms. Chosroes destroyed cities and burned the surrounding places; he wrecked churches and imprisoned the people. Then he took the Holy City, put to the sword thirty-six thousand of its citizens, and carried away with him to Persia the Cross of the Lord.

[4] His *Gesta orientalium principum* (see Introduction, pp. 26–27). Prutz conjectures that this paragraph contains the titles of early chapters of that work. As William himself indicates in his prologue, he drew from this other work to provide an introduction for readers of his present work. It is probable that the first seven chapters of this book were taken, in abbreviated form, from that other work.

He likewise led away with him as captives Zacharias,[5] the bishop of Jerusalem, and the surviving inhabitants of the city and the surrounding country.

This powerful Persian potentate had married Mary, a daughter of the Emperor Maurice. The latter was closely bound in the ties of friendship to the blessed Pope Gregory,[6] who received one of the emperor's children at the sacred font. For his wife's sake, Chosroes received baptism and maintained an alliance of friendship with the Romans as long as Maurice lived.

At length the emperor was treacherously slain by Phocas Caesar,[7] who succeeded him on the throne. Thereupon, the king [Chosroes] invaded the empire with an armed force and laid waste the lands belonging to it. For he abhorred the perfidy of those who had received as ruler a wicked man even yet stained with the blood of his lord. He looked upon them as sharers in a secret understanding and confederates in the same guilt. His wife, too, spurred him on in his desire to avenge her father. After he had conquered the other lands which were under Roman domination, he took Syria last of all, as has been stated, and either killed the people or led them away with him to Persia.

Hence, when the Arabs entered the land, they found it abandoned and immediately took advantage of the unexpected opportunity to bring it under their power. They visited the same fate upon Jerusalem,[8] the city beloved of God, but they spared the few inhabitants who still remained there, in order that these might serve them by paying heavy tribute. They allowed the conquered people, however, to restore the ruined churches, to have their own bishop, and to follow the Christian religion without restraint.

During Omar's stay in Jerusalem, he made careful inquiries of the citizens and above all of the venerable Bishop Sophronius, the successor

[5] Zacharias, the predecessor of Modestus, was carried off captive by Chosroes in 614 and held until 628. He died in 631. It is not certain that Modestus, whom he designated to look after Jerusalem, ever held the title of patriarch. Sophronius succeeded in 634 (M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, cols. 249–64).

[6] Gregory the Great, who was pope from 590 to 604. Pope Pelagius II (579–590) had sent Gregory as one of his representatives to the imperial court at Constantinople. He was there when Maurice became emperor in 582. Maurice, who ruled until 602, was greatly pleased when Gregory was chosen pope and refused Gregory's plea not to confirm the election.

[7] Phocas, emperor 602–610.

[8] The Arabs occupied Jerusalem sometime after the battle of Yarmuk in 636, probably in 637.

of Modestus of pious memory, now deceased, about the site of the Temple of the Lord. Titus, the Roman prince, is said to have destroyed this with the city itself. They showed him the place and pointed out the few remaining traces of the ancient pile. Thereupon he directed that it be rebuilt and set aside a sum sufficient to defray the costs. He had workmen summoned and assembled building material of various kinds of marble and woods as suited his pleasure. Within a short time, the building was successfully finished according to the plan which he had in mind, just as one may see it today in Jerusalem.

He then endowed it with numerous rich possessions. The revenues derived from this source were to furnish the means for keeping it in repair, renewing old parts, and maintaining ever-burning lamps through the care of those who served in the temple. But as nearly everyone is familiar with the form and exquisite workmanship of this edifice, it is not within the province of the present work to consider them. Both within and without this building there are monuments of great antiquity, with Arabic inscriptions in mosaic work which are believed to be from this period. On these, the name of the builder, the cost, and the dates, both of the beginning and the completion of the structure, are plainly set forth.[9]

3. *Of how long Syria, under various masters, endured the yoke of servitude; and of how useful to the Christians who lived under the sway of the infidels was the friendship which the magnificent Emperor Charles enjoyed with Harun-al-Rashid, king of Persia.*[10]

THUS the Holy City, beloved of God, was subjected to the domination of unbelieving enemies, because of our sins. During four hundred and ninety years [11] it endured the yoke of undeserved bondage and con-

[9] The reading of this inscription, according to Hitti, is itself evidence of unusual knowledge of Arabic. There is reason for William's doubt about the date of the inscription. The mosque itself was built by Abd-al-Malik in 691, and the inscription was retouched by the Abbassid Caliph, Ma'mun, 813–833, who substituted his own name for that of the builder. The legend that this dome of the Rock was built by Omar is evidently of early origin (P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 220).

[10] The relations of Charlemagne and Harun-al-Rashid rapidly developed into a legend of Charlemagne's protectorate of the Christians in the Holy Land (see E. Joranson, "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," *American Historical Review*, XXXII [1927], 241–61).

[11] Another instance of William's use of the Arabic calendar. The sum, expressed in round numbers for 490 A.H., is equivalent to A.D. 1096 and does not exactly describe the interval between A.D. 637 and 1099 or even that between 614 and 1099.

tinual hardship, though the conditions of that servitude varied. With the frequent shifting of events, it often changed masters, and, according to the character of each prince, it experienced both bright and cloudy intervals. Its condition, like that of a sick man, grew better or worse in accordance with the exigencies of the times, yet full recovery was impossible while it was oppressed by the despotic power of infidel princes and of a nation without God. Nevertheless, peace was vouchsafed to the people of God in the days of that rare and praiseworthy monarch, Harun surnamed Raschid. He ruled over the entire East, and even to this day his liberality, unusual courtesy, and most excellent character are the subject of deep admiration and undying praise in the Orient.

The good will between Harun and the Christians rested on an admirable treaty which the devout Emperor Charles, of immortal memory, brought about through the work of frequent envoys who went back and forth between them. The gracious favor of that potentate was a source of much comfort to the faithful, so that they seemed to be living under the rule of the Emperor Charles rather than under that of Harun. In the life of that famous monarch, we read as follows: "With Harun, king of the Persians, who ruled over almost the entire world except India, his relations were so harmonious that the prince preferred his favor above the friendship of all the kings and potentates of the earth and felt that to him alone honor and magnificence were due. When the ambassadors sent by Charles to visit the Most Holy Sepulchre and the place of the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour came to him with gifts and made known their master's wishes, he not only granted what they asked but gave them possession of that sacred and blessed place, that it might be regarded as placed under the power of Charles. When they returned, he sent his own ambassadors with them as the bearers of magnificent gifts for the king: silken stuffs, spices, and other rich products of Eastern lands. A few years before this, he had sent, at Charles' request, an elephant, the only one which he had at the time." [12]

Charles sent frequent and liberal relief to the faithful who were living at Jerusalem under the power of the infidels and likewise extended the work of piety to those who dwelt in Egypt and Africa under

[12] Eginhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, chap. xvi in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, II, 451, H. Pertz, ed. Cf. translations by S. E. Turner or A. J. Grant.

the ungodly Saracens. In the account of his life, we read as follows: "Since he was very devout, he used to send money to provide for the poor, with a free generosity which the Greeks call *eleemosyna;* for in his deep sympathy with their needs, he took that task upon himself. He did this, not only in his own kingdom, but wherever he found Christians living in poverty, even across the sea, in Syria, Egypt, Africa, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Carthage. The particular reason why he desired the friendship of kings was that he might afford relief and assistance to the Christians living under their power." [13]

If the reader desires to know how often and how intensely Jerusalem, worshipper of God, and the surrounding country as well, suffered under the frequent changes of conditions, circumstances, and rulers, which she experienced during this time of transition, let him read the *History of the Deeds of the Princes of the Orient.* In that work, I have compiled with much labor the chronological record of the events of five hundred and seventy years, from the time of the false prophet Muhammad to the present, which is for us the year 1182 of the Incarnation of the Lord.[14]

4. *How the Holy City came into the power of the caliph of Egypt and how, under the rule of the wicked Hakim, the yoke of servitude became even more intolerable to the faithful; also concerning the destruction of the church at Jerusalem.*

THERE existed at this time a persistent strife between the Egyptians and the Persians, induced by bitter rivalry over the supremacy. The fact that these nations held diametrically opposed doctrines contributed largely to the feeling of hatred between them. Even at the present day,[15] this difference of religious views is the subject of such controversy between the two nations that they hold no communication, for each looks upon the other as sacrilegious. This feeling is carried so far that they wish to be different even in name. Hence, those who follow the tenets of the East are called in their own tongue Sunnites,

[13] *Ibid.*, chap. xxvii.

[14] Arabic reckoning in round numbers. A.D. 1182 = 577 A.H.

[15] The Fatimid Caliphate was brought to an end by Saladin in 1171. The use of this expression here suggests that William had written this during his first period of composition, before 1174, and took it over from his other work without making the necessary correction. William does describe the overthrow of the Fatimid Caliphate (Book XX, chap. 11).

while those who prefer the tradition of Egypt, which apparently inclines more toward our own faith, are known as Shiites. But to explain the difference of error between them does not lie within the province of this work.[16]

As the kingdom of Egypt gradually became more powerful, it seized the provinces and countries as far as Antioch; and the Holy City, among others, fell under its sway, subject to the same laws.[17] Under this headship, the troubles of the Christians were slightly relieved, just as prisoners are ofttimes allowed to enjoy some measure of relaxation. Finally, however, as a just punishment for the wickedness of man, Hakim became caliph of that realm. The sins of this ruler so far exceeded those of his predecessors and successors alike that his name has become proverbial to later generations who read of his madness. This man was so notorious for every form of impiety and wickedness that his life, hateful in the sight of both God and man, deserves a special treatise.[18] Conspicuous among the many other impious acts for which he was responsible was that of the total demolition of the church of the Lord's Resurrection. This church was originally built by the venerable Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, at the command of the Emperor Constantine, and it was later restored by the revered Modestus, in the time of Heraclius.

Yaruk, the governor of Ramlah, one of Hakim's officers, took it upon himself to carry out the imperial command and immediately razed the edifice to the very ground.[19] The head of that church at the time was the venerable Orestus, a maternal uncle of that same wicked ruler. Report says that the caliph used this extreme measure to prove to the infidels that he was loyal to them. For the name of Christian was used as a reproach against him, because he was born of a Christian mother.[20] Hence, desiring to clear himself of that charge,

[16] For a brief discussion of these sects see Hitti, *Arabs*, pp. 439–449 *et passim*.

[17] The Fatimid Caliphate became established at Cairo, which was built to serve as its capital in 973. The expansion into Syria began shortly thereafter.

[18] Modern historians find some good mingled with much malice in the record of this strange creature who was caliph from 996 to 1021 (see Gaston Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642–1517 de l'ère chrétienne*, IV, 198–214).

[19] The destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was begun in 1009 and became the signal for the destruction not only of Christian churches, but also of Jewish synagogues throughout Syria.

[20] The practice of polygamy, sanctioned by Islam, included not only legitimate wives but concubines of slave status as well. Children born of either were regarded

he ventured to perpetrate that crime. In the belief that thereafter no reproaches could be cast against his person and that his rivals would have opportunity for no further malicious attacks, he had overthrown the cradle of the Catholic faith, the fount from which the Christian religion flows.

5. *Concerning the conditions which prevailed at that time among the true believers living in the midst of the infidels.*

From that time the condition of the Christians in Jerusalem became far worse, not alone because of the righteous sorrow which they felt over the destruction of the church of the Holy Resurrection, but also on account of the increased burdens arising from manifold services. Enormous tribute and taxes were demanded from them, contrary to custom and to the privileges granted by their former lords. In addition, they were forbidden to observe the religious rites which, under their various masters, they had been free to practice, both openly and in secret. The more solemn the day, the more strictly were they forced to remain within their own houses. They dared not come forth in public. Even home, however, proved no safe refuge for them. The enemy threw stones and filth and made fierce attacks upon them. On their solemn feast days, especially, they were annoyed beyond measure. For the slightest trivial word, at the demand of any chance accuser, they were dragged away to punishment and torture, without due process of law. Their goods were confiscated, their possessions stolen. Their sons and daughters were snatched away from home and forced, either by the lash or by soft words and promises, to forswear their faith or to suffer on the gibbet.

He who was at the time their patriarch at first bore these injuries and insults, then exhorted his people both secretly and openly to show forbearance; he promised that, in return for the temporal evils which they were suffering, they should have crowns in the life hereafter. Inspired by his words and example, they comforted one another with mutual affection and, for Christ's sake, scorned temporary evils.

It would take far too long to speak of individual cases or to tell of the bodily tortures which these servants of God endured that they

as legitimate, for genealogy was regularly traced through the father. Not infrequently, therefore, children of slave mothers, of Christian, Jewish, or other faiths, attained to high position, often with consequences of the kind here mentioned.

might become heirs in the house of the Lord and emulate the laws of their Father. I will give one example out of many, however, that your grace [21] may understand for what trifling reasons they were hurried off to death.

There was a certain infidel living in the city, a treacherous and wicked man, who persecuted our people with insatiable hatred. This man was determined to devise some scheme that would bring about their destruction. One day, he stealthily threw the carcass of a dog into the temple court, a place which the custodians—and indeed the whole city as well—were most careful to keep scrupulously clean. Worshippers who came to the temple to pray the next morning found the mouldering body of the unclean animal. Almost frantic, they at once roused the whole city with their cries. The populace quickly ran to the temple, and all agreed that without question the Christians were responsible for the act. Need more be said? Death was decreed for all Christians, since it was judged that by death alone could they atone for such an act of sacrilege. The faithful, in full assurance of their innocence, prepared to suffer death for Christ's sake. As the executioners, with swords unsheathed, were about to carry out their orders, however, a young man, filled with the spirit, came forward and offered himself as the sacrifice. "It would be most disastrous, O brethren," he said, "that the entire church should die in this way. Far better were it that one man should give his life for the people, that the whole Christian race may not perish. Promise me that annually you will reverently honor my memory and that the respect and honor due to my family shall be maintained forever. On these terms, at the command of God, I will deliver you from this massacre." The Christians heard his words with great joy and readily granted what he asked. They promised that, on the day of palm branches, in perpetual memory of him, those of his lineage should bear into the city, in solemn procession, the olive which signifies our Lord Jesus Christ.

The young man then gave himself up to the chief men of Jerusalem and declared that he was the criminal. In this way he established the innocence of the other Christians, for, when the judges heard his

[21] *vestra dilectio*, "your grace," a term of direct address used in speech or letter. The use of this expression has been interpreted as a direct reference to King Amaury and therefore written before the latter's death in 1174. It was probably here taken from the *Gesta orientalium principum* and, if so, helps to indicate how far William had progressed in this work before the death of Amaury.

story, they absolved the rest and put him to the sword. Thus he laid down his life for the brethren and, with pious resignation, met death, that most blessed sleep, confident that he had acquired grace in the sight of the Lord.

6. *How the excellent Daher succeeded his wicked father as ruler of the realm; and how, at the entreaty of Romanus, the emperor of Constantinople, the church was rebuilt, by the efforts of John Carianis, Constantine Monomachus furnishing the necessary means.*

At length, divine mercy and compassion visited the afflicted people and brought no slight assistance for their desperate situation. For when that wicked prince [Hakim] was removed from earthly affairs and his son, Daher [Zahir],[22] succeeded to the royal power, persecution from that source ceased. Zahir renewed the treaty which his father had broken, and entered into an alliance of friendship with Romanus,[23] the emperor of Constantinople, surnamed of Heliopolis. At the request of the latter, Zahir granted the Christians the privilege of restoring the church.[24] Yet although they had received this permission, the faithful at Jerusalem well knew that their own means alone were not adequate for the restoration of so important an edifice. They therefore sent an embassy to Constantine Monomachus,[25] the successor of Romanus, who was wielding the scepter at that time. With many humble entreaties, the envoys described the deep sorrow and desolation in which the people had lived since the destruction of their church. Most lovingly they besought him that he would extend the generous hand of imperial munificence toward the rebuilding of the church.

In charge of this embassy was a certain John, surnamed Carianis. He was a native of Constantinople, noble according to the flesh but still more noble in character. He had laid aside the honors of the world to follow Christ and put on the habit of religion and was then living

[22] Zahir, caliph 1021–1036. [23] Romanus III, emperor 1028–1034.

[24] William has simplified this account somewhat. Negotiations for the rebuilding of the church were actually begun under Zahir but not concluded until the time of his successor in 1038. It was one of the provisions of a treaty between Constantinople and Cairo.

[25] Constantine IX, emperor 1042–1055, not the immediate successor of Romanus III. The rebuilding of the church was completed during his reign and with his help in 1048.

at Jerusalem, a poor man for Christ's sake. He was sent on this mission and, with all due persistence and energy, faithfully presented the matter to the lord emperor, beloved of God. He succeeded in obtaining from Constantine the promise that sufficient money to carry on the work of restoration should be taken from the emperor's own fiscal purse. John then went back to Jerusalem, rejoicing that he had obtained the promise which the faithful so eagerly desired. When the news was received that his journey had been successful and his petition granted, the spirits of the clergy and people revived; they were like those who are recovering from serious illness. At this time the Patriarch Nicephorus [26] was presiding over that church.

Since permission had been granted and the expenses were assured from the imperial treasury, they built the church of the Holy Resurrection, the same which is now at Jerusalem. This was in the year 1048 of the Incarnation of the Lord, fifty-one years before the liberation of the city, but the thirty-seventh year after the destruction of the church.[27] When the building was completed, the people were comforted for the many deadly perils and imminent dangers to which they were exposed.

Yet repeated wrongs and tribulations under new forms did not cease to afflict that faithful people. They were spit upon and cuffed; they were thrown into chains and prisons; in fact, they suffered incessantly every sort of punishment. Not only upon the Christians who dwelt in Jerusalem was this persecution practiced, but also upon the true believers who lived in Bethlehem and Tekoah. Whenever a new governor came or the caliph sent a representative, fresh insults were devised for God's people, and various methods of extortion invented. When their oppressors desired to exact anything by force from either the patriarch or the people, any delay in rendering obedience was immediately followed by the threat that the church would be pulled down. Nearly every year they endured the same treatment. The overseers pretended that his imperial majesty had given strict orders that, if they ventured to make any delay in the payment of tribute or taxes, their churches were to be razed immediately. Yet, as long as the rule of the Egyptians and Persians continued, the Christians enjoyed somewhat better conditions. But when, in turn, the power of the Turks began to flourish

[26] Nicephorus, presumably patriarch in 1048. Le Quien (*Oriens*, Vol. III, col. 496) has no further information.

[27] William evidently regards 1011 as the date of the destruction instead of 1009 when, according to Wiet (*L'Égypte arabe*, IV, 211), the order was issued.

and their sway was extended over the lands of the Egyptians and Persians, matters grew worse again. The Holy City came under their control and, during the thirty-eight years of Turkish domination,[28] the people of God endured far greater troubles, so that they came to look back upon as light the woes which they had suffered under the yoke of the Egyptians and Persians.[29]

7. *Concerning the origin and ancestry of the Turkish race.*

We shall often have occasion to say a great deal about the Turks in this work; to tell of their prowess against our people and also to relate the splendid deeds of valor which we, in our turn, frequently wrought against them. Since even to the present day they persist in ruthlessly attacking us, it does not seem inconsistent with the present work to

[28] This must be a slip of the pen intended for "twenty-eight," for the Turks gained possession in 1071. Strictly, the length of their domination was twenty-seven years, for the Egyptians recaptured it from them in 1098 while the crusaders were at Antioch.

[29] The connection of the material upon the Orient which William decided to preface to his history of the kingdom with that history proper is made in the next four chapters. This involved some revision of the material already written. In making this revision William evidently decided that his readers would need some explanation of the origin of the Turks and that the proper place to insert this chapter would be in connection with the first mention of them, at this point. It is evidence of the haste with which he was making this final revision that the material which originally followed here became scattered. The detailed description of the sufferings of the Christians under the Turks, which logically follows next, will be found in the fourth paragraph of the tenth chapter. Whether the present ninth chapter followed immediately after the sixth, and the present eighth chapter held some other place, perhaps before the present thirteenth chapter, is difficult to determine. The present title of the tenth chapter does not describe its contents. The last half of the chapter could be fitted perfectly to the end of the present sixth chapter, and almost as well to the end of the present ninth chapter, and serve as the transition to the first half of the tenth chapter upon which the eleventh chapter follows naturally. The final sentence of the tenth chapter indicates that it once served as the transition from his original introduction or preface to the narrative proper. It is probable that the mangling of these chapters reflects not one but three or even more revisions by the author.

Chapter 8, which Hagenmeyer regards as an elaboration of some statements in the opening of Fulcher's account, may well have been the original introduction to the *Gesta Hierosolymitanorum regum*. Chapter 9, drawn from his general knowledge of eastern affairs, completed the preliminary survey of affairs in the East. The last part of chapter 10 follows naturally, whereas the first part of the chapter belongs rather to the story of Peter the Hermit, chapters 11 and 12, with which Albert of Aix began his account. Material from Fulcher and Albert are combined in the next, the thirteenth chapter. These chapters, except for their rearrangement and connecting sentences, are probably as he wrote them about 1170. The first six chapters may have been "premitted" when he resumed writing at the end of 1180 or even when he decided to end his writing in 1182. The insertion of chapter 7, a well-rounded essay on the origin of the Saljuqs, was clearly a later decision, perhaps a part of his final writing in 1184. Hasty revisions prevented any effective harmonizing of the materials.

insert some account of the rise and early history of this race and to tell of their progress toward that stage of excellence which, according to accounts, they have for many years maintained.

The race of Turks or Turkomans (for they are of the same stock) came originally from the north. They were a very rude people with no fixed place of habitation. They were constantly roaming about here and there in search of the best pasture for their flocks. They had no cities or towns or permanent place of abode anywhere. When they wished to change their location, the people of the same tribe went together, some elder man of their tribe acting as chief. All questions which arose in the tribe were referred to him, and his word was obeyed by both disputants, for no one was allowed with impunity to set aside his decision. In their wanderings, they carried along with them all their substance: studs of horses, flocks and herds, servants and maidservants; for in these lay all their property.

They paid no attention to agriculture. Buying and selling were unknown to them, for they obtained only by exchange whatever was necessary for existence. When they were attracted by some pleasant grassy place and wished to remain for a time without trouble, they used to send some of their wiser men to ask permission from the lord of the country to pitch their tents there. After they had arrived at an amicable agreement to pay a fixed sum as tribute to the chief who ruled that land, they lived there in the woods and pastures, according to the stipulations made.

It happened that a large company of these people separated from the others and entered the land of Persia, where they found the country particularly adapted to their needs. They paid tribute to the ruler, according to the terms agreed upon between them at the beginning, and remained there for some years, rather longer than was their usual custom. During this time, their numbers increased greatly; indeed there seemed to be no limit to their multiplying. Finally the king [of Persia] and the natives began to regard their great increase with a certain foreboding and, after some deliberation, decided to drive the intruders from the kingdom by force. Later, however, it seemed advisable to alter this plan. New demands were added to the already excessive hardships, while the usual pressure was unrelaxed. It was hoped that this treatment would so exhaust them that they would depart of their own accord without compulsion. They continued, how-

ever, to bear the heavy burden of wrongs and the enormous tribute for many years, but at last, after consulting together, they decided that they could endure it no longer.

When the king learned this, he ordered the herald to proclaim that they must leave the kingdom entirely within a certain fixed period. Accordingly, they crossed the river Cobar, which is the boundary of the kingdom in that direction, and then took the opportunity to survey their vast numbers with more freedom and accuracy than usual. For hitherto they had lived so apart from one another that they had realized neither their numbers nor their power. As they looked at that mighty array they marvelled that such a countless host had tolerated the arrogance of any prince and had endured the bitter ignominy of service and tribute. Clearly they were equal both in numbers and strength to the Persians or any other people. Apparently the only obstacle which prevented them from seizing the neighboring lands by force was the fact that they had no king like other peoples.

They determined to elect a king. They therefore divided off the whole people and found one hundred families of more distinction than the rest. A man from each of these families was directed to bring an arrow. Thus a bundle of one hundred arrows was collected, equal to the number of families. They then called a little boy, opened the bundle, and told him to draw out an arrow from under the covering. The understanding was that the king should be chosen from that family indicated by the arrow drawn in the lot. It chanced that the boy drew out that of the Saljuqs. In accordance with the agreement it was thereupon decreed that the future ruler should be chosen from that family. It was then ordered that one hundred members of the Saljuqs be chosen who in age, character, and valor surpassed the rest of their fellow tribesmen. Each of these men was to present an arrow inscribed with his own name. A bundle was again made and carefully covered. The same boy, or another of equal innocence, was again called and told to draw out an arrow in the same way. He produced the one bearing the name of Saljuq.

Now this man was of fine appearance, of noble family, and of distinguished reputation in his own tribe. Although he was somewhat advanced in years, his bodily vigor was unimpaired and he had had much experience in military affairs. His whole bearing was that of a great prince.

By unanimous consent this man was placed in authority over them and raised to the royal power. To him they showed the reverence which is due to kings and bound themselves by a pledge and solemn oath [30] of fealty to carry out his commands. The king at once employed the power which had been conferred upon him for the good of the kingdom. He ordered the herald to make a public announcement to the assembled people that they were to recross the river with all their legions and seize by force the land of Persia, which they had just left. He furthermore commanded them to occupy the neighboring kingdom that, in the future, they might not be obliged to wander about in the lands of others, exposed to the insufferable arrogance of alien nations.

Within a few years they had conquered, not only the land of Persia, but all the oriental kingdoms and had subdued the power of Arabia and those other nations which were holding the supremacy. It was thus that this lowly and abject people suddenly rose to such a height that they possessed the entire Orient. This occurred barely thirty or forty years before our Western princes entered upon the pilgrimage of which this work treats.[31]

In order to distinguish, in name at least, between those tribes which established a king over them and thereby won great renown and those which still retained their rude and primitive mode of life, the former are now called Turks while the latter are known by their original name, Turkomans.

After they had conquered all the kingdoms of the Orient, they desired to invade the powerful realm of Egypt also. They went down into Syria, subjugated Jerusalem by force, and took several other cities near by. They greatly increased the burdens of the faithful who dwelt there and drove them to the point of exhaustion with manifold services, as we have related already.

[30] William here describes the legal procedure customary in the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem but probably unknown to the Saljuqs.

[31] This interesting legend of the origin of the Saljuqs may have been current in William's day among the Turks themselves. Modern historians accept the origin of the name as that of a tribal leader from Turkestan who flourished in the second half of the tenth century, but the expansion of their power took a longer time. It was a grandson of his who took Bagdad in 1055 and a great-great-grandson who extended the power of the family to its widest extent. For a brief survey of the Saljuqs see the chapter by Herbert M. J. Loewe in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 292–317.

8. *Describes the many forms of wickedness to which the world was subject at that time.*

It was not in the Orient alone that the faithful were thus oppressed by the wicked.[32] In the West too, and in nearly all the circle of the earth, belief had failed, especially among those who were called the faithful, and the fear of the Lord no longer prevailed among men. Justice had perished from the world, and, since equity had been vanquished, violence held sway among the nations. Fraud, treachery, and chicanery overshadowed all things. All virtue had departed and had ceased to exist as useless. Evil reigned in its stead. Verily the world seemed to be declining toward eventide, and the second coming of the Son of Man appeared to be drawing near. For the charity of many had grown cold, and faith was no longer to be found on the earth. Everywhere was confusion, class distinctions were disregarded, and the world seemed to wish to return to its primal condition of chaos. Great princes who were bound to direct their subjects toward peace disregarded their treaties of peace and quarrelled with each other for the most trivial reasons. They burned and plundered lands, seized booty everywhere, and exposed the goods of the poor to be plundered by their wicked followers. Amid so many pitfalls no property was safe. The mere suspicion that a man possessed something of value was deemed sufficient reason for binding him and dragging him off to prison, where he was forced to endure undeserved bodily torture. The goods of monasteries and churches were not spared; nor did the privileges granted by pious princes confer immunity on the possessions of holy places. In fact, the exemption which their high position of dignity had formerly given them was not even claimed. The sanctuary was broken open, and the vessels consecrated to divine service were carried off by force. The hand of sacrilege recognized no difference between sacred and profane objects. There was no discrimination. The booty revealed altar cloths, sacerdotal robes, and utensils for the service of the Lord. From the very heart of the divine abode, from

[32] This chapter is probably a rhetorical elaboration of several sentences at the beginning of the history of Jerusalem by Fulcher of Chartres and was written early in William's career, probably about 1170. It affords an interesting comparison with William's more mature style of the preceding chapter, which he wrote near the end of his career.

the inmost shrines, from the atria of basilicas, fugitives who had taken refuge there were dragged away to torture and death. Evil footpads, girt with the sword, beset the public highways, laying traps for travellers. Neither the pilgrim nor the man of religion was spared.

Nor were the cities and towns free from these dangers, for the ever-lurking assassin made all the streets and squares places of suspicion to the innocent. The more guileless the person, the more liable he was to fall into snares.

Every kind of fornication was practiced openly and without shame, as though it were legitimate. Not even among those connected by blood or marriage were the ties of matrimony safe. Continence, dear to the angels and to God, had been bidden to depart like a worthless thing. Where luxury, drunkenness, and night-long games of chance had already seized the entrance and preëmpted the atrium, there was no room for thrift and sobriety. Nor did the clergy differ from the people by leading nobler lives, but, as we read in the prophets: "Like people, like priest." [33] For bishops had become remiss in their duty, "dumb dogs, they cannot bark"; [34] they received anyone, and their heads were sleek with the oil of the sinner; [35] like hirelings, they left the sheepfolds committed to their care to the attacks of wolves. Unmindful of the words of the Lord where He says, "Freely ye have received, freely give," [36] they did not avoid the sin of simony, being stained with the filthy taint of Gehazi.[37]

Need more be said? In a word, all vice stood on the highest pinnacle and "all flesh had corrupted his way." [38] Nor could the threats of God, shown by portents in the heavens above and signs in the world below, recall those prone to evil ways. There were famines and pestilences, terrors in the sky, and great earthquakes in divers places,[39] and other manifestations such as the Lord carefully enumerates in the Evangel.[40] Yet they persisted in dead works; as "the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire," [41] and as beasts rotting in their own dung, they abused the tender long-suffering of God, as those to whom the Lord might well say, "I have stricken them, but they have not grieved; I have healed them, but they were not healed." [42]

[33] Ho. 4: 9; Is. 24: 2.
[34] Is. 56: 10.
[35] Ps. 141: 5.
[36] Mat. 10: 8.
[37] II Ki. 5: 20–27.
[38] Ge. 6: 12.
[39] Mat. 24: 7.
[40] Lu. 21: 11.
[41] II Pe. 2: 22.
[42] Je. 5: 3; 51: 9.

9. *How, because of man's sins, the Persians seized all the country as far as the Hellespont.*

PROVOKED to anger by these conditions, the Lord suffered the true believers in the Land of Promise to bear the yoke of servitude referred to above and to suffer the intolerable burden of untold tribulations.

Moreover, He roused the adversary, the scourge of the people, the hammer of the whole earth, against others who seemed as yet to be rejoicing in freedom, confident that all was prospering according to their wishes. For while Romanus,[43] surnamed Diogenes, was ruling over the Greeks and successfully administering the realm at Constantinople, there emerged from the interior of the Orient a powerful satrap of Persia and Assyria named Belfeth [Alp Arslan],[44] who drew after him a countless host of infidel peoples. So vast were their numbers, according to report, that the whole surface of the globe was covered with them. Accompanied by chariots and horsemen, and followed by flocks and herds and magnificent equipment of every sort, Alp Arslan moved forward. He entered the land of the empire and subjected it entirely to his power, from the fields without the cities even to the walled towns and strongly fortified castles. There was no one who tried to resist him; no one who, struggling for safety, for wife and children, and, above all, for liberty itself, opposed his progress.

Meanwhile, the emperor had been notified that a mighty hostile army, like an overhanging sword ever threatening to fall, was laying waste the Christian empire. Greatly concerned for the kingdom, he called together his cavalry forces and assembled all the infantry that the entire nation could produce, as the critical situation seemed to demand. Need more be said? With the assembled legions and a large force of knights, he marched against the enemy. With a strong force, indeed, but without divine favor, he met the foe, who had already

[43] Romanus IV Diogenes, emperor 1067–1071.

[44] William is somewhat uncertain about the Saljuq sultans and their activities in Asia Minor at the end of the eleventh century. He never uses the name of Alp Arslan, 1063–1072, or of his son Malik Shah, 1072–1092, by whom the conquest of Asia Minor was achieved. There is reason to believe that he confused the two, for he applies to Alp Arslan the name "Belfeth," which he spells in several ways and which is apparently a phonetic spelling of Abu-l-fath, an honorific title usually applied to Malik Shah (S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties,* p. 153). Their usual names have been substituted in this translation.

seized the very heart of the empire and was now advancing still farther into the interior.

The battle which followed was fiercely contested by almost equal forces, and was actuated by the fiercer hatred which zealous faith and resentment against sacrilege inspires. What more need be said? The Christian army perished, the ranks of the faithful were laid low, the blood redeemed by Christ's blood was poured out by unbelievers, and, worst of all misfortunes, the emperor was taken prisoner. One by one the survivors of the army returned and told of the disaster that had befallen them. The people listened to this news in consternation, and, despairing of their lives and their safety, gave way to grievous lamentations.[45]

Meanwhile, the foe, magnificent but infidel, elated by his great success and rendered still more arrogant by victory, commanded that the emperor be brought before him. Seated upon his royal throne, he ordered Romanus to be thrown beneath his feet, and, to show his contempt for the Christian name and faith, in the presence of the attendant princes, he used the emperor's body as a footstool, mounting and dismounting upon it. Finally, satisfied with inflicting such extreme humiliation, he released the emperor with several of his principal men who had been captured with him and gave them permission freely to depart.[46]

When the news of this insult came to the ears of the princes of the realm, they elected another ruler over them, for they felt that Romanus, who had suffered such bodily indignities, was unworthy to wield the scepter and enjoy the honors of Augustus. He was subjected to the utmost ignominy, being deprived of sight, and was barely granted the privilege of living as a private citizen.[47]

Solimannus [Malik Shah],[48] however, successfully carried out his intentions without hindrance. He seized all the country from Laodicea in Syria to the Hellespont, which flows by Constantinople, a journey of thirty days in length and ten or fifteen in width, and captured all the people therein with their cities and towns. The Lord "gave them

[45] The battle of Manzikart, 1071, in Armenia.

[46] Vasiliev concludes, on the contrary, that Alp Arslan treated the captured emperor honorably (A. A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire,* II, 24).

[47] Michael VIII, emperor 1071–1078, had already usurped the throne before the return of Romanus. He seized the latter and mistreated him as William indicates.

[48] William continues as though the victor of Manzikart were also the conqueror of Asia Minor. Alp Arslan, however, died in 1072, leaving the conquest of Asia Minor to his son, Malik Shah, sultan 1072–1092.

into the hand of the heathen; and they that hated them ruled over them."[49]

Last of all, the chief city [Antioch] was taken. That noble and splendid mistress of many provinces, the first seat of the prince of the apostles, became a tributary of the infidels. Thus, within a comparatively short time, there passed under the sway of the infidels, Coelesyria, both of the Cilicias, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, as well as both provinces of Pontus, Bithynia, and a part of Asia Minor,[50] all noble provinces, famed for resources of all kinds and full of Christian people. The inhabitants were made prisoners. The churches were torn down and the Christian religion relentlessly pursued with the intention of rooting it out. If Malik Shah had had a naval force, there can be no doubt that he would have conquered even the royal city. For he had inspired the Greeks with such terror that they scarcely believed themselves safe within the very walls of Constantinople and regarded the protection of the intervening sea as quite insufficient.

These events and others of a similar nature brought the culminating point of misery to the faithful who dwelt in Jerusalem and the territories thereof. They were plunged into an abyss of despair. For during the former prosperous days of the empire, as has been said, frequent solace had been afforded them in their straits from the imperial palace. The safe and sound condition of the empire and the flourishing state of the neighboring cities—above all, of Antioch—afforded a reasonable hope of liberty some time in the future. But now, anxious for themselves as well as for others, they were harassed to the last degree by sinister rumors; they longed for death rather than life and languished away, convinced that they were doomed to perpetual bondage.

10. *How throngs of believers went to the Holy City together, and of the treatment they received both within and without Jerusalem; and how the city was delivered for a second time into the hand of the Turk.*[51]

IN the midst of the insidious perils of these times, it happened that a numerous company of Greeks and Latins, after risking death in a

[49] Ps. 106:41.

[50] Asia Minor, as here used, is probably intended to designate the ancient province of Mysia, south and west of Bithynia. William does not use the term in the modern sense which would include practically all the provinces here listed.

[51] See note 29.

thousand forms in hostile lands, arrived at the city. They had come for the purpose of worshipping at the venerated places, but the keepers of the gates refused them admittance until they should pay the gold piece which was fixed as tribute money. Those who had lost their all upon the way, however, and had with extreme difficulty arrived in physical safety at their longed-for goal, had nothing with which to pay tribute.

So it happened that more than a thousand pilgrims, who had gathered before the city to await the privilege of entering, died of hunger and nakedness. These people, whether living or dead, were an intolerable burden to the wretched citizens. They attempted to keep alive those who survived by furnishing them with such food as they could. They also made an effort to bury the dead, although their own affairs were beyond their strength. Those pilgrims who paid the usual tribute and received permission to enter Jerusalem brought still greater responsibility upon the citizens. For there was danger, as they wandered about incautiously in their eagerness to visit the holy places, that they would be spit upon, or boxed on the ears, or, worst of all, be furtively smothered to death. Consequently, as the pilgrims hastened to the holy places, the citizens followed them in brotherly kindness. Anxious for their life and safety and full of terror lest some unlucky accident befall them, they hoped in this way to prevent such mishaps.

There was a monastery in the city, belonging to the people of Amalfi, which was called, as it is even yet, St. Mary of the Latins. Close by, also, was a hospital with a modest chapel in honor of the blessed patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almoner.[52] This was under the charge of the abbot of the monastery just mentioned. Here aid was given at any time to wretched pilgrims who arrived under such circumstances, the expense being defrayed either by the monastery or from the offerings of the faithful. Scarcely one out of a thousand pilgrims who came was able to provide for himself. Many had lost their travelling money and were so exhausted by dreadful hardships that they were barely able to reach their destination in safety.[53]

[52] John the Almoner or Almsgiver was patriarch of Alexandria 610–616. He was distinguished for his extensive charities and was particularly dear to Jerusalem because of his help to the Christians there after the sack by Chosroes II in 614. He was the original patron saint of the Hospitallers. His remains are believed to be in the cathedral at Pressburg.

[53] Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had continued through all the centuries of Muslim control, of many of which records have survived (see C. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Mod-*

Thus neither at home nor abroad was there any rest for the citizens. Death threatened them every day and, what was worse than death, the fear of servitude, harsh and intolerable, ever lowered before them. Another thing caused them extreme distress. Even while they were in the very act of celebrating the holy rites, the enemy would violently force an entrance into the churches which had been restored and preserved with such infinite difficulty. Utterly without reverence for the consecrated places, they sat upon the very altars and struck terror to the hearts of the worshippers with their mad cries and whistlings. They overturned the chalices, trod underfoot the utensils devoted to the divine offices, broke the marble statues, and showered blows and insults upon the clergy. The lord patriarch then in office was dragged from his seat by his hair and beard and thrown to the ground like a mean and abject person. Again and again he was seized and thrust into prison without cause. Treatment fit only for the lowest slave was inflicted upon him in order to torture his people, who suffered with him as with a father.

For four hundred and ninety years,[54] as has been stated, this devoted people of God endured cruel bondage with pious long-suffering. With tearful groans and sighs, ever constant in prayer, they cried to God, begging that He would spare them now that their sins were corrected and that, in His great mercy, He would turn away from them the scourge of His wrath. For they had descended into the abyss of evil, whence, "deep calleth unto deep," [55] the depth of misery to the depth of pity, they deserved to be heard by Him, who is the God of all consolation. Finally, the Lord looked with pity upon them from His seat of glory, and, desiring to end such tribulation, determined with fatherly care to comfort them as they desired. In the present work, it is our intention to set down, as a perpetual memorial to the faithful in Christ, the method and ordering of this divine plan by which He purposed to relieve the long-continued affliction of His people.

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ern Geography, I, 125–75; II, 112–27). Joranson has shown that gross mistreatment of the pilgrims also occurred before the conquest by the Saljuqs (see E. Joranson, "The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065," *Munro-Crusades,* pp. 3–43).

[54] See note 11.

[55] Ps. 42:7.

11. *Concerning the coming of the man of God, Peter the Hermit, and of the conference between him and the revered Simeon, patriarch of Jerusalem.*

At the very time when that city beloved of God was undergoing the troubles which we have been describing, there was among the many who journeyed to the venerated places for the sake of devotion and prayer, a certain priest, Peter, from the bishopric of Amiens in the kingdom of the Franks.[56] He was known, both in fact and in name, as the Hermit, and he was drawn to Jerusalem by this same fervor of spirit. As regards the outer man, he was small of stature and insignificant in person; but, "in that small body, a greater valor reigned." [57] He was of vivacious disposition and keen and pleasing eye, and he was not lacking in spontaneous eloquence.

After he had paid the tribute which, by common custom, was imposed on all Christians who wished to enter the city, he was received as a guest by a certain believer who was himself among the number of Christ's confessors. Peter was a diligent man, and he asked many questions of his host about the condition of the Christians. From him he learned full details, not only about the dangers of the present time, but also about the persecution which their forbears had endured for many years previous. Whatever information was lacking by word of mouth he afterwards supplied by the faithful observation of his own eyes. As he went about to the churches during his stay in the city, his own investigations showed him plainly the truth of that which he had heard from others. Hearing that the patriarch of the city was a devout and God-fearing man, he desired to confer with him about the conditions then existing in Jerusalem, and he hoped also to obtain more complete information on certain other matters. Accordingly, he went to see him and was admitted to his presence. Through the offices of a faithful interpreter, the two men enjoyed an agreeable conversation. Simeon,

[56] Peter the Hermit was a picturesque preacher of the crusade through northern France and Rhineland Germany. The legend that he started the crusade arose naturally in that region where he was the first to preach it. Albert of Aix, who lived there, introduced the legend to literature. William accepts it fully. It has ever since made a powerful appeal to the popular fancy. Modern critical scholarship, however, has separated the legend from the facts of his career (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremite, passim*).

[57] Statius *Theb.* I. 417.

the patriarch, perceived from Peter's words that he was a discreet man of varied experience in many matters and of convincing power both in word and deed. He began to explain to him intimately the many woes which were so cruelly afflicting the people of God who dwelt at Jerusalem. Peter's brotherly sympathy was so deeply moved by this recital that he could not restrain his tears. He began to inquire even more earnestly whether it was not possible to find some way out of the troubles which beset them.

The good man replied, "Peter, the Lord, gracious and merciful, refuses to heed our tearful groans and sighs, because of the sins which enchain us. For not yet is our iniquity purged, and therefore, for the present, the scourging ceases not. But, through the ever-abounding mercy of God, the strength of your people, true worshippers of the Lord, is still intact, and their kingdom, the dread of our enemies, flourishes far and wide. If they, in brotherly love, would sympathize with us in our present situation and provide a remedy for the calamities which oppress us; or if they would, at least, intercede for us with Christ, we might hope that our affliction would soon end. We have no hope henceforward of receiving any aid from the empire of the Greeks, although they were more closely connected with us by blood and proximity and have far greater wealth. They are barely able to defend themselves, and their strength has so dwindled away, as your brotherly kindness may have heard, that within a few years, they have lost more than half their empire."

Peter replied, "Know, holy father, that if the church at Rome and the princes of the West had some careful instructor worthy of confidence to tell them about the calamities which you are suffering, without doubt they would endeavor to provide a remedy as quickly as possible by word and deed for these troubles of yours. Write, then, with all diligence to the lord pope and the church at Rome and also to the kings and princes of the Occident and confirm the letter with the seal of your authority. In fact, I, for the healing of my soul, do not shrink from taking this work upon myself. With God as my authority, I am prepared to visit all, to solicit all, to bear witness to your exceeding great affliction with all diligence, and to invite earnestly one and all without delay to provide a remedy."

These words pleased the patriarch and seemed good in his eyes as

well as in those of the Christians about him. Accordingly, with many thanks to the man of God for his sympathy, they gave him the writing for which he had asked.

12. *The revelation made to the same Peter in the church of the Holy Resurrection.*

TRULY, Thou art great, O God our Lord, and Thy mercy is without limit. Verily, kind Jesus, those that trust in Thee shall never be dismayed. For whence came such confidence to a needy and helpless pilgrim, lacking all the qualities that make for influence and far away from his native land, that he dared to take upon himself a mission far beyond his strength, confident that his desire would be successfully accomplished? The only explanation is that he had directed his thoughts toward Thee, his Protector; that, glowing with ardent love, sympathizing with his brethren, and loving his neighbor as himself, he so acted as to fulfil the law. His own strength was not sufficient, yet charity persuaded him. And although the task which his brethren had imposed upon him seemed difficult and well-nigh impossible, nevertheless, love toward God and toward his neighbor made it easy, because "love is strong as death." [58] It is "faith which, working through love," [59] which availeth in you, and the services which you have rendered are not in vain. Thou didst not permit Thy servant to hesitate long but didst manifest Thyself to him and encouraged him by a vision of Thyself, that he might not waver but might rise strengthened to accomplish the work of love.

It happened one day that this servant of the Lord of whom I am speaking was unusually troubled in mind at the thought of returning to his own land and assuming the responsibility of this mission. He accordingly entered the church of the Resurrection of the Lord and turned with deep devotion to the fount of mercy. He passed the night in prayers and vigils and, finally, overcome by the stress of emotion, sank upon the pavement and gave way to the sleep which overpowered him. Deep slumber came upon him, as it is wont to do, and he seemed to see our Lord Jesus Christ standing before him, as in a vision, saying, "Rise, Peter, make haste and do without fear the tasks which have been entrusted to you, for I shall be with you. It is time that the holy places were purged and my servants aided."

[58] Ca. 8: 6. [59] Gal. 5: 6.

Peter awoke, comforted in the Lord by the vision which he had had and rendered more inclined to obedience. In response to the divine admonition, he delayed no longer but at once energetically prepared to return. After offering the usual prayers, he took leave of the lord patriarch, who gave him his blessing, and then went down to the sea. There he found a merchant ship which was about to sail across to Apulia. He embarked, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at Bari. As he was about to set out thence for Rome, he learned that Pope Urban was in those parts. Accordingly, he presented to him the letter of the patriarch and the Christians at Jerusalem. He described their sufferings and the abominations committed by the unclean people in the holy places and executed with diligence and wisdom the commission entrusted to him.

13. *Of the controversy between the Emperor Henry and Pope Gregory VII; and how Urban II, the successor of Gregory, kindly received Peter, returned from Jerusalem.*

SEVERAL years before this time, a serious conflict had arisen over the question of the ring and staff of deceased bishops between Henry, king of the Germans and emperor of the Romans,[60] and Pope Gregory VII, the predecessor of Pope Urban II.[61] A custom had grown up, especially in the empire, of sending the ring and pastoral staff of deceased prelates of the church to the emperor. After a time, the emperor would send to the vacant church someone chosen from his own retinue or one of his chaplains. Without waiting for the election by the clergy, he would then invest him with the duties of pastor in that place. The pope [Gregory VII] felt that it was contrary to all justice that ecclesiastical rights should be trampled underfoot in such a manner and had thrice warned the emperor to cease acting with such abominable presumption. When he found that he could not influence him by salutary warnings, he restrained him with the bonds of anathema.

Thereupon, the emperor, much incensed at this action, began to per-

[60] Henry IV was a child when his father died in 1056. The affairs of the kingdom were conducted under the regency of his mother until 1072. He did not become emperor until 1084, being crowned at that time by the antipope Clement III.

[61] Gregory VII was pope 1073–1085. His vigorous reform policy brought on the so-called Investiture Struggle which William here describes. The struggle was a bitter one. Gregory died in exile in 1085, and Henry IV died excommunicate in 1106. Their respective successors, however, continued the struggle until 1122, when a compromise was reached in the Concordat of Worms.

secute the church at Rome. He raised up, as an opponent to the lord pope, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, a learned man of great wealth.[62] The latter, presuming on the emperor's power and his own vast riches, forcibly expelled the venerable Gregory and seized the apostolic see. So foolish was he and so lacking in sincerity of mind that he really believed himself pope because he was falsely so called.

The unhappy world, lying in wickedness, was, ere this, already following dangerous and unprofitable paths, as we have said. When this schism arose, however, the world sank to still lower depths. Casting aside all reverence for God and man alike, it pursued sinful things and turned away from those that were wholesome. Bishops were imprisoned; any prelate of the church who dared to disagree with the emperor in this obstinacy of his was cast into prison and his goods confiscated, as if he were guilty of manslaughter. They not merely suffered temporary wrongs, but were permanently removed from their sees and successors appointed in their places.

Gregory had fled before the wrath of the emperor into Apulia. There he was kindly received and honorably treated by Lord Robert Guiscard,[63] duke of Apulia, by whose assistance he had escaped the hand of the emperor. He finally went to Salerno where he closed his life upon earth and was buried.

He was succeeded by Pope Victor, who held the see only two months,[64] and who, in turn, was succeeded by Pope Urban, whom we have already mentioned. To avoid the wrath of Henry, successor of the Henry named above, who likewise obstinately persisted in the same wickedness, this pope took refuge in the castles of his loyal nobles, but he was never entirely safe. Although in adversity himself, he received Peter kindly. The venerable man had now returned from Jerusalem and was engaged in trying to carry out the task laid upon him. Urban

[62] Guibert, or Wibert, took the title Clement III. He held Rome until driven out by crusaders in 1097, though his troops held the castle of San Angelo until 1098. He continued to claim the office to the time of his death in 1100.

[63] Robert Guiscard, one of the younger but more famous sons of Tancred of Hauteville, who came from Normandy to establish themselves in southern Italy. Here he became duke of Apulia and sought to extend his power over the Greek peninsula also. He returned from Greece to rescue Pope Gregory from Rome during a siege by Henry IV. His death occurred in 1085 (see C. H. Haskins, *Normans in European History*, pp. 200–206).

[64] Victor III was pope 1086–1087. Urban did not succeed to the throne until 1088, or nearly three years after Gregory VII died. Both, however, continued the policy of their great predecessor and spent most of their time in exile from Rome.

promised on the word of Him whose servant he was that as opportunity offered he would assist him in the mission on which he had come.

Kindled with enthusiasm from on high, Peter traversed all Italy, crossed the Alps, and went about to each of the princes of the West, insisting, rebuking, and censuring. His warning words, aided by divine grace, persuaded some not to delay going to the aid of their brethren who were in such adversity, not to allow the holy places which the Lord had deigned to glorify with His own presence to be profaned longer by the filth of the infidels. Nor was he satisfied to sow this seed among princes alone, but he longed to inspire the common people and men of the lower classes by his pious exhortations to undertake the same duty. As he made his way slowly through kingdoms and nations, devoutly solicitous, he preached the same message to the poorest and most lowly in the faithful execution of his mission. The Lord looked upon his faithful service and granted him such favor that rarely did he call the people together without results. His preaching made him very necessary to the pope, who had decided to follow him beyond the mountains without delay. For in his role of forerunner, he prepared the hearts of his hearers to obey, so that the pope, who wished to persuade them to the same course of action, had less difficulty in attaining his purpose and was able to influence them more readily.

14. *The coming of Pope Urban to the regions beyond the mountains; and concerning the synod held at Clermont.*

It was the year 1095 of the Incarnation of the Lord, in the fourth indiction. Henry IV was reigning in the forty-third year [65] as king of the Germans and in the twelfth as emperor of the Romans, and Philip I, the illustrious king of the Franks, son of Henry I, was ruling in France. Pope Urban saw at this time that the wickedness of mankind had exceeded all bounds and that everything, as if prone to evil, was tending downward. A council of all Italy had just been held at Piacenza, a proceeding greatly needed to correct the excesses of the people.[66]

[65] Should be thirty-ninth year as king, since his father died in 1056. William's relative inaccuracy about events in Germany constitutes one of the chief objections to the claim that his parents came from that region.

[66] This council, held in a region which contained many adherents of the emperor, marks a distinct advance in the fortunes of the papacy. It was attended by representatives of the Eastern emperor, Alexius Comnenus, who are believed to have sought the aid of the pope. (See D. C. Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius I Ask for

After this synod, the pope left Italy to escape the wrath of the emperor, crossed the Alps, and entered the kingdom of France. There he received visible confirmation of the reports he had already heard. Admonitions from on high were everywhere being disregarded, the doctrines of the Gospels were despised, faith had perished, while charity and every virtue were in danger. On the other hand, the kingdom of the adversary, the Prince of Darkness, was open far and wide.

In view of his position, Pope Urban was extremely anxious as to how he might counteract the many monstrous vices and the sins which were unfortunately springing up and involving the whole earth. He determined to call a general council, first at Vézelay, then at Puy. Finally, in the month of November, divine grace attending them, a holy assemblage of bishops and abbots from all parts of the provinces beyond the Alps convened, in God's name, at Clermont, a city of Auvergne. Some of the princes of the same provinces were also present. Here, by the advice of the clergy and God-fearing men, regulations were framed which might tend toward relieving the unsatisfactory condition of the church. Canons were also promulgated which, it was hoped, would assist in the upbuilding of morals and the correction of grievous faults. Peter the Hermit, who felt due responsibility for the message entrusted to him, suggested that these measures might restore the peace which seemed to have perished from the world. At length, Urban turned his attention to his sermon, as follows.[67]

15. *The pope's sermon to the people on behalf of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.*

"You know, dearest brethren, and it is right that you should know, how the Redeemer of the human race, for the salvation of us all, put on flesh and lived as a man among men. With His own presence, He made glorious the Land of Promise as He had promised aforetime to the fathers; and by the works of dispensation which He accomplished,

Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?" *American Historical Review,* XXVII [1921–22], 570.)

[67] This version of Pope Urban's speech must be regarded as an imaginary reconstruction by William. It is not exactly like any of the reports of the speech recorded by persons who were present, though it follows the main points (D. C. Munro, "The Speech of Urban II at Clermont," *American Historical Review,* XI [1905–6], 231–42). William derived much of the language of the speech from the Scriptures, and the skill with which he wove together the Biblical phrases caused Hagenmeyer, himself a clergyman, to hail it as a masterpiece of Biblical quotation.

and by repeated miracles as well, He rendered it famous. This the books of both the Old and the New Testament teach in almost every syllable. It is indeed evident that He loved that land with a very special love, since He deigned to call that part of the earth, or rather, that little spot, His heritage, although the whole earth and the fullness thereof was His.[68] Therefore, He says, by the voice of Isaiah: 'and Israel mine inheritance'; [69] and again, 'For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel.' [70] And although from the beginning He consecrated to Himself the whole land, yet He adopted the Holy City as peculiarly His own, according to the witness of the prophet who says: 'The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.' [71] Concerning this city, glorious things are spoken, because, forsooth, it was there that our Saviour, through His teaching, suffering, and rising again, wrought salvation in the midst of the earth. For this end she was chosen from all eternity that she might be a witness of these things and the peculiar shrine of mysteries. Chosen, in very truth, for He who Himself chose her testifies, saying: 'And out of Jerusalem, the city that I have chosen, shall come a Saviour for you.' [72] But, although because of the sins of her people, God, in His own righteous judgment, permitted her to be delivered again and again into the hands of the wicked, and suffered her to endure for a time the harsh yoke of servitude, it should not be thought that He cast her off as if rejected by Him. For it is written: God 'scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' [73] But He stores up wrath against him to whom He says: 'My jealousy shall depart from thee, and I will be quiet, and will be no more angry.' [74] Therefore, He loves her, nor has the fervor of His love toward her grown cold to whom He says: 'Thou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God. Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken . . . but thou shalt be called [Hephzibah] . . . for the Lord delighteth in thee.' [75]

"The cradle of our faith, the native land of our Lord, and the mother of salvation, is now forcibly held by a people without God, the son of the Egyptian handmaiden. Upon the captive sons of the free woman he imposes desperate conditions under which he himself, the

[68] Cf. Ps. 24: 1; 49: 12; I Cor. 10: 26. [69] Is. 19: 25.
[70] Is. 5: 7. [71] Ps. 87: 2.
[72] Cf. I Ki. 11: 36; Zec. 9: 9. Here, as frequently, William has combined parts of several verses for his own purposes.
[73] He. 12: 6. [74] Eze. 16: 42. [75] Is. 62: 3, 4.

relations being reversed, should by right have served. But what is written? 'Cast out this bondwoman and her son.'[76] For many years past, the wicked race of Saracens, followers of unclean superstitions, have oppressed with tyrannical violence the holy places where the feet of our Lord rested. The faithful are made subject and condemned to bondage. Dogs have entered into the holy places, the sanctuary has been profaned, the people, worshippers of God, have been humbled. The chosen race is now enduring undeserved tribulations, the royal priesthood slaves in mud and bricks. The city of God, the chief over provinces, has been rendered tributary. Whose soul is not softened, whose heart does not melt, as these indignities recur to his mind? Who, dearest brethren, can listen to this with dry eyes? The temple of the Lord, whence He, in His zeal, drove those who bought and sold that the house of His Father might not become a den of thieves,[77] has been made the home of demons. It was this that roused the laudable zeal of Matthias the priest, the great ancestor of the holy Maccabees, as he himself testifies: 'Her temple is become as a man without honor,' and 'her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity.'[78]

"The city of the King of all Kings, which transmitted to others the precepts of an inviolable faith, is forced against her will to be subject to the superstitions of the Gentiles. The church of the Holy Resurrection, the last resting place of the sleeping Lord, endures their rule and is desecrated by the filth of those who have no part in the resurrection, but are destined to burn forever, as straw for everlasting flames. The revered places, consecrated to divine mysteries, places which received the Lord in the flesh as a guest, which saw His signs and felt His benefits, and, in full faith, showed forth in themselves the proofs of all this, have been made sheepfolds and stables for cattle. That most excellent people whom the Lord of Hosts blessed, groans aloud, exhausted beneath the burden of forced services and sordid payments. Its sons, precious pledges of Mother Church, are seized and carried off; they are compelled to serve the uncleanness of the Gentiles, to deny the name of the Living God, and to blaspheme with sacrilegious lips. If they shrink back in horror from the impious commands of the infidels, they are slain by the sword like beasts of sacrifice, and thus become companions of the holy martyrs. To the eye of sacrilege, there is no distinction of place and no respect for persons. Priests and Levites are slain

[76] Ge. 21: 10. [77] Mat. 21: 12, 13. [78] I Macc. 2: 8, 9.

in the sanctuaries; virgins are forced to choose between prostitution and death by torture; nor do matrons reap any advantage from their more mature years.

"Woe to us who are now descending into the miseries of the perilous time which faithful King David, the chosen of God, foresaw in spirit and deplored: 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled'; [79] and again: 'They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thine heritage.' [80] 'How long, Lord? wilt thou be angry forever? [81] Shall thy wrath burn like fire?' [82] 'Where are thy former loving-kindnesses?' [83] Is that saying true: 'Hath God forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?' [84] 'Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us; consider, and behold our reproach.' [85] 'Woe is me, wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the Holy City, and to dwell there, and to see it delivered into the hands of strangers.' [86]

"Therefore, beloved, arm yourselves with the zeal of the Lord. 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty.' [87] Gird yourselves and be sons of the Almighty, for it is better to die in battle than to behold the calamities of our race and of the saints.[88] If anyone feels zeal for God's law, let him join us. Let us go to the aid of our brethren. 'Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.' [89] Go, and God be with you. Turn the weapons which you have stained unlawfully in the slaughter of one another against the enemies of the faith and the name of Christ. Those guilty of thefts, arson, rapine, homicide, and other crimes of similar nature shall not possess the kingdom of God. Render this obedience, well-pleasing to God, that these works of piety and the intercession of the saints may speedily obtain for you pardon for the sins by which you have provoked God to anger.

"Accordingly, we warn and exhort you in the Lord, and we enjoin upon you, for the remission of your sins, that you endure affliction and hardships with our brethren who dwell in Jerusalem and in the boundaries thereof; that, as joint heirs with them of the heavenly kingdom (for we are all members one of another, 'heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ'),[90] you restrain with righteous hatred the insolence of the infidels, who are trying to subjugate kingdoms, principalities, and pow-

[79] Ps. 79:1. [80] Ps. 94:5. [81] Ps. 79:5. [82] Ps. 89:46.
[83] Ps. 89:49. [84] Ps. 77:9. [85] La. 5:1. [86] I Macc. 2:7.
[87] Ps. 44:4. [88] I Macc. 3:58, 59. [89] Ps. 2:3. [90] Ro. 8:17.

ers; and that you attack with all your strength those who are determined to destroy the Christian name. Otherwise, it will happen that the Church of God, which is now suffering the yoke of undeserved bondage, will shortly experience loss of faith, and the superstition of the heathen will prevail. Some of you have seen with your own eyes these things of which we are now speaking and know in what tribulation these brethren have been living, and their letter, brought by the hand of Peter, that venerable man who is here with us, sets forth the same message.[91]

"Herewith we, trusting in the mercy of God, and by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, do grant to faithful Christians who take up arms against the infidel and assume the burden of this pilgrimage, remission of the penance imposed upon them for their sins. Let not those who in true penitence depart thither doubt that they shall receive indulgence for their sins and the fruit of eternal reward. Meanwhile, we place under the protection of the church and of the blessed Peter and Paul, those who, in the ardor of faith, undertake this task of fighting the infidel, as true sons of obedience. We decree that they shall be free from all worry regarding their possessions and persons. If, during this time, anyone shall dare rashly to molest them, let him be excommunicated by the bishop of the place and let the sentence be observed by all until the stolen goods be returned and until suitable satisfaction be rendered for the losses suffered. Bishops and priests who do not take a firm stand against such actions shall be punished by suspension from office until they shall obtain mercy from the apostolic see."

Thus he closed his sermon and bade all prelates of churches who were present to return to their own parishes, there to devote themselves with all due perseverance and energy to the task of persuading their people to undertake the pilgrimage. With this message he ceased speaking, and the synod broke up. Farewells were exchanged, and each returned to his own. Above all, according to the directions of the synod, they labored faithfully to induce all to observe unbroken peace (which in common parlance is called a truce),[92] that those who intended

[91] Peter's presence at this council is part of the legend. See note 56.

[92] One of the interesting acts of this council was the requirement that every "man" aged twelve years or more was to take oath every three years to observe the Peace and Truce of God (see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. XX, col. 923).

to go might not be hindered while they were making the necessary preparations for the journey.

16. *Of the leaders present at the council who offered themselves for the pilgrimage; and of the sign of the cross which those who intended to go put upon their garments in token of their vows and their future pilgrimage.*

MOREOVER, because of his great service to the faith, God gave to this loyal servant, preaching with great power in lofty and glorious strain, effective eloquence and a message worthy of acceptance in the eyes of all. His words seemed to proceed from God, and both young and old eagerly received them as a command from on high, however arduous and difficult the task might seem. This passionate enthusiasm for the pilgrimage not only animated those who had listened to his actual words, but, as his sermon was carried far and wide, it inspired even those who had not been present with a yearning desire to undertake the same journey. Bishops showed loyal coöperation, as they had been commanded. They invited their own people to go on the pilgrimage and went about their parishes constantly sowing the word of life among the people. Nor did one grain fall to the ground without fruitage. Indeed, it might truly be said that the word of the Lord was being fulfilled: "I came not to send peace but a sword." [93] For husband was separated from wife, wife from husband; fathers from sons, sons from parents. No bond of affection was proof against this enthusiasm. From the cloisters many monks went forth, and recluses likewise left the cells where they had voluntarily secluded themselves for the love of God.

Yet the Lord was not with all in this cause, and discretion, the mother of virtues, was not always the actuating motive for these vows. Some joined the others that they might not leave their friends; some that they might not be regarded as idle; others for frivolous reasons only, or because by going away they might escape their creditors (to whom they were bound by a load of debts). Thus, for divers reasons, all were hastening toward the same goal. No one in the lands of the West paid any attention to age or sex, to status or condition. No one could be prevented from undertaking the journey by any words of persuasion, but all, without distinction, lent a hand; all as with one accord took the vow with heart and soul. It seemed the literal fulfillment of that which

[93] Mat. 10: 34.

is written in [the book of] Tobit: "Jerusalem, the holy city, many nations shall come from far . . . with gifts in their hands . . . ; all generations shall praise thee with great joy." They shall hold your land in consecration, invoking in you a great name.[94]

Of those who were present at the council, many received with joy the implanted word. Foremost among these was Adhemar, bishop of Puy,[95] that man of revered life and precious memory. He later held the office of papal legate and faithfully and wisely commanded the people of God on this expedition. William, bishop of Orange, a man verily religious and God-fearing, was also among this number.[96] Princes of both kingdoms who had not attended the council were also inspired with the same fervor. They too, with frequent words of encouragement to one another, girt themselves for the way. They set a definite time for departure, when, after the necessary preparations had been made and their companions assembled, they should start on the expedition. Verily, it seems as if the undertaking of which we are speaking was managed by divine providence and that commands actually went forth from the Lord. For whenever it was rumored that a prince had taken the vow to make the pilgrimage, the people flocked thither in throngs and begged permission to join his company. They invoked his name as their lord for the entire journey and promised obedience and loyalty. And since the proverb says, "Plague take the hindermost, it is disgraceful for me to be left behind,"[97] they made haste to supply themselves with the necessary equipment, each desiring to get the start of the other. Truly it was divinely ordained, for this fire of purgatory was indispensable to wash away the sins of the past—alas, all too many—and this preoccupation was useful in preventing future misdeeds. For reverence toward God and respect for fellow man no longer existed among mortals.

It had been unanimously agreed and enjoined by order of the pope that all who vowed to undertake this pilgrimage should stamp upon

[94] Tob. 13:11, 14, 15.

[95] His part in the crusade is described in the following pages. He is believed to have taken part in an earlier pilgrimage to Palestine in 1086 and to have been a feudal knight before he became an ecclesiastic (see C. Kohler, "Adémar de Monteil," *La Grande Encyclopédie*, I, 555).

[96] William, bishop of Orange, who figures somewhat prominently on the crusade, attended Urban at both Piacenza and Clermont. He likewise took part in preaching the crusade, notably at Genoa, and joined the crusading army of Raymond of Toulouse.

[97] Horace *Ars Poet.* 417.

their garments the saving sign of the vivifying cross. Thus they would bear on their shoulders the memory of Him whose place of passion they proposed to visit. This they did in imitation of Him who hastened thither for our redemption; for "the government shall be upon his shoulder." [98] To this movement the following passage from Isaiah seems to refer: The Lord "shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel." [99]

This command also of the Lord seemed to be fulfilled to the letter: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." [100]

17. *The names of the princes from the kingdoms of the Franks and Teutons who undertook the pilgrimage.*

THE following nobles from the two kingdoms fortified themselves with the sign of the cross, in pledge of the future pilgrimage: The illustrious Lords [101] Hugh the Great, brother of Philip I, king of the Franks; Robert, count of Flanders; Robert, count of Normandy, son of William [I], king of the Angles; Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, father of the elder Count Theobald; Adhemar, bishop of Puy; William, bishop of Orange; Raymond, count of Toulouse and St. Gilles; with many other notable and distinguished men. The famous Lord Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, a valiant warrior, also went and, with him, his brothers, Lords Baldwin and Eustace. Also among the number were Baldwin, surnamed du Bourg, a kinsman of the three brothers and son of Lord Hugh, count of Rethel; Garnier de Grey; Baldwin, count of Hainault; Isoard, count of Die; Rainbald, count of Orange; William, count of Forez; Count Stephen d'Aumale; Rotrou, count of Perche; and Count Hugh of St. Pol.

Among other men of distinction, though not counts, the following illustrious and noble men voluntarily offered themselves to that same obedience: Henry d'Esch; Ralph de Beaugency; Evrard du Puiset; Gaston de Béarn; William Amanjeu; Gaston de Béziers; William de

[98] Is. 9:6. [99] Is. 11:12. [100] Mat. 16:24.

[101] The contemporary chroniclers of the First Crusade did not use the title "dominus" as does William. It is perhaps evidence of the great change in social manners and customs that occurred during the twelfth century. The formality of chivalry so much respected in the latter part of the century was almost completely absent at its beginning. This list of crusading chieftains is more inclusive than the lists of either Fulcher or Albert of Aix. William apparently intended to list the chief leaders of the whole crusade at this point.

Montpellier; Gerard de Roussillon; Gerard de Cherisi; Roger de Barneville; Guy of Possessa and Guy of Garland, seneschal of the king of the Franks; Thomas de La Fère; and Galen of Calvo Monte. Peter the Hermit also followed with a large company of people whom he had assembled with great effort from both the kingdom and the empire.

From this side the Alps came Bohemond, prince of Taranto, the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia; Tancred, his sister's son; and many others whose names and number we do not remember. All these, with large forces of military men, were waiting for a favorable time to join the Christian soldiery, ready to devote themselves, for Christ's sake, to the hardships of so great a pilgrimage.

Accordingly, when the winter was over and the first intimation of spring began to appear, when the cold had been driven away and genial weather returned to the earth, they made ready their horses, prepared their arms, and collected their baggage. Those who were to set out together communicated with one another and carefully arranged the time when it was necessary to start, the place of meeting, and the route by which they could most easily and rapidly proceed. For, since no one region could supply the necessaries of life for so many thousands, it was carefully arranged that each of the more important leaders should conduct his own forces separately and not proceed by the same road as the others. The armies were not to meet until they reached the city of Nicaea. For as will be explained later, the duke with his legions went by way of Hungary; the count of Toulouse and the bishop of Puy through Dalmatia; while the other chiefs proceeded through Apulia. Thus all finally came, but at different times, to Constantinople.[102]

In the meantime, they prepared the equipment which it was thought would be sufficient for so long a journey, and each tried to estimate the amount of travelling money necessary, in accordance with the length of the way, ignorant that the ways of the Lord are not in the hand of man. For man in his weakness knows not what the morrow may bring forth.

In all the provinces of the West, there was not a single home idle; for each man, according to his condition, was engaged in arranging his private affairs, about which he was anxious. Here the father of the

[102] The implication of these statements of William that the crusaders were operating under a common plan is confirmed by recent study (see F. Duncalf, "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 44–56).

family, there the son, and there the entire family were making preparations to set forth.

Many letters were sent, in which those who were to leave at the same time encouraged one another, inveighed against delay, and advised an early departure. When those who had been named as leaders of the various bands summoned the rest, these tore themselves from the embraces of their dear ones with sobs and sighs, and, after exchanging last farewells and kisses, departed. With tears and wailing, mothers accompanied departing sons, daughters fathers, and sisters brothers, while wives, carrying suckling babes in their arms, attended their husbands. After the last farewells had been said, they followed with fixed gaze those whom they could not accompany farther in reality.

18. *Walter the Penniless, the first to depart, reaches Constantinople.*

WALTER the Penniless, a man of noble birth, valiant in arms, was the first to set out on the pilgrimage. He started on the eighth day of March, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1096. He had with him a large company of foot soldiers but very few knights.[103] After traversing the kingdom of the Teutons, he went down into Hungary. Now the kingdom of Hungary is difficult of access, for it is swampy in many places and is also encircled by great rivers. Thus, except in certain places—and those extremely narrow—it affords travellers neither access to, nor exit from, the realm.

Hungary was ruled at this time by that most Christian king, Coloman.[104] On learning of Walter's approach, the king, who knew of his undertaking and thoroughly approved his devout purpose, kindly admitted him to his kingdom and allowed him to pass through Hungary with his expedition. He also granted him the privilege of a public mar-

[103] Statements such as this gave rise to the impression that these first bands of crusaders were composed chiefly of peasants and to the use of the name "Peasants Crusade" to cover them all. This view has been corrected by Duncalf (see F. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *American Historical Review*, XXVI [1920–21], 440–53).

[104] Coloman, king of Hungary 1095–1116, who succeeded Ladislaus I, or St. Ladislaus, by whom Christianity had been firmly reëstablished in Hungary. Hungary had become Christian under Stephen I, or St. Stephen, 997–1038. Disturbances caused by eastern invaders had unsettled some of that work, but with the help of Pope Gregory VII, who became nominal overlord of Hungary, the kings of Hungary, Ladislaus especially, fully recovered the lost ground.

ket. Walter passed through the country peacefully and arrived in safety at the river Maros.[105] This is the recognized boundary between Hungary and the Orient. He crossed this river and came with his forces to the land of the Bulgarians, at a place called Belgrade.

He was not aware, however, that some of his company had stayed behind on the other side of the river, at a place called Malevilla [Semlin],[106] in order to buy food and other necessities for the journey. The Hungarians seized these men, stripped and beat them, and then sent them on to their friends despoiled of everything. The entire company felt deep sympathy for their companions in this unlucky disaster and grieved over their plight. They realized, however, that it would be very difficult, in fact almost impossible, to defer the proposed march and recross the river for the purpose of retaliation. Under the circumstances, therefore, they decided that it was better to overlook their present wrongs, rather than rashly to undertake something that they could not carry out. Furthermore, they had hope in Him for whose sake they had undertaken this warfare and believed that no injury offered to the servants of Christ would go unavenged but would receive its fitting punishment from Him who has given His faithful ones this promise: "But there shall not a hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls." [107]

Accordingly, they proceeded on their way and came, as we have said, to Belgrade. Here Walter asked the privilege of a market from the ruling duke of the Bulgarians and was refused. He therefore encamped before the city, and, as he could not restrain his famished army, he lost many of his people. For, since they could obtain nothing from the Bulgarians, at any price, his army went out to seek food by whatever means, to avoid starving. Coming upon flocks and herds belonging to the Bulgarians, they began to drive them off by force to the camp. As soon as the Bulgarians learned of this, they seized their weapons and sallied forth with hostile intent. Determined to regain the plunder, they fell upon the robbers who were driving off their cattle and routed them. A group of one hundred and fifty of this number had very carelessly become separated from those ahead and had taken refuge in a certain

[105] The modern Morawa, though the general description would apply rather to the Save river, which separated Belgrade from Semlin.

[106] Malevilla has been identified as Semlin, which lies across the Save river from Belgrade.

[107] Lu. 21:18, 19.

chapel. The enemy set this on fire, and the Christians within were burned to death. The rest of the band were forced to flee.

Well aware that he was leading an obstinate and reckless throng, Walter left those who through following their own inclinations had become unmanageable, and passed with the rest of his army in a wise and circumspect manner through the extensive forests of Bulgaria. He came at last to Stralicia,[108] a beautiful city of Dacia Mediterrania. Here he complained to the governor of that city about the loss and injury unjustly visited upon the people of God by the Bulgarians and obtained full redress for all that had occurred. This duke, an excellent, God-fearing man, treated him kindly and agreed to furnish a market where the people might buy the goods which they needed at a fair price and with just measures. Moreover, that nothing might be lacking which the laws of humanity require, he furnished them with guides for the rest of the way, even to the imperial city.

On reaching Constantinople, Walter was introduced into the presence of the emperor and succeeded in obtaining permission from his imperial majesty to lodge his army near the city with the privilege of a market. This the emperor granted temporarily until Peter, at whose command Walter had undertaken the march, should arrive.

19. *Peter the Hermit follows. While marching across Hungary, he learns of the treachery of the Hungarians.*

Not very long after the events just related, Peter marched through Lotharingia, Franconia, Bavaria, and that region which is called Austria. He led with him a great host, numbering about forty thousand, which he had gathered from every people and tribe and language and nation. When he arrived at the borders of Hungary he sent a message to the king of that country and without difficulty obtained permission to enter, on condition that he would pass through the kingdom without causing tumult or strife. Peter approved of the condition, took advantage of the permission, and entered the realm with his forces. An abundant supply of food was furnished by the natives at a reasonable price and under good conditions. The host advanced quietly as far as Semlin, the place mentioned before. Here, however, they learned of the out-

[108] Probably modern Sophia, which was known as Triaditza under the Byzantine rule. The Bulgarians had been conquered by the Byzantine Empire early in this century, and they remained subject until 1185.

rages which their comrades, who had preceded them under Walter's leadership, had suffered from the inhabitants of this place and of the infamous treatment which they had received. When, furthermore, the troops recognized the spoils and arms of their friends hanging as trophies on the city walls, they were roused to righteous wrath. Shouting words of encouragement to one another, they seized their arms and broke into the city by force. Most of the inhabitants were either put to the sword or drowned in the river near by. In the riot that day about four thousand Hungarians are said to have perished, a punishment richly deserved. Report says that Peter lost only a hundred of his men. After this capture of the city by force of arms, the pilgrims remained there for five consecutive days, because of the great abundance of food found at that place.

The duke of the Bulgarians, Nichita [Niketas] [109] by name, had been responsible for refusing a market to Walter and his army. When he learned of the revenge which Peter's army had taken upon the citizens of Semlin for the treatment which had been accorded Walter's army, he feared that those following would wish to visit the same punishment upon him, for he had not been free from guilt in that matter. Since he felt but slight confidence in the defenses of Belgrade, the city over which he ruled, he left the place. The inhabitants and their families also deserted it and, with flocks and herds, retreated far into the dense and secret recesses of the forest.

While Peter was still lingering in the captured city, reports reached him that the king of Hungary, greatly incensed over the massacre of his people, had summoned his military forces from all that region and was vigorously preparing to avenge the slain. Peter at once procured all the boats to be found on both banks of the river and caused his army to be ferried across as quickly as possible. With them they took flocks and herds and the richest of spoils from the ravaged city, even to an overabundant supply. When all had been transported to the opposite shore, they pitched camp before Belgrade, which was found abandoned. From there, Peter led his forces a journey of eight days through dense and far-extending forest to the city of Nish. The entire host followed, with carts and wagons, flocks and herds. This city was strongly fortified with a wall and towers and was garrisoned by a large force of brave men. The army crossed the river which flows past the city by a

[109] Niketas, the Byzantine governor of the region.

stone bridge and made camp near by. The provisions for the march were now beginning to give out, and the army was faced with a shortage of food. A message was accordingly sent to the ruler of the city with the courteous request that a market, especially of those commodities necessary for daily existence, be provided under good conditions and at a just price, for a pilgrim people who were following divine commands. The ruler responded that this could not be granted unless the army would first guarantee, by giving hostages, that no injury or even greater violence would be done to the natives who served the market. This condition proved acceptable to both parties, and the hostages were given. The citizens then came out from the city, bringing their merchandise with them.

20. *At Nish, a city of Bulgaria, a dangerous disturbance arises between the pilgrims and the Bulgarians.*

A GREATER abundance of food now became available for the entire force, and the transactions of buying and selling on both sides were conducted with mutual forbearance. The night passed in perfect quiet with interchange of friendly converse, and in the early morning the hostages were returned and the army prepared for the march. They were on the point of departing—in fact the greater part, or rather practically the entire army, had already started—when a few troublemakers, deserving of divine censure, bethought them of a trifling quarrel which had occurred the night before while they were trading with a certain Bulgarian. They therefore withdrew a little from the lines that had already marched on and set fire to seven mills which were revolving near the bridge over the river mentioned above. These were quickly reduced to ashes.

These sons of Belial, about a hundred in number, were of the Teuton nation. Even this evil deed did not completely appease their mad rage. They therefore set fire also to the houses of certain people which lay outside the walls and burned these also with equal malevolence. After committing this crime, they hastened to join the blameless host, as though unconscious of having done any wrong.

The ruler of the city, who had received them quite kindly on the previous night, perceiving that they had not fittingly requited his favors, was forced to accord them punishment in place of further bene-

fits. Since, with unfair judgment, he regarded them all as plunderers and incendiaries, he visited the sins of a few on the whole army. He summoned the citizens and ordered them to arm. He himself led the way with a great throng and by word and example encouraged them to pursue the Christians as if in revenge for sacrilege. As with one mind, the townspeople issued forth and attacked the forces that had already marched on ahead. They fell savagely upon the rear guard and pressed them hard with their swords. Somewhat apart from the press of the throng, they came upon those malefactors who had not yet joined the main army, and, with righteous wrath, consigned them to death. But, either by chance or by design, they inflicted the same penalty on many innocent persons, thus involving the good with the guilty. They seized the carts and wagons on which food and every kind of equipment were being carried; they bound and led away with them the old men and the sick as well as the women and boys and girls who could not keep up with the pace of the rest. After this massacre, satiated with the blood of the slain, they returned to the city, loaded with spoils.

21. *Peter recalls his fleeing troops and again seeks to come to a peaceful understanding with the Bulgarians; but a fresh disaster, worse than the former one, occurs, and his legions are scattered.*

MEANWHILE, Peter had proceeded on the march with all the advance guard and the principal men of the expedition, entirely ignorant of the catastrophe which had befallen his comrades. Suddenly, a messenger came galloping up in headlong haste with news of the disaster. In graphic detail, he related the story of the seizure and massacre of his comrades. On hearing this news, Peter recalled the legions and, on the advice of their experienced men, retraced the road over which they had advanced during the entire day. As they gazed on the bodies of their murdered brethren, the visible proofs of the massacre, they could not refrain from tears and groans. Finally, they stood once more before the city on the spot where they had encamped the night before.

Peter and those of his companions who had better control over their feelings had but one thought and purpose in regard to this matter. They had returned to discover the reason for the disaster and to endeavor to remove the motives for quarrelling. They hoped that, when

peace had been completely restored between the two people and the consciences of all had been cleansed, they might resume their pilgrimage in greater security. In accordance with this desire, they sent certain discreet and responsible men to the ruler and elders of the city to investigate carefully the circumstances which had led to the sudden riot and the shedding of so much innocent blood.

When they learned the reason, the envoys perceived that the citizens had not resorted to arms without entirely adequate cause for anger. Since it was not a fitting time to demand revenge for their wrongs, however, the messengers endeavored by every means in their power to bring about a renewal of peace, so that their comrades might be restored, together with all the booty, baggage, and everything that they had lost. They were trying to accomplish this end and had almost reached an agreement satisfactory to both parties, when a riot broke out in the camp. This disturbance was due to the fiery passions and audacity of certain reckless individuals who wished to avenge by force the wrongs which they had sustained.

In the hope of quieting their fury and removing all cause for further massacre, Peter dispatched certain responsible men of great influence to try to prevent the mob in their mad rage from attacking the citizens. This effort proved of no avail, however, for they refused to listen to his salutary warning. He then issued strict orders to the army by the voice of the herald, that no one, under the promise of obedience owed to him, should in any way aid or minister to those who, by their heedless conduct, had dared to violate the peace now reëstablished.

The army accepted this order as that of an arbiter. Meanwhile, all remained quietly awaiting the end of the incipient riot and the result of the whole affair. The envoys who had been sent to the ruler to arrange the treaty saw, however, that the excitement among the people could not be quieted but was, on the contrary, becoming more and more violent. Realizing that their errand had no chance of success as proposed, they gave up the attempt and returned to the camp to assist Peter, the man of God, in suppressing the riot. But this was impossible. About a thousand people had broken forth in this mad attempt. These encountered an equal number of townspeople who sallied forth from the city, and the result was a mighty battle fought before the city.

The people inside the town perceived that a division had arisen among those outside. Since the riot had occurred contrary to the wish

and direct command of Peter, they hoped that the rest of the army would render no assistance. Unbarring the gates, they issued forth en masse and killed about five hundred of our men on the bridge. Nearly all the rest, being unfamiliar with the position of the fords and the locality in general, were drowned in the river. At this sight the entire army flew to arms, unable to endure the wrongs inflicted upon their comrades. The hostile forces met in furious combat and wrought such terrible slaughter that this latter disaster was far worse than the former. The common people and the unruly mob were unable to stand against the pressure exerted by the Bulgarians. They gave way and fled. Influenced by their mad flight, others who were fighting valiantly followed their example.

Thus the entire army fled, and, since the ranks were broken, there was no one to offer resistance. In the confusion, Peter lost the entire treasure which he had collected from the gifts of devout princes, money which he had intended to use in ministering to the necessities of the poor and needy on the way. For the wagon which carried all his substance was seized and he lost everything.

The Bulgarians pursued with fury; they killed almost ten thousand Christians,[110] seized the wagons and all the baggage, and carried off as prisoners many women and children. Those who escaped sought hiding places in the depths of inaccessible forests, and it was with difficulty that they were recalled on the third day by the warning sound of trumpet and horn. They gathered round Peter and the others who had escaped with him and had retired to a low hill rising slightly above the plain.

22. *Peter rallies the remnant of his defeated army and proceeds to Constantinople. He crosses the Bosphorus and encamps in Bithynia.*

FINALLY, on the fourth day, when the scattered troops had rallied and the fugitives had emerged from the secret places where they had been lurking for three days, the reunited host, now numbering about thirty thousand, again prepared to resume the march. Although their rash

[110] None of the chroniclers of the First Crusade were expert in their estimate of numbers of persons. Their statement of numbers must be regarded rather as figures of speech, meaning, as in this case, a relatively large number, amounting perhaps to a few hundred at most. William was dependent upon the chroniclers, in this instance upon Albert of Aix, for his information.

conduct had caused them the loss of about two thousand wagons and carts, yet they felt that it would be disgraceful to abandon their pilgrimage; hence they pursued their journey, albeit under great difficulties. They were about to start, although in great need of supplies, when a messenger from the emperor arrived at the camp, charged with imperial commands for Peter and the other leaders of his army. Addressing them publicly, he said: "Noble and illustrious men, a rumor has reached the ears of the emperor which brings serious charges of an unsavory nature against you. It is claimed that you have done great violence in his empire to the inhabitants of the land, his subjects, and have stirred up quarrels and disturbances. Wherefore, if you hope at any time to find favor in the sight of his imperial majesty, we enjoin upon you, by his authority, that you do not presume to remain in any of his cities longer than three days, but lead your expedition as speedily as possible to Constantinople with harmonious but steady control. We will lead the way for the army and will cause you to be furnished with the necessary food at a just price."

These words revived the spirits of the people, who had already begun to waste away through lack of food; and the kindness of the emperor roused them to a more hopeful frame of mind. They explained to the imperial messenger some of the circumstances connected with the recent trouble, alleged their own innocence, and spoke of the patience with which they had endured the injuries which the Bulgarians had so unjustly inflicted upon them. Then, refraining from all excesses, they followed their guide and reached Constantinople by forced marches. Here they found Walter and his troops, who were awaiting their coming. The two armies joined forces and made camp in the place assigned to them.

At the summons of the emperor, Peter went into the city and stood in the royal presence.[111] When questioned concerning his own intentions and the motive of so great an undertaking, he discussed the matter at length, showing himself a man of eloquence and high spirit. He explained that he would soon be followed by very great princes of the West, men worthy of God. He displayed such firmness of spirit and eloquence of language that even the chief men of the palace ad-

[111] Peter's arrival at Constantinople is dated about August 1, 1096, less than two weeks after that of Walter the Penniless (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, nos. 56, 59).

mired his wisdom and courage. The emperor himself was well disposed toward him and commended his purpose. After this kind reception, he was given bountiful gifts and commanded by the emperor to return to his troops.

The army remained at this place for several days to allow the people a chance to recuperate, in the enjoyment of food and rest. Then, in ships supplied by the imperial command, they crossed the Hellespont to Bithynia, the first province of the diocese of Asia, bounded by that same sea. At a place called Civitot, situated on that sea, they rested and there encamped.

23. *In Peter's absence, his army drives off the cattle from the country around Nicaea and seizes a fortress near that city.*

THE place of their encampment was on the confines of the enemy's country. There the army settled down for about two months in the full enjoyment of abundant supplies of all kinds. During that time, an ample store of goods was offered for sale nearly every day, and the greatly needed opportunity for recuperation was granted them. But this very abundance of supplies, together with unwonted leisure, tended to render this wretched and stiff-necked people reckless. Incited to arrogance by their well-being, they began to form separate groups and, against the will of their superiors, overran the countryside for ten miles or more and drove off flocks and herds. Frequent admonitory letters came from the emperor. He bade them not to venture far afield or to provoke the enemy against them. Until the arrival of the greater leaders who were said to be following them, they were to remain in the place assigned to them and to conduct themselves circumspectly.

In his anxiety for the people entrusted to his care, Peter had gone to the imperial city, hoping, if possible, to obtain a reduction in the price of merchandise and better conditions of trading. The perverse and unruly throng seized the opportunity afforded by his absence to conduct themselves in a still more senseless manner. A group of seven thousand foot soldiers, adherents of this party, separated from the army proper and were joined to three hundred knights. Deaf to the remonstrances of the others, they set out for Nicaea with ranks drawn up in battle formation. From the vicinity of the city they drove off great numbers of flocks and herds and returned in safety to the camp.

Perceiving that the Latins had met with success in that exploit, some of the Teutons and others who spoke their tongue were seized with the desire to plunder. They decided to make a similar attempt, hoping thereby to win glory for themselves and to improve the condition of their own private affairs. They gathered about three thousand of that nation and two hundred knights and with that force marched toward Nicaea.

In that same region, about four miles from Nicaea, there was a fortified town at the foot of a hill. They drew near and made a most violent attack upon it from every direction. Although the inhabitants made a valiant resistance, the Teutons took the place by storm, killed the people, and seized everything therein. Then, charmed by the beauty and wealth of the place, they fortified it strongly and determined to remain there until the leaders arrived.

24. *Soliman, a Turkish prince, recovers the place just mentioned and puts to the sword all found therein.*

LONG before this time, Soliman [Qilij Arslan],[112] the lord and ruler of that land, had learned that the Christian leaders were coming. Accordingly, by entreaties, by money, and by every conceivable means, he had gathered from all parts of the East a countless host of valiant men. With this army he had now returned to those parts to give the desired aid to the people of the region against the onslaughts of the enemy. When he learned that the band of Teutons just mentioned had seized one of his strongholds, he marched swiftly thither, laid violent siege to it, and put to the sword all whom he found within.

Meanwhile, news of the disaster reached the camp, and it was soon noised abroad that the company of Teutons who had recently left them had utterly perished at the hand of Qilij Arslan. Consternation overwhelmed the people at this news. Unable to restrain their anguish of heart, they gave vent to their grief with tears and groans. When at last the truth became fully known, a disturbance broke forth among the

[112] Actually Qilij Arslan, sultan of Rum 1092–1106, who was the son of Sulayman ibn Jutlumish. The Latin chroniclers, who doubtless heard the name with the patronymic "ibn Sulayman," found the latter easier to say and write. Nearly all of them call him Soliman, and William follows their example. It was, however, a lieutenant of his, Elchanes, who conducted the operations against the troops of Peter. The destruction of Peter's army is dated end of September, 1096, or October (*H. Chron.* nos. 73–89).

people in the camp. With loud cries they strenuously demanded that such an outrage against their brethren be not ignored. Let both knights and foot soldiers arm and go forth to avenge the blood of their murdered comrades. The more important men of the army and those of greater experience in such matters desired to obey the orders of the emperor. When they would have checked this purpose and sought to allay the indiscreet fervor of the infuriated mob, the people rose against them in insubordination, placed themselves under the patronage of a certain Godfrey, surnamed Burel, the leader of that faction, and began to pour forth insults on those of higher rank. It was ascribed to cowardice rather than to good sense that the assassins of their brethren were not pursued by the avenging sword.

25. *The entire army is roused against Qilij Arslan, because of the massacre of the brethren; in the fight with him, however, the Christian host is destroyed.*

THE will of the worst element finally prevailed. The women and children, the feeble, and those who had no arms were left behind, while all the rest seized their weapons and gathered to the number of twenty-five thousand armed infantry and five hundred knights splendidly equipped with the breastplate. The lines were arranged and drawn up in battle formation, and they marched through the woods mentioned above toward the hill country, in the direction of Nicaea. They had advanced barely three miles, when Qilij Arslan, with a great host of his people, likewise entered the same forest. He was hastening toward our camp, which was located as described above, with the intention of making a sudden attack upon it. The unusual noises proceeding from the wood informed him that the Christians had left the camp and were on their way to attack him. He at once left the forest and hills and betook himself to the open plains. Our army also made their way thither, entirely unaware of the enemy's proximity. When they discovered that the infidels were so near, they rushed upon them. With shouts of encouragement to one another, they pressed the enemy hard with their swords and demanded the blood of their brethren at their hands. But as our men dashed forward, full of ardent zeal, they were received by the swords of the enemy; for the Turks, convinced that this was a struggle to the death, resisted vigorously, inspired by just

wrath and the consciousness of their great numbers. Both armies fought valiantly and stoutly, but the Christians were finally overcome by the multitude of the foe. Unable longer to endure the stress of battle, they broke ranks and fled. The Turks fell upon them with drawn swords, pursued them as far as the camp, and wrought great slaughter.

In this engagement, several men of high rank, who were following the camp of Peter, were slain. Among them were Walter the Penniless, Renier de Brus, Fulcher of Orleans, and many others. Of the twenty-five thousand foot soldiers and five hundred knights who had gone forth from the camp, there remained scarcely one who escaped either death or capture.

26. *Qilij Arslan, thus victorious over our people, destroys the camp. The remnant surviving are either slain or carried away as captives. Qilij Arslan lays siege to the town of Civitot, but, on hearing the emperor's message, he retires.*

Greatly elated over his success in winning this victory, Qilij Arslan made a furious attack upon the camp. Since there was no longer anyone able to resist, all those surviving were put to the sword. The sick and the aged, both men and women, monks and all clergy, perished. The only exception made was in the case of boys and girls not yet full grown, whose age and appearance interceded for them. These Qilij Arslan spared that he might carry them away into servitude.

On the shore near the camp was an old, half-ruined fortress, without doors or bars, where no one lived. Here a group of about three thousand pilgrims, driven by necessity, took refuge, believing it to be a place of safety. They attempted to defend themselves in their critical situation by placing their shields against the entrances and by rolling up huge stones to obstruct the approach. The Turks pressed them hard, but the besieged fought valiantly and, in the desperate hope of saving life and liberty, drove back the foe. In the meantime, a messenger was sent off in haste to inform Peter that his people had been massacred and that the few who survived were closely besieged in a half-ruined fortress, where they were suffering from a lack of food and weapons. Peter at once went to the emperor and, by his humble entreaties, induced him to dispatch troops thither immediately with orders that the survivors be relieved from the dangers that beset them. This was ac-

complished, for as soon as the Turks heard the emperor's command, they at once abandoned the attack on the place. Dragging their captives along with them, they returned to Nicaea. In addition, they carried off the best of spoils, tents and pavilions, horses and mules, and all kinds of equipment taken from the Christians.

Thus this stiff-necked and unruly people, unwilling to heed the counsels of those wiser than themselves, were swept along by their own rash impetus down to utter destruction. And because they did not know how to wear the yoke of salutary discipline, they reaped the worthless harvest of their ways and were given over to the sword of the enemy.

27. *Gottschalk, a Teuton priest, arrives in Hungary, leading a second army. He does not hesitate to commit shameful acts, unfit to be related, against the Hungarians.*

Not long after Peter had passed over into Bithynia, a certain Teuton priest, Gottschalk by name, following in Peter's footsteps, was kindled with a longing for the same pilgrimage. Since he had the gift of exhortation, he had persuaded many Teutons from all parts of that kingdom to undertake the same task. With about fifteen thousand pilgrims whom he had gathered for the march, he entered Hungary where he was admitted without difficulty. By the orders of the king, the Hungarians offered merchandise at reasonable rates to his army. The latter abused the abundance of food, however, and gave themselves over to idleness and drunkenness. They inflicted many wrongs upon the natives. They plundered, they laid violent hands on the wares offered for sale in the public markets, and they slew the people in utter disregard of the laws of hospitality.

When the news of these outrages reached the king, he was roused to anger. He ordered the whole realm to be called out and directed that the people as well as the greater men of the land take arms to avenge wrongs so great. Grave excesses had been committed in many places, shameful beyond measure and unfit to be told. It was impossible for the king to pass over such crimes without bringing on himself the implication of cowardice and incurring the hatred of his people. Hence, the entire military forces of the realm were mustered. With one accord, they rushed furiously forth against the Christians as enemies deserving extreme chastisement, determined to slay them in retaliation for the outrages committed.

Finally, at a place called Belgrade,[113] which lies in the very center of that kingdom, the king's forces came upon a disorderly crowd of these madmen. They had already learned of the king's advance and were well aware that he would be wroth; they feared also their own guilty consciences. Consequently they had snatched their arms and were prepared to repel force by force and to ward off danger from themselves. When the Hungarians saw them rush to arms, bent on a vigorous resistance, they reflected that it would be impossible to engage them without great loss of their own men. For the Christians were indeed brave men, experienced in the use of arms, who would not, without a struggle, give up their lives in vain. According to their custom, therefore, they endeavored to effect by strategy what they could not accomplish by force; they sent a delegation to Gottschalk and the chiefs of his army, who craftily addressed them with pacific words.

28. *The letter of the king of Hungary to the aforesaid Gottschalk and his army; and the pitiful destruction of that same host.*

"Grave complaint about your army has come to the king. It is said that you have visited many serious injuries and untold troubles upon the people subject to him and that you have most unfairly repaid the kind treatment of your hosts. Yet the king in his wisdom is fully convinced that not all of you are guilty of these crimes. He regards it as certain that there are among you discreet and God-fearing men, whom the outrages of others displease and that those crimes which have justly aroused the royal anger have been committed against the wishes and remonstrances of these men. Lest the sins of individuals be charged against all and the innocent be involved with the guilty, he has determined to restrain the measure of his wrath and, for the present, to spare his brethren of the Christian faith. Accordingly, that his wrath may be wholly appeased, we counsel you to surrender yourselves and all the substance that you have here, including your arms, without any condition, into the hands of the king. Otherwise, not one of you can escape death, for, situated as you are in the center of his realm, you are

[113] This appears to be a mistake which William took over from Albert of Aix (Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, IV, 290). Duncalf has identified the place of these events as Martinsburg. Belgrade, of course, is in Serbia.

unequal to us in military strength and you have no power of escaping." [114]

From the very outset, Gottschalk and the captains of his army had been displeased at the mad conduct of the stubborn people. Now, in the simplicity of their hearts, they took the king's kindness for granted. Almost by force they drew the people into consenting to the idea that they should surrender themselves with their arms and all their possessions into the power of the king and thus make reparation for all those sins whereby they had offended him. Though protesting vigorously and eager to fight for their lives, the entire people finally consented. But, after they had given up their arms and all their goods to the captains and emissaries of the king, they found death where they had expected favor. For the Hungarians fell upon that unsuspecting people, who, though deprived of their arms, were relying not unreasonably upon the king's clemency. Without discriminating between the good and the bad, they wrought a most inhuman slaughter. So thoroughly was this done that the whole place was polluted by the blood and corpses of the slain and scarcely a trace of that great multitude remained. There were some, however, who escaped the common destruction, and these, led by the mercy of God, avoided the swords of the Hungarians and returned to their own land. By recounting the story of the massacre and the sinister fate which had overtaken their comrades, they instructed those who, bound by their vows, were about to start on the same pilgrimage. They admonished these new pilgrims that, with the treachery of that wicked people ever in mind, they should proceed more wisely and learn to act with more caution.

29. *How a vast horde of infatuated people followed the first companies that departed, killing Jews and marching without discipline.*

About this same time, but a little later, innumerable bands of people on foot, in number beyond counting, had assembled from the lands of the West. They were all moved by the same desire. Without leader or guide, they marched along at random, without foresight or wisdom. There were among them, indeed, some men of noble birth, as Thomas de La Fère, Clarebold de Vendeuil, William Carpenter, Count Her-

[114] William, who has abbreviated the fuller account of Albert of Aix about these earlier expeditions, here expands the letter of King Coloman in more courtly style.

mann [Hartman],[115] and some others, but the people, impatient of restraint, did not acknowledge their control in any way. Disregarding the counsel of the wiser and better affected, they ran to and fro promiscuously, committing all kinds of lawless deeds at their own sweet will. So it happened that when, in the fear of God, they should have proceeded on the journey which they had undertaken and, in obedience to divine commands, should have advanced with strict discipline on the pilgrimage which they were making for Christ's sake, they turned aside to mad excesses. They cruelly massacred the Jewish people in the cities and towns through which they passed, for the latter, having no reason to fear anything of the kind, took no precautions.[116]

These outrages occurred especially in the cities of Cologne and Mainz, where Count Emicho, a powerful nobleman, well known in that country, joined the pilgrim bands with a large following. He was not a censor of morals, as beseemed his high rank, nor was he one who reproved excesses, but, on the countrary, he himself shared in the evil deeds of his followers and urged them on to crime. All these people passed through Franconia and Bavaria and came to a place called Meseburg [Wieselburg], on the frontiers of Hungary. They supposed that they would be allowed to enter freely without difficulty, but as they found the approach closed, they stopped on this side of the bridge. The place was a fortress strongly defended by the mighty rivers, the Danube and the Leitha, and by the deep swamps which surrounded it. Consequently, it would not have been easy even for a larger force to exercise violence against the will of those who were guarding the approach. The number of the advancing army was reported to be about two hundred thousand foot soldiers and nearly three thousand knights.

Furthermore, the king of Hungary had given orders that the army desiring to cross his country should be refused permission to enter. For he remembered the wrongs which he had inflicted upon the forces of Gottschalk and feared that these people, if introduced, might be moved to fight for the sake of revenge. The tale of the recent bloody

[115] The leaders of this band have been identified as Count Emicho of Leiningen; William, viscount of Melun, surnamed the Carpenter; Thomas de La Fère; Clarebold de Vendeuil; Count Hartman (not Herman) of Dyllingen and Kyburg; and Drogo de Nesle (cf. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *American Historical Review*, XXVI [1920–1921], 440–53).

[116] These persecutions occurred not only at Cologne and Mainz but also at Speyer, Worms, and Trier.

massacre had spread far and wide, and the enormity of the deed was causing the king to fear. The pilgrims succeeded, however, in obtaining permission from those guarding the city and from the captains of the legions who were protecting that part of the country to send messengers as suppliants to the king for the purpose of obtaining a truce and permission to traverse that land. During the interval, the soldiers encamped on this side the marsh in a pasture to await the result of their deputation.

30. *How they besieged the fortress Wieselburg and killed seven hundred Hungarians; and how, finally, being routed by divine will, they were nearly all killed by the enemy.*

After a few days had elapsed, the envoys who had been sent to the king returned and reported that their mission had been utterly without success. Thereupon, the leaders of the army, convinced by this report that no favor was to be found with the king, decided to lay waste his lands on that side of the river and also to burn the suburban places, thus acting as enemies toward the king's possessions. One day, while they were zealously carrying on this work, a force of seven hundred of the king's men, who had crossed the river to protect the land from the hostile devastation, chanced to come unexpectedly upon the pilgrims. Since they could not avoid them and were prevented by the river from returning home, they were nearly all killed. The few who escaped with the loss of their horses took counsel for life and safety in the sedges of the marsh.

Encouraged by this success, the pilgrims resolved to build bridges and attack the fortress; then, when the way had been opened by the sword, they would force an entrance into the kingdom. In pursuance of this plan, they called out the cohorts, crossed the bridges which they had just constructed, and reached the fortifications. Under the protection of their shields they boldly prepared to undermine the walls and force their way in. By diligent efforts, the walls were breached in many places, and the work had reached a point where entrance would soon be opened for the pilgrims. The people inside the city, reduced to utter despair, now scarcely dared hope for their lives, when, suddenly a panic, inspired from on high, seized the Christians. They abandoned the attack and left the greater part of their baggage. Although they were apparently the victors and knew of no reason for

flight, yet they turned and fled. It is said that no real cause existed except that by their many sins they had provoked the Lord to wrath. For they had followed ungodliness, which is ever wont to strike terror to the hearts of its devotees, and, according to the words of the wise man, the wicked "flee when none pursueth." [117]

The condition of the Hungarians was now changed for the better. When they perceived that the Christian forces were in flight, they pursued, as victors, the same troops who had caused them such terror shortly before. That same foe whom they had barely been able to withstand, even when within the walls and defended by the swamps, they now followed of their own accord and, in their turn, caused not merely fear but even death.

Of this number, Count Emicho fled with the greater part of his discomfited troops and returned to his own country. The other nobles, whom I mentioned above, turned aside through Carinthia and reached Italy; they crossed this country and arrived at the borders of Apulia. From there they went to Greece in the train of those leaders who were likewise making the same journey and who had proposed to sail across to Durazzo.[118]

Thus virtually the entire West was being agitated by this movement and others of the same nature, and almost every nation was sending forth its own bands separately. Some set forth on the pilgrimage under leaders, others without a head. But it is plain that the shortest way was found by those who went through Hungary, and this was entirely closed because of the insolence and outrageous excesses which those pilgrims who had gone on ahead so often and undeservedly perpetrated upon the inhabitants of that region. For this reason those who followed them were put to great trouble to conciliate the favor of the king of Hungary.

[117] Le. 26: 17.

[118] William, Drogo, Thomas, and Clarebold with Hugh the Great and Hartman with Godfrey (cf. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *American Historical Review*, XXVI [1920–21], 440–53).

HERE ENDS THE FIRST BOOK

THE SECOND BOOK BEGINS

THE ARMIES OF THE FIRST CRUSADE PROCEED TO CONSTANTINOPLE

1. *The time of Godfrey's departure and the nobles who went with him; and how they proceeded as far as Hungary.*

In that same year, 1096 of the Incarnation of the Lord, on the fifteenth day of the month of August, the illustrious and magnificent Lord Godfrey,[1] duke of Lotharingia, called together his comrades of the pilgrimage, arranged his baggage in the usual way, and started out on the march. This was after the departure of Peter the Hermit and the terrible disaster to his army, already related, after the massacre of Gottschalk's legions also mentioned, and after the further catastrophe on the frontiers of Hungary, described above, which is said to have befallen the host that came after him.

Distinguished men of high rank, worthy of remembrance forever, attached themselves to Godfrey's camp: Lord Baldwin, his brother, born of the same mother; Lord Baldwin of Mons, count of Hainault; Lord Hugh, count of St. Pol, and Enguerrand his son, a youth of excellent natural ability; Count Garnier, surnamed de Grey; Lord Reinard, count of Toul, and Peter his brother; Lord Baldwin du Bourg, a kinsman of the duke; Lord Henry d'Esch and Godfrey his brother; Dodo de Conti; Conon de Montague; and many others whose names and number we do not remember.[2] All these marched along peace-

[1] Godfrey of Bouillon was born about 1060, probably at Boulogne-sur-Mer. His father was Eustace II, count of Boulogne; his mother, Ida, daughter of Godfrey the Bearded, duke of Lower Lorraine. Her brother, Godfrey the Hunchback, succeeded to the duchy. Having no son, he designated his nephew as his successor. Henry IV, however, withheld the investiture of Godfrey until 1089. Meanwhile Godfrey had fought in Henry's service, taking some part in the latter's campaign in Italy, 1081–1084. By the time that William wrote, the reputation of Godfrey, who was made first Latin ruler of Jerusalem, had become so heavily encrusted with legend that the actual historical character became obscured. There is no satisfactory biography of Godfrey in English.

[2] Godfrey's forces were drawn chiefly from the regions of modern Belgium, Luxemburg, adjacent northern France, and the lower Rhine country which were then included in the duchy of Lower Lorraine. William has added Baldwin de Mons, Hugh of St. Pol, Enguerrand, and Conon to the list furnished by Albert of Aix. Neither mentions Eustace, another brother of Godfrey, at this point.

fully in one united band and arrived safe and sound, on September 20, at a place in the province of Austria called Tollenburg.[3] Here the river Leitha forms the dividing line between the territories of the empire and those of the kingdom of Hungary.

When they arrived at this town, they were greatly distressed over the reports of the disaster which was said to have befallen Gottschalk and his army. They took counsel with one another as to how they might proceed with safety on the work they had undertaken. Finally, by general consent, they resolved to send a deputation to the king of Hungary to ascertain more fully why the army of their brethren who had preceded them had perished in such a way in this land. Furthermore, the envoys were to find an opportunity to treat with the king concerning peace and, laying aside complaints of former quarrels, to arrange that a free passage through Hungary might be granted them. For to undertake to find another route, now that they had already begun their march, would cause them much loss and inconvenience. Accordingly, the noble Godfrey d'Esch, brother of Henry, was sent with certain other honorable men of high rank to undertake this mission, for, many years before, he had enjoyed the friendship of the king. As he entered the presence of the monarch, Godfrey saluted him as was due and then, faithfully carrying out the duty that had been enjoined upon him, began as follows.

2. *The message of the duke to Coloman, king of Hungary, by Godfrey d' Esch; and the answer of the king to the duke.*

"THE noble and distinguished Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, and the other leaders, worshippers of God who are accompanying him in devoted obedience to the divine will, have sent us to your excellency. They desire to know through us why a Christian people, remnants of whom we have found all along the way, have met with such inhuman treatment from you, a nation reputed to be among the number of the faithful. They might with greater safety have turned aside to pass through an enemy's country. If the offenses of those people were such that they deserved to be visited with the extreme penalty, those who sent me are prepared to endure their loss with resignation. For any

[3] William does not follow Albert in calling the Leitha a boundary of "Gaul" but corrects it as the boundary of the empire. There is doubt about the location of this stopping point. Hagenmeyer prefers Tulina (H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 70).

punishment, if inflicted for a just reason, provokes less anger and ought to be suffered with patience. But if it is otherwise, and without cause you have attacked the innocent and given them over to death, our leaders cannot pass over the wrongs inflicted on the servants of God but are prepared to avenge the blood of their brethren. Hence, they await from us your response on these matters and will make their decision in accordance with the tenor of that answer." With these words he ended his speech.

The king, surrounded by his satellites, answered him as follows: "It pleases us, beloved Godfrey, to whom long ago we extended the favor which your merit deserves, that you have come to us, not only that we may renew our friendship of olden times, but also that we may assert our innocence before so wise a judge. We are, indeed, as you say, of the number of the faithful, and would that by our deeds we might be able to exemplify the virtue of that name. But those who have preceded you, the followers of Peter the Hermit and the adherents of Gottschalk, as well as those who tried to take by assault one of our fortresses on the frontiers of the kingdom and to enter our realm by force, were, neither in act nor name, followers of Christ. We received Peter and his army in the beginning with hospitality and offered them the goods which we had, freely or at a just price. They, however, like a snake in the bosom or a mouse in a wardrobe, poorly requited their hosts.[4] For when they ought to have poured forth thanks for the benefits bestowed upon them, they broke into one of our cities on the extreme frontiers of the kingdom, utterly destroyed the population, and, with the violence of robbers, departed, driving off flocks and herds, the spoils of the place. Notwithstanding this outrage, as if we had suffered no wrongs from former expeditions, we admitted the host of Gottschalk without difficulty or trouble. They, in return, did not hesitate to plunder, to work violence, to burn, and even, on the most trivial pretexts, to massacre. Thus, by the enormity of their crimes they provoked the Lord to wrath.

"Unable to endure longer the wrongs inflicted upon our subjects, we turned our attention to providing some remedy for these dangerous conditions. In view of our former experiences, we have deemed it prudent to bar from our realm these companies of impious men, plainly

[4] A favorite adage of William. Here again William has expanded with more courtly language the diplomatic interchange reported by Albert.

hateful to God, lest for a third time we should suffer injuries at their hands. Far better is it to do this than to undergo the insults and enormous losses which they visit upon us, or to fight them as enemies. Let it suffice, then, that we have offered these details as our excuse to you, a wise and careful man. For as God lives, we have stated the actual truth just as it is."

With these words, he ordered the envoys to be treated with hospitality and great respect, until, after conferring with his people, he could send messengers to the leaders with a suitable answer. At length, he sent to the duke and the leaders some of his own household with the envoys. They were charged with this message.

"We have heard, and indeed have long known by report, that you are rightly regarded as a great prince, illustrious and greatly esteemed among your people, and that wise men, even though afar off, admire the sincerity of your faith and the commendable constancy of your heart. We too, attracted by the good odor of your name and the fervor of your works, have purposed to cherish you, even in your absence, and to honor you with greater favor. We believe that the noble men of your train, who are likewise fired with zeal for the Christian faith, have undertaken a pious work. Since we do not desire that those virtues by which friends are usually gained should become torpid among us by disuse, we are ready to render due affection to all and to abound toward them in works of brotherly affection.

"Accordingly, since the opportunity presents itself thus, we beg that you will consent to come to our castle Ciperon,[5] that we may hold with you a long-desired conference and be able to bring about an agreement that will conform to your wishes."

3. *The king and our leaders hold a conference, and Baldwin, the duke's brother, is given as a hostage. After they have passed through Hungary, Baldwin is restored, and the king honors the duke with many gifts.*

AFTER the duke had heard the king's deputies and had held a consultation with his friends, he went on the day appointed to the place designated, accompanied by three hundred knights chosen from his entire following. After crossing the bridge, he found the king there. The

[5] This is identified as Odenburg (Sopron) by H. Hefele, *Albert von Aachen, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs.*

latter received him most kindly and with much honor. Great friendliness was shown on both sides, and it was finally agreed that hostages chosen from among the nobles should be given, that all ill-feeling should be laid aside, and peace reëstablished. On these conditions, the king granted the duke permission to enter the kingdom with his forces.

That he might have more reliable security for admitting so numerous a host, which, perchance, relying on their number and valor, might seize on some pretext to disturb the kingdom, the king requested that Baldwin, the duke's brother, with his wife [6] and household, be given as the hostages. To this the duke gave a willing assent, surrendered his brother as hostage under the terms stipulated, and led his troops into the kingdom. Thereupon, in faithful fulfillment of his promise, the king issued an edict that throughout the entire country where the troops were about to pass the necessary food for the legions should be offered at a fair price and with just weight, and that, furthermore, a market of articles for sale should accompany the army.

The duke, on his part, ordered a proclamation to be made by the voice of the herald, throughout the camp, that no one, under penalty of death and confiscation of all goods, should dare to plunder or use force or violence on those coming to the army, but that, in the bonds of peace, with fraternal affection, they should engage in the transactions of trade.

Thus it happened that, led by the grace of God, they crossed the whole of Hungary without offense on either side through the slightest word. The king conducted the hostages with him and accompanied the advancing army on the left with a large force of his own troops, ready, if any disturbance should arise, to quiet it at once by his own presence.

When at last they arrived at Semlin, so often mentioned, they halted on the banks of the river Save until a passage could be arranged for the troops. Since only a few boats were found there, quite insufficient to transport so many people, rafts were built for this purpose. One thousand knights fully armed were put across first to guard the farther bank against any chance of ambush on the enemy's part, so that the host, when it had crossed, might find a quiet resting place. Then the pilgrims eagerly passed to the other side.

[6] Baldwin, one of the real heroes of the crusade, had renounced ecclesiastical studies for a military career. His wife, who accompanied him, was to become one of the martyrs of the crusade. See Book III, note 20. There is no adequate biography of him in English.

Scarcely had the people and some of their leaders sailed across, when the king quickly advanced, accompanied by a large escort, and surrendered Baldwin with his wife and all the other hostages into the hands of the duke, as had been agreed upon in the beginning. He then honored the duke and the other leaders with rich gifts and returned to his home. With the other leaders and the rest of the people, the duke then immediately followed the legions which had already crossed to the farther shore. On reaching Belgrade, a city of Bulgaria which has been alluded to before, he made his camp there. Then, after the baggage had been arranged and the legions prepared for the march, they passed through the extensive woods and forests of Bulgaria and came first to Nish and then to Stralicia.

4. *Our legions advance into the lands of the empire. The entrance is described and the wretched conditions of the Greeks noted.*

THE extreme wretchedness of the Greeks and the weakness of their empire is easily conjectured from the state of these places, which were once rich provinces filled with all kinds of desirable commodities. When the rule of the Latin princes of Constantinople ceased, the empire, because of its sins, fell into the power of the Greeks under Nicephorus I.[7] The barbarous people of the locality immediately took advantage of the weakness of that power. They descended upon the lands subject to it and began to treat the inhabitants as they would. Of these invaders, the uncivilized race of Bulgarians, descending from the north, had seized all the countries from the Danube even to the royal city and, again, from that same river to the Adriatic sea. As a result, the names and boundaries of the provinces became so confused that the entire tract, which is said to be a journey of thirty days in length and ten or more in width, is called Bulgaria, the wretched Greeks themselves being ignorant that the very name testifies to their disgrace. For formerly, on the Adriatic sea lay the two provinces of Epirus. The metropolis of one of these was Durazzo. It was once the

[7] Nicephorus, emperor 802–811. The change from Latin to Greek at Constantinople had occurred much earlier. Even the dynasty of Justinian in the sixth century was scarcely Latin in blood, and Greek became the language of the court very soon after the death of Justinian. William has injected this discussion of Balkan history from his independent study of ancient and Byzantine history. He himself had journeyed through a part of the Balkans on his mission of 1168 (Book XX, chap. 4).

capital of Pyrrhus, king of the Epirotes, a valiant and admirable man. The country through which the duke, at the head of his army, was about to pass had been the two Dacias, namely: Dacia Ripensis, on their left as they crossed the Danube, and Dacia Mediterrania, through which, with its once splendid cities Nish and Stralicia, they marched on their course.

There were other provinces also in the same district, Arcadia, Thessaly, Macedonia, and the three provinces of Thrace, all of which were involved in the same misfortune. Nor were these the only possessions which the Greeks had lost by their weakness. For, even later, after the Greek Emperor Basil had subjugated that same Bulgarian people, no one was permitted to occupy or cultivate the land in the more remote provinces. Especially was this the case in those which border on foreign kingdoms and through which their own lands are approached, namely, the two Dacias. The same condition exists today. Consequently, since the whole country is covered with woods and shrubby growth, no one, however desirous, can enter there, for the Greeks place greater confidence in the hindrances afforded by difficult roads and the defenses of thorny brambles than in their own forces. Under the same policy, they leave Epirus Primus a wilderness, bare of inhabitants, that deserted woods and pathless wilds wholly without food supplies, instead of bolts and bars, may act as obstacles to those wishing to enter it. This country, through which all the other leaders had to pass, begins at Durazzo and extends a journey of four days to the mountains called the Balkans.

The duke with his legions marched through Dacia Mediterrania, known also as Moesia. Then, after passing through the defiles commonly called the pass of St. Basil, he descended into a more level country which afforded a good food supply, and came to the noble and populous city of Philippopolis. There he learned that Hugh the Great,[8] brother of Philip, king of the Franks, with some other nobles, was being detained in prison by the emperor. He at once dispatched messengers thither in haste and earnestly besought the emperor, both by letters and the living voice, to let those men go free, admonishing

[8] Hugh de Vermandois, younger brother of King Philip I, seems to have acquired the appellation of "Great" by mistake. Neither his acts nor, so far as is known, his size justified such a designation. Anna Comnena says that he conducted himself in an arrogant manner (Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, trans., *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena,* pp. 252–53, 261).

him that they were vowed to the same pilgrimage and were held prisoners wholly without cause.

This illustrious man [Hugh], who was the first of all the leaders to start, had crossed the Alps into Italy. From there he went to Apulia, crossed the sea with a small escort, and stopped at Durazzo to wait for those who were following. He was entirely without apprehension that anything disastrous could happen to him and his in the kingdom of the Greeks, who were reckoned as belonging to the Christian faith. But he was seized by the governor of that district and thrown into prison, that he might be handed over to the emperor to be dealt with according to his sovereign will. The emperor was detaining him as a prisoner, like a robber or murderer. He was awaiting the arrival of the leaders who were said to be on the way, so that, if they should succeed in reaching there, he might appear to have released him as a favor to them; but, if otherwise, he intended to keep him a prisoner for life.

5. *The duke sends envoys to the emperor to demand the release of Hugh the Great and the other nobles who are held as prisoners. The entire region is given over to pillage. Our forces finally reach Constantinople.*

AT this time a wicked and crafty man, Alexius, surnamed Comnenus, was ruling over the Greek empire. He had formerly lived in the imperial palace, where he enjoyed the dignity and fulfilled the duties of majordomo, which we call grand seneschal, being second in rank only to the emperor. As such, he was greatly honored by Nicephorus, surnamed Botoniath, who at that time was wielding the scepter. Five or six years before our people came, however, this man had treacherously rebelled against his benefactor; he had driven out his lord and seized the empire and was now presuming to hold it by force.[9]

The duke's envoys approached the emperor and, according to their instructions, insistently demanded that Hugh and his companions be

[9] Should be fifteeen or sixteen years. Alexius I, emperor 1081–1118, overthrew and succeeded Nicephorus III Botoniates and founded the dynasty of the Comneni. His daughter, Anna, wrote an extended account of his reign under the title *Alexiad* (see translation by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, pp. 253–54). Chalandon, who investigated both Norman and Byzantine history during this period, came to view Alexius in a more favorable light than that in which he was portrayed by the chroniclers of the First Crusade (see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la première croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon*, pp. 116 ff.; also F. Chalandon, *Essai sur la règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène, 1081–1118*, pp. 175–86).

released. As this request was emphatically refused by the emperor, they returned to the army, which had now passed through Adrianople and had come to a resting place in certain pasture lands. When the duke and the other leaders learned from their envoys that the emperor would not release these men, by common consent they exposed all that region to plunder by their legions. Since they remained there for eight successive days, they completely devastated the district. As soon as news of this came to the ears of the emperor, he dispatched messengers to the duke. He besought him to put a stop to the ravages of his legions and gave assurance that the noblemen should be released as requested. The duke gladly acceded to this arrangement and forbade the legions to plunder further. He then marched on to Constantinople with his forces under good control. There he spread his tents and with his strong and numerous army established his camp before the city.

The noblemen just referred to, Hugh the Great, Drogo de Nesle, William Carpenter, and Clarebold de Vendeuil came out from the city to meet the army and repaired to the camp to return thanks for their liberation. The duke received them with much affection and due honor. He kept them with him for some time, showing them kindness and sympathizing as a brother with them in the misfortunes which they had so unjustly endured.

6. *The emperor invites the duke to come to him. The invitation is refused, and a serious hostility arises between them. By the emperor's trickery, the army is removed to a more confined place.*

SCARCELY had they embraced one another, however, and refreshed themselves with pleasant converse, when messengers arrived from the emperor. They bore commands bidding the duke to hasten to the imperial presence with a small escort. After conferring with his friends, however, the duke decided to defer his going. Thereupon the emperor became very indignant and refused a market to the legions which had come with the duke. In view of the general need and the lack of supplies, the leaders again, by common consent, overran the suburbs with large forces of armed men. They drove off flocks and herds everywhere and brought back into the camp a large supply of provisions of all kinds, so that even the common people had great abundance even to satiety.

When the emperor saw that the whole region was exposed to fire and pillage, terrified lest some worse calamity might ensue, he ordered the market to be restored. Since the solemn day of our Lord's Nativity was at hand, out of reverence for religion the chiefs decreed that during those four days the troops should be restrained from all plundering and outrage of every kind. The festal season passed in perfect peace and quiet. After it was over, a messenger arrived from the emperor, requesting with pacific words, yet with hidden guile, that they lead the troops across the bridge which is next to the palace called Blachernae and take up their quarters in the numerous palaces along the shores of the Bosphorus. This they were easily persuaded to do, for the approach of winter was greatly distressing them. The unprecedented rainstorms were so violent that the tents could scarcely keep out the water, and there was danger that food and equipment of all kinds would be destroyed by rot through continual exposure to dampness. Neither man nor beast nor any other living thing could long endure the penetrating force of the cold and the frequent snow, to say nothing of the continual moisture, discomforts by which they were tortured beyond endurance.

Although by his words the emperor seemed to be in sympathy with the pilgrims, yet his real intent was entirely different. His actual reason for this move was that the legions, when confined to a more limited space, would have less freedom to wander about, and his own power to restrain them would be greater. That this may be more fully understood, some facts about the site of the above-named city must be given at this point.

7. *A description of the site of Constantinople.*[10] *The duke sends envoys to the emperor. Our army suffers from unexpected ambushes laid by the Greeks.*

THE Pontic [Black] sea, which takes its name from the adjacent region, lies to the north of Constantinople, about thirty miles away. From this sea, a certain portion, in form like a river, descends toward the south through narrow passages. This branch flows in a straight

[10] This description of Constantinople recalls Ovid as well as Solinus and Orosius, whom William cites. Ovid's *Tristia, Epistulae ex Ponto,* and *Metamorphoses* are suggested. William himself had visited the city before he wrote this passage, a fact which is reflected in his reference to "castle of Bohemond."

course for the space of two hundred and thirty miles, passes between Sestos and Abydos, very ancient cities, one of which is in Europe and the other in Asia, and finally empties into our Mediterranean sea. Issuing forth from the Black sea, it flows for thirty miles in a continuous stream from the first passage where it entered and toward the western part forms a gulf about five or six miles long and about one mile wide. This narrow sea, which extends for two hundred and thirty miles from the Black sea to the Mediterranean, is called the Bosphorus, or the Propontis, or the Hellespont. In the seventeenth chapter of *De memorabilibus*, Solinus bears witness to this, as follows: "The fourth gulf of Europe begins at the Hellespont and ends at the entrance to Lake Maeotis. The entire width of this body of water which divides Europe from Asia is compressed into a strait of seven *stadii*. This is the Hellespont which Xerxes crossed by a bridge of boats which he caused to be constructed. From here the stream flows on as a narrow channel to Priapus, a city of Asia which Alexander the Great, yearning to conquer the world, seized as he passed by. At this point it widens again into a very broad expanse of waters and forms the Propontis. Presently it contracts to a width of five hundred paces and becomes the Bosphorus of Thrace, across which Darius transported his troops." [11]

These names seem to have originated in the tales of ancient poets. The Bosphorus is so called because Jupiter under the guise of a bull is said to have carried off across its waters Europa, the daughter of Agenor. The name Hellespont comes from Helle, the sister of Phryxis, who, according to the myth, also crossed that sea with her brother on the back of a ram. This forms the boundary between Europe and Asia and, in common parlance, is called the arm of St. George. Its length is as we have given it, but the width is not the same in all places. According to the situation and formation of the lands adjacent to it, it contracts now to width of one mile and again stretches out to thirty or more. The gulf which extends to the west, as has been mentioned, forms one of the most famous harbors of the world and has a commodious roadstead. Between this gulf and the Bosphorus, in an angle, as it were, lies the city of which we are speaking. It was formerly called Byzantium, an obscure place, almost the last city in Thrace. Now notable under the happier name of the emperor who enlarged it,

[11] Solinus *Polyhistor* XII.

it has become the capital of the provinces, the residence of the emperor, and is jealous of the name of Rome, its senior, with her prerogative of dignity.

According to the account contained in the third book of Paul Orosius,[12] this city was founded by Pausanius, king of the Spartans. It is in the shape of a triangle with three unequal sides. The first of these extends from that angle which is contained between the sea and the Hellespont, where the church of St. George, called Mangana, is situated, straight along the harbor to the new palace named Blachernae. The second side stretches along the Hellespont from the same monastery of St. George to the Golden gate. The third runs through level country from that same gate to the palace Blachernae, just mentioned, and is well fortified with walls, towers, and outer defenses. A river flows into the harbor. This is rather small in summer, but in winter it is so swollen by the rains that a bridge is necessary.

Crossing this bridge, our army repaired to the quarters assigned to it in some of the buildings which are so numerous along the edge of the Bosphorus, between its own waters and those of the Black sea. While tarrying there to await the arrival of the other leaders, the duke received frequent messages from the emperor requesting his presence. Distrust of the monarch's friendliness, however, and dread of a conference with him made Godfrey reluctant to respond to the summons. He felt, however, that it would be discourteous and contrary to the laws of honor, if he did not at least send suitable persons to represent him, since he did not wish to go in person. Accordingly, he sent the noble Conon de Montague, Baldwin du Bourg, and Henry d'Esch to present his excuses to the emperor. When Alexius perceived that the duke's decision was unalterable and that he could not be forced by any means to come into his presence, he again forbade the market. Even this measure, however, was not successful in bending the will of this determined man. Alexius therefore adopted severer measures. He secretly dispatched archers across the river in boats to the place where the duke's forces were encamped. At the first break of day, these bowmen shot and killed a great many of our people, not only those who had gone down to the shore, but others as well who were looking out of the windows.

[12] Orosius III. 13.

8. *The army returns to the city. A great battle is fought. A terrible massacre of the Greeks results.*

When this fact was reported to the duke, he at once called the chiefs of the people together for consultation. By the advice of all, he directed his brother to take a detachment of troops and quickly seize the bridge by which the army had crossed, lest it be cut off in those confined places and suffer great loss of numbers. With a detachment of five hundred knights, the energetic Baldwin hastened to the bridge and seized it by force; for now not only was the attitude of those who had landed from the boats most threatening, but the entire city also was arming in hostile manner against our people.

The Christians perceived that their adversaries were making active and zealous preparations against them and that the citizens as a body were seizing weapons to destroy them. They therefore set fire to all the palaces where they had been quartered, for a stretch of six or seven miles along the Bosphorus. These, whether private property or that of the emperor, they burned to the ground.

Summoned by the shrill sound of trumpets and horns from the different quarters whither they had gone for rest, the troops hastily seized their arms and headlong followed the duke, who with battle lines already formed was hastening to the bridge. For those who had had much military experience realized with alarm that, if the enemy seized the bridge, the army would be caught in the narrow space at a great disadvantage. Consequently, without waiting for the infantry divisions, they had hastily concentrated the entire cavalry force at that point. But, as has been stated, Baldwin, the duke's brother, had hurried on ahead and had already seized the bridge, in spite of the enemy's efforts. He had forced them to turn in flight and was now holding the farther bank of the river for our army.

Accordingly, the duke and the entire host, with the baggage and equipment of every description, crossed without difficulty and again took up a position before the city in the open country which extended in every direction without obstruction. Toward evening, an engagement took place between the church of the Holy Martyrs Cosmo and Damien, now usually called the castle of Bohemond, and the new palace, Blachernae, which lies in an angle of the city near the harbor. In this battle large numbers were killed, and the Greeks, unable to endure the strain of battle longer, were forced to retreat into the city.

Our victorious army then encamped in the most convenient part of the field so valiantly won. Had not the swift descent of night put an end to the struggle between the two armies, it is possible that the townspeople would have issued forth again, their hatred lending them fury. A second battle more violent than the first would probably have ensued, and the resulting loss of life would probably have been greater.

Here for the first time, the nefarious design of the emperor in ordering the camp to be moved was clearly revealed without possibility of doubt; namely, that he might confine that suspected people within a narrow space, as if within bolts and bars.

9. *The people rush to arms and devastate the entire district. A great abundance of food in camp results.*

As soon as day returned to the earth, it was decreed by public proclamation that the people should rise to arms. Some, under specially assigned leaders, were dispatched to scour the country round about and bring back provisions, the sale of which had been forbidden by the emperor. Orders were given to obtain these either by force or by purchase, and to spare neither flocks, herds, crops, nor any other kind of provisions. Others were to remain in the army with the duke and certain other leading men to guard the camp, for, having discovered the treachery of the emperor and his people, they were protecting themselves against these little trickeries by every possible means.

Accordingly, a large contingent consisting of both horsemen and foot soldiers, went out on a foraging expedition. For six successive days, they ravaged the fields within a circuit of about sixty miles and, on the eighth day, brought into camp a quantity of provisions almost beyond belief; in fact, so great was the throng of flocks and herds and beasts of burden, to say nothing of vehicles, that much difficulty was experienced in bringing the plunder back.

10. *A messenger from Bohemond arrives to beg the duke not to go to the emperor. The duke's answer to Bohemond.*

WHILE these events were happening in camp, a messenger from Bohemond came to the duke, bearing a letter from the prince which read as follows: "Know, best of men, that you have to do with the worst of beasts and a very wicked man. His purpose always is to deceive and, in every way possible, to pursue even to the death every Latin nation.

Some time or other, your own judgment will approve my feelings toward him as just. For I have known that the malice and hatred of the Greeks for the Latin name is deep-seated and persistent. Leave the city, therefore, if it pleases you, and go to the country around Adrianople or Philippopolis. There allow the troops entrusted to you by the Lord to refresh themselves by rest and food in a fertile land. Presently, toward the beginning of spring, I, by the will of the Lord, will come to offer you as my lord in brotherly affection aid and advice against the wicked prince of the Greeks."

The duke read the letter, and after fully considering its contents, held a consultation with the leaders. He then answered, both by the living voice and by letter, in this wise: [13]

"I know, beloved brother, and long ago was apprised by report, that with inexorable hatred the crafty race of the Greeks ever ardently desires to persecute our people. If formerly I lacked any part of that knowledge, I have from day to day acquired it fully by experience. I do not question that you are moved against them by righteous zeal and that your instinctive feeling about their wickedness is correct. But, having before my eyes the fear of God and the object of my expedition, I shrink from turning against a Christian people the arms which are pledged to combat the infidel. Nevertheless, the army that is with us, beloved of God, awaits your coming most eagerly, as well as that of the other princes devoted to the Lord."

11. *The emperor sends his own son, John Porphyrogenitus* [14] *as hostage and invites the duke to come to him. The duke goes. The emperor adopts him. Peace is restored between them.*

EXTREME anxiety now beset the emperor as well as all his household and court. He saw that the entire country was exposed to pillage, and the groans and lamentations of his people were becoming unendurable. Moreover, he knew that messengers had come from Bohemond and that the prince himself would follow soon. If the princes who were on

[13] William again elaborates Albert's account of the diplomatic interchange. He correctly omits Albert's characterization of Bohemond as a very wealthy prince (Albertus Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, IV, 309).

[14] John Porphyrogenitus, literally "born to the purple," was heir apparent to the imperial throne and did succeed his father in 1118.

the way should meet before he had succeeded in conciliating the duke, he feared that they would unite as one man for his ruin. He therefore sent his messengers a second time to beg the duke to visit him. It was for this reason that he exerted himself so strenuously to accomplish the reconciliation before they should arrive, and again sent a pressing entreaty to the duke. He urged him to repair to the palace without any hesitation as soon as he received John Porphyrogenitus, his own son, whom he was sending as a hostage.

This communication pleased the leaders. Conon de Montague and Baldwin du Bourg, men of very high degree, were sent to receive the emperor's son, who was then entrusted to the careful guardianship of [Baldwin] the brother of the duke. As soon as this had been done, the duke left his brother in charge of the army and went to the city, accompanied by the other leaders. He presented himself to the emperor, who had so long desired his presence, and was received by him with much honor. The monarch was surrounded by distinguished men, all eager to see the man of whom they had heard so much and with whom they were somewhat acquainted already.

The nobles in attendance on the duke were likewise honored with a greeting by the emperor, according as their rank demanded, and received the kiss of peace. Assiduously inquiring as to their health, he called each one by name and showed himself affable and kind to all, that he might win their favor. Then addressing the duke, he said: "We have heard, beloved duke, that you are most powerful among your princes, and the pious enterprise which you are zealously carrying out, armed with the laudable enthusiasm of devotion, is not unknown to us. Furthermore, frequent rumors have spread the fact far and wide that you are a man of steadfast spirit and sincere faith. Accordingly, as your noble life deserves, you have won the favor of many who have not even seen you.

"We also desire to surround you with every tie of affection and to show you peculiar favor. Hence we have resolved to adopt you today as a son, in the presence of the great men of our sacred palace. We place our empire in your power, that, through you, its integrity may remain unimpaired, in the sight of the multitude here assembled and of those of future times."

With these words, in accordance with a regular court ceremonial which was always observed in adoptions of this kind, he caused the

duke to be clothed in imperial robes and adopted him as son, as was the custom of the realm. Thus was peace and good will fully reëstablished between them.

12. *The duke takes leave for a time and departs laden with gifts. A market is provided for the pilgrims. The duke's legions cross the Bosphorus and encamp in the district around Chalcedon.*

WHEN this ceremonial was over, the emperor opened his treasure to the duke and his companions and bestowed upon them splendid gifts. These were of gold, gems, silken fabrics, and precious vases far exceeding the imagination of man both in elegance of workmanship and value of material.[15] For the emperor desired that, loaded to the limit with gifts by his great generosity, they should marvel at the incomparable quantity of his riches and the munificence of his imperial majesty. Nor was this liberality shown once only toward the duke. For from the day of Epiphany even to the day of the Lord's Ascension, he sent him each week from the imperial palace as many gold coins as four strong men could carry on their shoulders, besides ten measures of copper *denarii.* The duke, however, kept nothing for himself, but generously bestowed it all on the nobles and the army, according as the needs of each individual seemed to require.

They then took leave of the emperor for a time and returned to the camp. John, the emperor's son, who had been detained at the camp as a hostage for the duke's return, was thereupon sent back to his father, attended by an honorable escort.

The emperor then sent forth a public edict ordering that all necessaries for the duke's army should be furnished at a just price and fair weight, and proclaimed that the penalty of death was to be inflicted on all who violated this mandate. The duke, on his part, forbade by the voice of the herald that any violence or wrong should be done in his camp to the emperor's men, under pain of death. Thus, with mutual coöperation, they kept on trading quite harmoniously.

About the middle of March, the duke learned that the other leaders were arriving and stationing their armies in the vicinity. At the sug-

[15] William here substitutes silken fabrics and precious vases for the mules and horses which satisfied Albert's imagination as fit presents from the emperor to the feudal leaders, perhaps another reflection of the social change which occurred in the twelfth century.

gestion of the emperor, but with the consent of the elders and of his people as well, he caused boats to be made ready and crossed the Hellespont. He then established his camp at Chalcedon, in Bithynia, which was the first province of Asia to which he came.

It was at the city of Chalcedon in Bithynia, in the time of Pope Leo the Elder and the Emperor Martian, that the fourth general synod, composed of six hundred and thirty-six fathers, met to combat the heresies of the monk Eutyches and of Dioscurus, patriarch of Alexandria.[16] This place is very near Constantinople, separated from that city only by the Bosphorus, and from it all could see the royal city, so near a neighbor. Moreover, those whose business urgently required it could easily go thither and return to the camp three or four times a day.

But the fact that the emperor by his persuasive words induced the duke to conduct his army across the sea sooner than he had intended did not proceed from sincerity and good faith. On the contrary, with his usual trickery, he circumvented the duke in order that the latter's forces might not unite with the others when they arrived. With the same subtlety, he compelled the others who followed later to cross over one by one, so that two armies were never together before the city at the same time.

13. *Bohemond hastens his coming. The nobles in his train are described. The emperor secretly prepares schemes to entrap him.*

THIS, then, was the situation between the emperor and the duke at Constantinople. Meanwhile, Lord Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, prince of Taranto [17] had crossed the Adriatic sea, before the unfavorable winter season set in and had arrived at Durazzo with all his forces.

[16] Council of Chalcedon, fourth oecumenical council, A.D. 451.

[17] Bohemond, the most vigorous and vivid figure on the crusade, was the oldest son of Robert Guiscard by a first wife who was set aside for the more noble-born Sigilgaita. The inheritance passed to Roger, son of the latter. Bohemond, who seems, however, to have inherited nearly all of his father's ability, caused his half-brother continuous trouble and forced some concessions of territory from him. The title "Prince of Taranto" was apparently a later invention. At this time he held only Bari. The crusade offered him greater opportunities, and his qualities of leadership were so pronounced that he was able to induce many of his brother's soldiers to follow him to the East. His band was probably the smallest of the major divisions of the army which made up the crusade. Anna Comnena taunts him for his poverty, but her taunts are in themselves a tribute to his ability. (See the brief but excellent biography by R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch.*)

From there he marched slowly through the wilds of Bulgaria with those who were following him. Many noble and powerful men from Italy and other lands had attached themselves to his army. We have retained the names and number of some of these, that they may be remembered forever. They were Tancred, son of William Marchisus; Richard of the Principate, son of William Iron-Arm, the brother of Robert Guiscard; Rainulf, his brother; Robert of Anzi; Herman de Canni; Robert de Sourdeval; Robert, son of Tostan; Humphrey, son of Ralph; Richard, son of Count Rainulf; the count of Rosinolo with his brothers; also Boello de Chartres; Albered de Cagnano; and Humphrey of Montescaglioso.[18] All these, following the standard of Bohemond, arrived at the city of Castoria, where they celebrated the birthday of the Lord.

At this place markets were not provided by the city for people who were passing through. Hence they were compelled to seize by force flocks and herds and other things necessary for food. This caused loss to the natives, who detested them as enemies. Again resuming the march from here, they came into a very rich region called Pelagonia, where they encamped. At this place they learned that there was a fortified town near by inhabited entirely by heretics.[19] Thither they marched with all speed, captured it by force of arms, and burned the buildings. They put the inhabitants to death either by fire or by sword and carried off a great amount of booty and richest spoils.

When the emperor heard that the legions of Bohemond were on the way, he privately instructed the chiefs of his armies, whom he had sent into winter quarters in that same region, to march constantly alongside the Christian forces as far as the river Vardar with all the troops of that locality. Whenever a suitable opportunity occurred, whether by night or by day, they were to try to harass the advancing

[18] William is here following the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*. His identification of William, brother of Robert Guiscard, as "Ferrebrachia," i.e., Iron-Arm, may imply a more intimate connection with south Italian affairs than has usually been assumed. "Rosinolo" has not been identified with any certainty, several places in France as well as Italy having similar names. Yewdale's identifications have been accepted for the others. (See also Beatrice A. Lees, *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, pp. 106–7.)

[19] Who these heretics were has not been positively established. Chalandon felt certain that they were the Paulicians, a Manichean group (*Première Croisade*, p. 135). Hagenmeyer, on the other hand, is inclined to accept Baldric's statement that they represented several elements, including Jews and Muslims, who did not subscribe to either Latin or Greek orthodox Christianity (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, p. 160, notes 47, 48).

army either openly or otherwise. He had grave misgivings about the coming of Bohemond, for, in times gone by, he had frequently suffered much from both that leader and his father.[20] Yet, being a crafty man, thoroughly skilled in concealing and disguising his purposes, he dispatched some of the nobles of his own household to that distinguished man. They were commanded to address him with pacific words, subtly concealing the real guile beneath, and to make every effort to deceive him. The tenor of the written message which he sent, as well as the spoken word delivered by the envoys, was as follows.

14. *The letter of the Emperor Alexius to Lord Bohemond. The emperor's army makes a secret attack on Bohemond's camp. A prisoner is captured who discloses the evil designs of the emperor.*

"Our majesty, protected by God, has been informed and does not doubt that you are a great prince, powerful and illustrious, and that you are also the son of a magnificent prince, likewise powerful and indefatigable. We have ever held you in affection and approval, as your merits deserve, although, up to this time, we have never seen you in person.[21] We have learned that, in pious obedience, you have girded yourself for the service of God and have joined with other princes devoted to God in undertaking this same pilgrimage. Hence it is our purpose to love and honor you still more and to hold you firmly established in our favor. Therefore, our beloved friend, [we beg you to] instruct the people who are following you to spare our subjects, cause violence, rapine, and fires to cease, and come as speedily as possible to our presence, that, free from all care, you may enjoy the many honors and favors which we intend to bestow upon you. We have given command to the bearers of these presents to procure the things necessary for your army at a just price, so that a continual supply of commodities may attend it."

[20] Robert Guiscard had developed designs on the Greek peninsula long before the time of Alexius. At one time it appeared that a marriage might be arranged between Guiscard's daughter and a son of the emperor. The palace revolutions of 1078 and 1081 ended those hopes, and war ensued, 1080-1085. Bohemond was left in charge of his father's forces when the latter rushed to Pope Gregory's aid against Henry IV. He was not, however, able alone to withstand the superior forces of Alexius, and though there was some hope of success when his father returned, the death of the latter in 1085 ended that venture (see Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, pp. 23–24).

[21] They had on several occasions, however, been opposed to each other on battlefields. William here as elsewhere expands the diplomatic correspondence.

Although on the surface these words of the emperor seemed to contain much kindness, yet they were imbued with poison. But Bohemond, a wise and shrewd man, who was well aware of the emperor's malice, hid his feelings. He conducted himself with due caution and returned thanks to the monarch for the condescension and solicitude shown for his well-being.

Led by these men as guides, then, they came to the river Vardar. Here they found that a part of the troops had already crossed and were halting on the other shore, while another section was still in the act of crossing. At this moment, the emperor's satellites, who had been following the footsteps of our army with a great company, thought that their opportunity had come and with hostile intent fell furiously upon the part of the people who were about to cross. Tancred discovered this and, always alert for action, flew with the speed of lightning to that point. Followed by about two thousand knights, he swam across the intervening river to the farther bank. As soon as these warriors reached the other shore, they fell upon the enemy with their swords, broke up their ranks, and put them to flight. They pursued them for some time with great slaughter. Some prisoners were also taken and led before Bohemond. To his repeated inquiries why they were pursuing a Christian army, they replied that they were the emperor's men and, to earn their pay, must fight as he ordered. Here, at length, it was fully evident to all that everything the emperor had said to them was fraud and trickery; yet, because they were about to pass through by his means, Bohemond, against the will of the rest, preferred to hide his feelings rather than uselessly to provoke the emperor's anger.

15. *The duke comes out to meet Bohemond, and conducts the prince much against his will to the emperor, who receives him with great honor. In the meantime, Tancred moves his legions into Bithynia, where they unite with the duke's army.*

After crossing Macedonia and all Illyricum, the army under competent guidance proceeded at a quicker pace and began to approach the city. On the fifth day before the feast of Easter the army halted near the city. Here a second embassy was received from the emperor, who sent the urgent request that Bohemond leave his troops and come with a small escort to visit him. Bohemond hesitated for a while and delayed putting these commands into effect, for he suspected the emperor of

evil intentions. While he was debating what to do, the illustrious Duke Godfrey arrived in state, attended by an honorable retinue of nobles. In compliance with the earnest entreaties of the emperor he had come to Bohemond to try to induce him to wait on his imperial majesty without fear. The two embraced each other and exchanged the kiss of true affection. An agreeable talk then followed as each questioned the other about his affairs. At last the duke, following his instructions, advised Bohemond to visit the emperor. The prince was very reluctant at first and paid but slight attention to the duke's advice, for he distrusted the words of the emperor, as we have said. Finally, however, he yielded to Godfrey's persuasion and, escorted by the duke, went confidently to the palace.

The emperor received him with the kiss of peace and honored him with favors of many kinds. After much friendly conference, Bohemond finally became the emperor's man, as the saying is. He did homage to the emperor and swore fealty to him, according to the custom of liege men to their lords.[22]

After this, costly gifts of untold value were offered him from the royal wardrobe; gold, robes, vases, and precious stones. Peace was thus established between them.

Tancred,[23] son of Bohemond's sister, a most excellent man in every respect, had carefully avoided the presence of the emperor and conference with him. While Bohemond was still at the imperial court, Tancred had transferred his entire army to Bithynia in the district of Chalcedon, on the other side of the Bosphorus. He camped near the army of the duke, which had crossed a short time before and was now awaiting the arrival of the later armies.

[22] It is difficult to convey in translation the greater formality in the ceremony of vassalage which had arisen during the twelfth century. When the anonymous author says simply "hominium et fiduciam, sicut alii fecerant," William writes, "factus est . . . dominus Boamundus Imperatoris homo, fidelitate manualiter exhibita et juramento praestito corporaliter, qualiter solent fideles dominis suis exhibere." The change was not merely one of language, for the ceremony itself was elaborated to include an oath taken with one hand resting upon sacred relics, sometimes, as here, upon several sacred objects. There was, of course, greater formality at Constantinople than in the West at this time, but toward the end of the century the Western practice, too, had become more formal.

[23] Tancred was the son of Bohemond's half-sister, Emma. His father, according to our author (Book II, chap. 13), was William the Marquis, but is named Odo by others. Later legend was to endow Tancred with a Saracen father. Nicholson, who has reviewed the evidence concerning Tancred's parentage, concludes that the father was "a Latin Christian named Marchisus or Odo, the Good" (see R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred,* pp. 3–9).

When the emperor learned that Tancred had avoided his presence, he was very angry, but he wisely concealed his resentment. He repeatedly heaped immense gifts on the princes who had visited him and dismissed them with much honor to their own camps beyond the Bosphorus. There the two armies were united and dwelt together in harmony within view of the city while waiting for the other armies to arrive. Then they intended to proceed together as one united host on the pilgrimage which they had undertaken.

The royal city as well as the surrounding country furnished a plentiful food supply for the people encamped there, so that all were able to enjoy an abundance according to their wish.

16. *Robert, count of Flanders, arrives with his army. Being summoned to the emperor, he is escorted to his presence and honored with many gifts. He crosses the sea and joins the other leaders.*

In the meantime, on the approach of winter, the illustrious Robert, count of Flanders,[24] had set sail from Bari, a coast city of Apulia. Crossing the sea with all his army, he landed at Durazzo. There, amid woods and pastures, in a fertile country full of all kinds of commodities, he had escaped the rigorous winter. Then, as spring approached, he resumed his journey with much energy, in order to join the other leaders who had already crossed the sea. Before reaching Constantinople, he received imperial messengers, as had the other leaders, and through them he was commanded to leave his troops and proceed with a few companions to the emperor's presence. Well informed as to how those who had preceded him had acted in this matter with the emperor, on arriving at Constantinople he went to the palace with a small retinue. He was received with much honor by the emperor and treated very kindly. Following the example of the others, he took the solemn oath of fealty which the emperor demanded. Thereupon, still greater honors and gifts were lavished upon him. His companions were also honored with equal generosity, each as his rank demanded.

[24] Robert II, count of Flanders, succeeded his father, Robert I, the Frisian, in 1093. The latter had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in atonement for his sins sometime in the decade before his death. He had visited Alexius on his return journey and promised to send troops to help Alexius against the Turks, a promise which was fulfilled in 1090. Robert II, famed for his piety as well as courage, thus had a traditional interest in the warfare against the Turks and recovery of the Holy Land. He was

For several days, his army was allowed to enjoy the refreshment of food and rest near the city, while the count was holding frequent conferences with the emperor over matters which seemed essential. He then took leave and with his cohorts sailed across the sea to join his fellow pilgrims. They greeted him with kindly affection, and the two armies then joined their forces.

For some days the leaders refreshed themselves by talking over with one another the various events which had happened to each on the journey. After reviewing in a spirit of pleasant reminiscence the hardships experienced, last of all they proceeded to discuss the more urgent matters. It was necessary to decide, after careful conference with each other, when and how the consummation of the enterprise which they had undertaken might be brought about. They were thus anxiously engaged, chiding the delay of those comrades who were following them and charging it to them that the time was passing without result, when a messenger arrived from the count of Toulouse [25] and the bishop of Puy, who announced that both were at hand and would soon enter the city.

17. *The count of Toulouse and the bishop of Puy march through Dalmatia with their armies. They experience many difficulties on the march in that land.*

THESE two great and distinguished men with their armies had, from the very beginning of the march, kept together as inseparable comrades. There were in their company illustrious men distinguished for nobility of character as well as for high rank. Among these were: William, bishop of Orange, and Rainbald, count of the same city; Gaston de Béziers; Gerard de Roussillon; William de Montpellier; William, count of Forez; Raymond Pilet; Gaston de Béarn; William Amanjeu; and many others whose names, although we have not preserved them,

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a cousin of Robert of Normandy. (See sketch by M. M. Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 79–100.)

[25] Raymond IV of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse and of Tripoli, had been the first of the leaders to take the Cross. A younger son of Raymond III, he had originally held lesser domains, being count of Rouergue, Nîmes, and Narbonne. His older brother, William IV, whose sons had died, left the county of Toulouse to Raymond. The family had a reputation for piety. Both brothers are believed to have fought against Muslims in Spain, and William is thought to have died while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1093. Raymond, who was probably born in 1043, was one of the oldest leaders on the crusade and, by all accounts, the wealthiest. There is no satisfactory biography of him in English.

have assuredly been written in the Book of Life. For, voluntarily embracing poverty, they left fatherland, relations, friends, and extensive ancestral estates to follow Christ.

All these people, following with devotion the revered men named above, went down into Italy and crossed Lombardy. Then, after passing through the region called Forum Julii,[26] they entered Istria near Aquileia and at length reached Dalmatia. The land of Dalmatia extends longitudinally between Hungary and the Adriatic sea. It has four large cities: Zara, Salona, also called Spalato, Antivari, and Ragusa. It is inhabited by a very fierce people, given over to plunder and murder. The land is entirely occupied by mountain and wood, by great rivers and widely extending pastures, so that there is little cultivation of the fields, except occasionally here and there. The inhabitants depend for their living entirely upon their flocks and herds, with the exception of a very few who dwell on the seacoast and who differ from the rest in customs and language. These use the Latin idiom, while all the other natives employ the Slavonic tongue and have the habits of barbarians.

Entering this province, they found many difficulties along the route, particularly because of the rough country and because the winter season was at hand. They also suffered a rather severe famine for several days, resulting from the shortage of food and supplies. The natives left their cities and fortified places as if fleeing from wild beasts, and retreated to the hills and dense woods, with their wives and children and all their possessions, for they feared the sight of our people. Yet they furtively followed the footsteps of our advancing army at a distance and murdered the sick and aged men, and the old women too, who followed with slower step, if perchance they happened to come upon any such apart from the rest.

The count, filled with a due sense of responsibility for the great host, sent some of the chiefs ahead to lead the host, while he himself, with the main force of knights, always brought up the rear and was the last to retire to his quarters.

The air was full of mist, and the continual shadows were so thick

[26] William here turns to the account of Raymond d'Aguilers for guidance and supplements it from tradition and from his own geographical studies. His characterization of the difference in speech between the people along the coast of Dalmatia and those in the interior is another instance of intimate knowledge which Italians might possess. It was not derived from Raymond's account.

that they were almost palpable. The people behind could scarcely distinguish those ahead of them, while the advance guard could see the road only a stone's throw ahead. The country, as we have said, abounded in rivers and streams, and was almost wholly marshland. Each day there arose from this source so much dampness and thick mist that the air became almost stifling. In addition, the Slavic Dalmatians, who as natives had an intimate knowledge of the country, followed along beside the army over crags and dense forests, and frequently emerged from the woods to attack the unarmed pilgrims. But the count and the other leaders, in their turn, very often made similar attacks on their foe, many of whom they killed with lance and sword. They would have slain greater numbers, had it not been for the close proximity of the woods to which the Dalmatians fled as a very present refuge. One day it happened that some of these malefactors were caught. The count ordered that their hands and feet be cut off, in the hope that this punishment would so terrify the rest that they would fear to follow the army.

For three successive weeks, the pilgrims painfully traversed this part of the country. At last they came to a place called Scutari, and there they found the king of the Slavs. The count, a kindly man, affable and merciful, presented gifts with a free hand, hoping by this means to form ties of friendship and gain the good will of the natives for his people, at least to the extent of obtaining a market well supplied with goods. Not even in this way, however, could he soften the ferocity of that people. In fact, he found them thereafter even more savage. After plodding for forty days through the entire land of Dalmatia, undergoing great hardships, they finally reached Durazzo.

18. *At Durazzo, an imperial deputation meets the count. The bishop of Puy is captured by the Bulgarians. By the mercy of God, however, he is soon released. At Rodosto, envoys from the emperor and also from our leaders again come to Raymond.*

The emperor felt many misgivings in regard to the count's coming, because the prince was a wise and magnificent man and was leading with him a very large force. Long before the Christians reached this place, therefore, he had sent an embassy of honorable men to meet the count at Durazzo. They were to extend kind and courteous greetings

on behalf of the emperor. In obedience to their lord's command, these men presented themselves before the count, addressed him with flattering words, and presented the emperor's letter, the substance of which was as follows: "For a long time, beloved count, numerous reports of your wisdom and the fragrance of your good renown have been spread far and wide and have come to the notice of our court. This has led us to love you. For love of you, therefore, and because we are minded to show our affection, we have summoned you, that, as your merits deserve, we may manifest affection for you in person and honor you still more. Hence, we have awaited your coming with great longing, for we desire to discuss many matters concerning public affairs with your highness, a man so dear to our empire. We earnestly pray you to pass through our lands without commotion and strife, and make haste to come to us, relying on our favor and confident of the many honors which we have in mind to bestow upon you. We have commanded the bearers of these presents to arrange that a supply of commodities for sale and a constant interchange of trade be afforded your people under favorable conditions."

The spirits of the count and his army were greatly cheered by this letter. Again they resumed the march and for many days laboriously traversed woods and mountains. After crossing the entire land of Epirus, they finally descended into the district called Pelagonia, which abounded in all good things. There they made camp.

The bishop of Puy, that man of revered life, for convenience's sake had placed his tent somewhat apart from the rest at a little distance from the camp. The Bulgars attacked him and took him prisoner. But because so great a priest was still necessary to the people of God, through the mercy of the Lord his life was saved by a mere chance. For one of the robbers demanded his gold and thus protected him from the others. A quarrel thereupon arose among the thieves, the noise of which roused the whole army. Seizing arms, they rushed upon the evildoers and rescued the lord bishop and his people.

Again they resumed their journey. They crossed Thessalonica and the entire land of Macedonia and for many days continued on their toilsome march until they came to Rodosto. This is a maritime city on the Hellespont, distant a journey of four days from Constantinople. Here another deputation from the emperor met the count and also messengers from the leaders who had preceded him. They all urgently

advised and admonished him to allow his army to proceed more slowly while he himself hastened with a small escort to the emperor. By the time his business with the emperor was finished, his army would have arrived and he would be able to follow the others more quickly without detaining the host, who were eager to hasten on. The count had already dispatched messengers on his own initiative, and they, on their return, encouraged him to take the same step.

19. *The count leaves his army and waits on the emperor. He does not fall in with the latter's views. The emperor treacherously gives orders to attack the count's army.*

THE count's hesitation was finally overcome by the urgent plea of the imperial legates and the persuasion of the leaders who also begged him to hasten to the court. Leaving his army under the watchful protection of the bishops and other nobles who were in the camp, he himself, in response to the repeated summons, entered Constantinople with a small retinue under the escort of the imperial deputies and presented himself before the emperor. He was received with a great show of honor, not only by the monarch, but by the illustrious men who surrounded him, and was treated with the utmost consideration. But when soon after he was assailed with flattering words of persuasion and strongly urged to take an oath of fealty to the emperor, according to the form used by the other leaders who had preceded him, he steadfastly refused.[27]

While these events were happening in Constantinople, the emperor, indignant that the count should decline to do him homage as had the others, surreptitiously ordered the chiefs of his legions who were stationed in those parts to make a sudden attack on the count's forces. They were directed to make every effort to harass them, even to the extent of massacre. The emperor dared to make this attempt because all the other leaders had bound themselves to him by the oath of fealty. Moreover, all their armies had now crossed the sea and could not easily be brought back. For all the boats which had been assembled

[27] It seems strange that William offers no explanation for the refusal. According to Raymond d'Aguilers, whose account he used, Count Raymond refused to take the oath for the pious reason that on this expedition he was vassal to God alone, but that he would agree to be subject to Alexius if the latter would accompany the expedition as commander. Raymond's arrival at Constantinople is dated April 21 (*H. Chron.*, no. 139).

either for the purpose of trade or to ferry the people across, had been at once prevented from leaving the farther shore, in order that all thought of return might be vain, since means of transportation were lacking. It was with this intent that the emperor by flattery and shrewd persuasion, as we have said, had induced the armies to cross over separately, that the united forces might not congregate in the city at the same time. For, as has also been explained, he viewed the coming of our armies with misgiving and regarded their concentration as still more dangerous. His lavish liberality toward the leaders did not proceed from generosity or good will, but was a shrewd policy of deception, the result of desperate fear. Our chiefs, however, advanced with single-hearted confidence and trust. It was very difficult to convince them of malice of the Greeks and the wicked deception and persistent circumventions of the emperor, especially since he had displayed munificence and pretended good will toward them so bountifully.

20. *In the count's absence his army is secretly attacked by the Greeks. The count is wroth with the emperor. Alexius repents of his action and, fearing for himself, demands the intervention of the leaders. He alleges his innocence.*

THE officers who had received the emperor's commands, his centurions, *quinquagenarii,* and those in charge of the military forces, carried out his directions. Their men received instructions beforehand and, while it was still night, stealthily attacked the count's army. Since these had feared nothing of the kind, they were taken off guard and many were killed. For before they could be roused sufficiently to seize their weapons, a disgraceful flight and lamentable slaughter took place. Finally they recovered their presence of mind, regained their courage and strength, and, urged on by the more valiant, inflicted many losses on the military brigands, the emissaries of the emperor. The Christians had shown a manly resistance, considering the time and place. Yet, in view of the difficulty of the way and the frequent unexpected perils which they encountered nearly every day, they were beginning to give way and almost regretted that they had undertaken the pilgrimage. They became less and less enthusiastic as they were more exhausted by the tedious hardships. Not only many of the people but even some of the more important men now began to regret their enterprise. They doubted, indeed, whether it could be accomplished and,

forgetting their vows, were disposed to return. Had they not been restrained by the warnings and exhortations of bishops and clergy and inspired anew to accomplish their vows, they would have deserted the host and tried to return, no matter at what peril, to their own lands.

When the count heard this news, he was stricken to the heart with sorrow and cried out that he had been betrayed. He sent some of his loyal nobles to the emperor and charged him with being a traitor. While he, Raymond, in obedience to many messages and summons had been in attendance on his majesty, the latter had, against all decency, ordered his men to take arms against the count's army. To the leaders also, in compliance with whose urgent entreaties he had left his army and hastened to Constantinople, the count made known the lamentable disaster which had befallen his legions and the manifest treachery of the emperor. From them, as from brothers, he demanded revenge for these wrongs.

If the count's power for avenging his people had been equal to his earnest desire, it is beyond all question that neither threats, fear, nor the intervention of the other leaders would have moved him from his determination, for he had the reputation of being a man of great spirit, who never forgot an injury and was strongly set in his own opinion. But the emperor now realized that he had gone too far and repented of his conduct. Accordingly, he caused the leaders who still remained with their armies on the farther shores of the sea to be summoned to his presence. Through the intervention of these lords, namely the lord duke, Bohemond, and the count of Flanders, he hoped to propitiate the count. They responded to his call, and although greatly angered at what had happened, they felt that it was not a fitting time or place to demand revenge. They therefore counselled the count privately and succeeded in persuading him by convincing arguments to hide the wrongs which they felt concerned them all, lest, in pursuit of revenge, he should undo the work of many days and prove a hindrance to those who wished to proceed on the way of the Lord. Finally, at their pious intercession, the count, who was at heart a discreet man, laid aside his bitter feelings, yielded to the advice of the leaders, and agreed to their arrangement. They then went to the emperor in a friendly way and unanimously expressed the indignation which they felt over what had occurred. On perceiving their displeasure and the steadfast unanimity of feeling which united them, the emperor condescended to excuse

himself in the presence of the count and of all the court, both members of his own household and foreigners. He protested under oath that the reported outrage had taken place without his knowledge or command. Yet he said that for the sake of his own innocence he was willing to give satisfaction to the count.

Thus, more and more, day by day, the trickery of the Greeks and the treachery of the emperor were revealed. There was now no one of the chiefs to whom it was not plain, in fact clearer than the sun at mid-day, that Alexius was pursuing our people with intense hatred and that he detested the whole Latin race. However, as the purpose of their pilgrimage was hurrying them on to other ends and they yearned to accomplish that task more pleasing to God, they judged it safer to hide the wrongs they had suffered rather than to turn aside from so pious an undertaking or to impede the task they had undertaken.

21. *Through the mediation of the leaders, the count is reconciled to the emperor and invites him to accompany the Christian leaders on the way. The armies that had already crossed the sea hasten on to Nicaea. The count follows them immediately.*

In compliance with the advice of the leaders, the count became reconciled to the emperor and swore fealty in accordance with the tenor of the oath taken by the others. Thereupon he was restored to full favor and, in token of the emperor's lavish generosity, was honored with wonderful gifts, which in number and value were beyond measure. The other leaders also received additional gifts. They then took leave, and, requesting the count above all not to delay following them, they crossed the Hellespont and joined their legions in Bithynia.

In the meantime, the count's army likewise reached Constantinople and by his orders at once crossed the sea and joined the other hosts which had preceded them. The count himself remained in the city several days longer to attend to matters of his own. While he was looking after his private affairs, however, like a wise man he did not cease to be concerned about the public welfare. For as he had been requested by the other chiefs, he often earnestly endeavored, as each of the other leaders had done before him, to persuade the emperor to accompany them on the way and be the leader and ruler of the army of the Lord. But although all our leaders, and the count of Toulouse in particular,

had prayed him again and again that he would deign to be their comrade and, as the leader of the Lord's army, take supreme command of the people who had surrendered themselves to divine obedience, he kept making excuses. He affirmed that he was surrounded by cruel enemies. Bulgars, Cumans, and Patzinaks[28] were constantly hovering about the frontiers of his empire, seeking opportunity to make sudden incursions and disturb his peace. Therefore, although he eagerly desired to participate in the great pilgrimage and to share in the future reward, he could not abandon the responsibility of his realm and thereby afford an opportunity to the enemy who surrounded it. But all that he said was false and full of deceit. He alleged this on his own behalf simply because, jealous of our departure, he sought any pretext whereby he might withdraw his assistance from our people and, in every possible way, hinder their progress.

The leaders who had already crossed the sea—namely, Godfrey, Bohemond, Robert, count of Flanders, and the bishop of Puy—had arranged their baggage and were ready to resume the pilgrimage once more. They intended to proceed slowly to Nicaea and there await their companions who were following. They marched the entire day toward Nicomedia, which is the largest metropolis of the province of Bithynia, when the venerable priest, Peter the Hermit, came out to meet the advancing legions and greet the leaders. With the few people who were the sole survivors of his army he had passed the winter in that vicinity to avoid the severe weather. He now joined the pilgrim forces and was kindly welcomed by all. On being questioned about the misfortunes of his army, he gave a detailed account of all that had happened. He described the unruly and insubordinate spirit which characterized the obstinate people who had gone on ahead with him and said that the disaster which had overtaken them had resulted more from their own conduct than from the acts of others.

The leaders sympathized deeply with him because of the catastrophe which had befallen him and his army. They bestowed generous gifts upon him and his followers. Then, the army, greatly increased in numbers by the grace of God—for the various bands had been combined into one body—resumed the march under capable leadership and in due time arrived at Nicaea. The camp was placed in a circle around

[28] According to Kadlec, the Cumans and Patzinaks were very closely related tribes of Turkish origin. They figure in Balkan history for several centuries (C. Kadlec, "The Empire and Its Northern Neighbors," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 197 ff.).

the city, stations were designated for the chiefs who were yet to come, and on May 15, they laid siege to the city.[29]

When the count of Toulouse had finished his affairs in Constantinople, he took leave of the emperor, who again honored him with gifts of great liberality. Then with the members of his army who had remained with him, he followed the camp of the others at a rapid pace and soon arrived at the above-named city.

22. *Robert, count of Normandy, and Eustace, the duke's brother, arrive at Constantinople with their legions. The emperor receives them with great honor and many gifts. They cross the Hellespont and join the other chiefs.*

MEANWHILE, Lord Robert,[30] the illustrious count of Normandy, and other distinguished nobles who were in the same company, namely, Lord Stephen,[31] count of Chartres and Blois, and Lord Eustace,[32]

[29] A day earlier, Ascension Day, May 14, 1097, according to Hagenmeyer (*H. Chron.*, no. 150).

[30] Robert, duke of Normandy, was the oldest son of William the Conqueror, from whom he received his nickname "Curthose" or "Short-Boots." He was born shortly before 1054. He grew up with the expectation of succeeding his father. William, however, was not disposed to yield any real power while still able to wield it. Robert became impatient, yielded to imprudent advice, and demanded the rule of Normandy. A family quarrel led to open revolt on Robert's part, 1078–1080. This was but the first in a series of quarrels which continued until the Conqueror's death. During much of this time Robert was a wanderer in exile. Friends interceded for him with his dying father, who was disposed to disinherit him completely. Due to their efforts, Robert was granted Normandy and Maine, while his younger brother, William Rufus, became king of England. Family quarrels continued with fluctuating fortune, however, until the end of 1095, when Urban's speech at Clermont offered Robert a way out of his more immediate difficulties. The details of Robert's career are presented in the comprehensive biography of C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, passim.*

[31] Stephen was the oldest son of Theobald III, count of Champagne, Brie, Blois, and Chartres. He married Adèle, daughter of William the Conqueror, in 1081. He is believed to have been well educated and even to have written poetry. The letters which he wrote to his wife during the crusade, two of which have been preserved, are among the most charming pieces of writing of the period. Perhaps it was his charm of manner which made him a favorite of Alexius and for a time also the chosen leader of the crusading army. Unfortunately, as William will relate, he lacked certain other essential qualities. His letters are translated in A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade, passim.*

[32] Eustace III, count of Boulogne, was probably the oldest and least famous of the three brothers who took such prominent parts on the crusade and in the establishment of the Latin states in the East. He inherited his father's lands and title. There is some doubt whether he accompanied his brothers on the journey through Hungary or Robert of Normandy through Italy, as William states. William, who follows Fulcher for this account of the journey of Robert of Normandy to Constantinople, draws from Albert the statement of Eustace's presence, which Fulcher does not mention.

brother of Duke Godfrey, dispatched messengers to the emperor and to their brethren announcing that they would soon arrive. With them also were: Stephen, count of Aumale; Alan Fergant and Conon, both great men of Brittany; Rotrou, count of Perche; and Roger de Barneville. All these nobles with many other valiant and notable men, including the count of Flanders and Hugh the Great, had reached Apulia the preceding year, just as winter was beginning. The two latter crossed to Durazzo, but the others, dreading the severity of the weather, had passed the winter in comfortable quarters in Apulia and on the frontier of Calabria.

As soon as spring returned, they summoned their fellow pilgrims, arranged their baggage for the march, and went down to the coast. Following the route of the others, they set sail for Durazzo where they disembarked. From there they resumed the march and proceeded on the way with all diligence in order to make up for the time spent in Apulia. With the aid of God, they passed through the middle provinces, namely, Illyricum, Macedonia, and the two Thraces, and at last, after a peaceful journey, reached Constantinople.[33] They were summoned by the emperor as the other leaders had been and, on entering the palace, were received with great honor by his majesty and the illustrious men who surrounded him.

After much conference held with the three chiefs together and with each one individually, the emperor, with bland and persuasive words and many promises, pressingly demanded that they also render the fealty which he had obtained from the others.

Before they went to the emperor, they had been well instructed by the other leaders and said to themselves, "We are not greater than our fathers." Accordingly, with the example of these in mind, they bound themselves to the emperor, rendered the fealty demanded, and took the oath in the terms used by those who had preceded them. In return, they were received into still greater favor and were held worthy of more lavish gifts. The treasury was opened, and they were given presents of marvellous value such as they had never before seen—gifts of gold, precious vestments, vases worthy of admiration for both material and workmanship, and silken fabrics. The generosity of the emperor dazzled the minds even of the recipients, so far did the gifts

[33] Their arrival is dated May 14. Two weeks were spent in the neighborhood before they started for Nicaea, which they reached on June 3 (*H. Chron.*, nos. 149, 155).

surpass anything of ours, both in character and value. Then, laden with these wonderful presents, they took leave of the emperor and, not to delay their fellow pilgrims, crossed the Hellespont and hastened with their legions to Nicaea, where the entire Christian army still remained. The princes who had gone on ahead of them welcomed them with affectionate embraces, and by uanimous consent they encamped in the place that had been reserved for them.[34]

23. *One Taticius, a servant of the emperor, a very crafty man of notorious wickedness, becomes associated with our leaders.*

A CERTAIN Greek, Taticius [35] by name, a close confidant of the emperor, had joined our camp. He was a wicked and treacherous man, whose slit nostrils were a sign of his evil mind. Our leaders had asked for a guide to render their journey safer, and by imperial command he had been assigned as our future comrade and guide. He was chosen not only because he was said to have a thorough knowledge of the localities, but also because the emperor relied greatly upon his malice and unscrupulous duplicity. With some of his own forces he had joined our leaders, that there might be a goose to cackle loudly among the swans and an evil snake among the eels. He reported to the emperor everything that took place on the expedition, and to every remark made by anyone he gave a sinister meaning. In return, he received from his master, through frequent messengers who went back and forth between them, outlines of plans directing his nefarious schemes.

Here for the first time there was formed one united army of the Living Lord from the various bands which had followed the individual leaders through divers places at different times. It now took on individual unity from the combination of the many companies which had arrived. For from the time that the leaders and heads of the armies beloved of God had left their homes and set out upon the pilgrimage until they reached this city and encamped there, they never had had

[34] They were the last important contingent to reach Nicaea, and with their arrival the city was completely encircled on the land side, on June 3 (*H. Chron.*, no. 155).

[35] Taticius was of Saracen, perhaps Turkish, origin, according to Anna, who says that his father had been captured in battle. Though a member of the imperial household, he had established a reputation for bravery in battle and was frequently entrusted with a command of troops. He was thoroughly familiar with the region into which the crusaders were going (Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, trans., *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, p. 103 *et passim*).

the privilege of seeing one another or of discussing together matters concerning the general interest.

When a census of the legions was taken, it was found that there were six hundred thousand people of both sexes on foot and one hundred thousand cuirassed knights.[36] This entire host, stationed before the city [of Nicaea] devoted its energy in every possible way to the problem of taking it by storm, thus consecrating the first fruits of its labor with all devotion to the Lord.

[36] These figures are taken from the account of Fulcher. William himself later expressed doubt as to the accuracy of earlier estimates of the size of armies, Christian as well as infidel. These figures cannot be accepted literally, but no satisfactory formula for their correction has yet been devised. Hagenmeyer after a review of the contemporary estimates, is inclined to accept Caffaro's statement of "60,000" fighting men as most nearly accurate (see H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 183–84, notes 11, 12).

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BOOK

THE THIRD BOOK BEGINS

CAPTURE OF NICAEA AND THE MARCH THROUGH ASIA MINOR

1. *A description of the city of Nicaea and its claims to fame. How Qilij Arslan, who was ruling there, had gathered a great force of Turks from the entire East to fight against us; and how they lurked in ambush to attack us.*

NICAEA is a city of Bithynia which was formerly subject to Nicomedia, the metropolis of that region. Later, however, it was freed from this jurisdiction by the Emperor Constantine, out of respect for the first holy synod which met in that city. For in the time of Pope Sylvester and of the venerable Alexander, patriarch of Constantinople, and of the Emperor Constantine to whom we have just alluded, a holy synod of three hundred and eighteen fathers met at Nicaea to take action against the heresy of Arius and his followers. This synod denounced the corrupt and pernicious doctrine of these men and established the truth by the testimony of the scriptures. Thus a pure form of faith was afforded for the entire church of God.[1] Still later, in the time of the devout Emperor Constantine, son of Irene, another general synod—the seventh—convened in the same city to protest against the Iconoclasts, that is, the assailants of the holy images. The Roman pope at that time was Adrian, and the patriarch of Constantinople was the venerable Tharatius. In this synod these heretics just mentioned received from the orthodox church the well-deserved sentence of condemnation for their perfidy.[2]

Nicaea has a very favorable site. It lies in the plain, yet it is not far from the mountains by which it is surrounded on every side. It has the best of fields, fertile soil, and, in addition, the many advantages afforded by woods and forests. Near the city, extending to the west, is a

[1] This was the famous council of Nicaea, which was held under the auspices of Constantine I in A.D. 325. Here as elsewhere William is supplementing the accounts of the chroniclers from his own extensive studies of church history.

[2] The seventh oecumenical council was also held at Nicaea, A.D. 787. Constantine VI was emperor at the time though his mother, Irene, was probably the real ruler. Adrian I was pope at Rome.

rather wide lake of great length, which, when swelled by the waves, washes the very walls. Across this lake ships from various parts bring provisions, and this is the best defense the city could have. A moat surrounds the walls on the other sides, and this is always filled to overflowing by the influx of springs and rivulets. This of itself would prove a serious obstacle to anyone approaching the city with hostile intent. In addition, Nicaea had a very large and warlike population and was so remarkably defended by thick walls and lofty towers of solid masonry that our men as they drew near marvelled at the massive construction of the fortifications.[3]

The lord of this city as well as of the whole region and the adjacent provinces was a very powerful Turkish satrap, Qilij Arslan, surnamed Sa,[4] which in the Persian tongue is interpreted "king." He was a valiant man of much subtlety. When he heard that our troops were coming, he was greatly concerned, and long before their arrival had gone down to the Orient to implore aid from the rulers of those lands against the approaching hosts of Christians. By dint of persuasive words and many urgent entreaties, not without the use of money also, he had drawn to himself from Persia and the adjacent lands a vast number of Turks. By aid of these people he hoped to be able to save [Nicaea] and the entire district from the danger which threatened it.

Some time before this, while Romanus Diogenes was emperor of Constantinople, the third before the present Emperor Alexius, Malik Shah, the most powerful sultan of Persia, uncle of Qilij Arslan,[5] had

[3] William here reflects the almost universal awe with which the early chroniclers gazed at the massive fortifications in the East. It has therefore been assumed that the West did not as yet possess such fortifications and that those which were erected there during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries owed much to the experience of the crusaders. T. E. Lawrence, however, has challenged this view, asserting that the fortresses erected by the crusaders were on Western models, especially some in Normandy which had been built before the crusade. These views are not necessarily contradictory, for the Normans had encountered similar Greek fortresses in southern Italy and Sicily during the eleventh century and may well have begun to build similarly in Normandy. The effect of the crusading experience, therefore, may have been primarily that of acquainting all Western Europe with this type of building (see T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles, passim*).

[4] Our author is still confused about the early Saljuqs. Sa, or Shah, is still the title of the ruler of Persia, but it was also part of the name of the Saljuq sultan, Malik Shah, who accomplished the capture of Asia Minor. The name or title was not applied to Qilij Arslan (Soliman), whom he here discusses.

[5] See Book IV, chaps. 9 and 24, notes 44, 48, 111. The relationship is somewhat more distant. The fathers of Malik Shah and of Qilij Arslan were cousins (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 475–76).

seized by force of arms all the provinces from the Hellespont as far as Syria, a journey of thirty days, and from our Mediterranean sea to the north, a journey of the same extent. Most of these lands he had given to Qilij Arslan, who held them at this time. By right of proprietorship he claimed all the country from Tarsus of Cilicia to the Hellespont. Accordingly, in sight of Constantinople itself he had his own procurators who exacted duties from those passing by and collected for the use of their master tributes and taxes from all the surrounding country.

This potentate, with the host which he had gathered with so much effort, was lingering in the mountains near by, scarcely ten miles from our army. He was watching for a favorable opportunity to attack our forces without danger to himself. In this way he hoped to free the city from anxiety arising from this source.

2. *Our forces attack the city furiously, but the citizens have a free outlet across the lake. Qilij Arslan sends them a letter of encouragement.*

As soon as our forces arrived before the city, they began a furious attack upon it, although their ranks were not in good array, for the camp had not yet been laid out in proper order. Nevertheless those who had already arrived selected definite positions for themselves and assigned suitable places for those who were to follow them. Especial attention was given to preventing the citizens from entering or leaving the city. But the lake which laved the city walls, as has been said, was a great hindrance to these plans, for by ships ready at hand, those who wished to go or come were carried safely across to various parts, according to their pleasure. Since our army had no naval force, it could not in the least restrain this freedom of movement. By numerous varied devices, however, it did succeed in cutting off access by land, for it guarded with most vigilant care all the roads and approaches.

Then Qilij Arslan, who knew that his city was undergoing the woes of a siege, sent two of his own retainers to comfort the citizens and encourage them to further resistance. These men were to reach the city by boat over the lake, and by them he sent words of cheer which read after this fashion: [6]

[6] It is interesting to note that William does not profess to repeat the exact words of Qilij Arslan. The practice of supplying speeches and letters to leading characters was

"The coming of this wretched and barbarous people who have had the presumption to place our city under siege should not cause you great fear, for I have taken up a position in the vicinity with a great force of strong and noble men and am awaiting still larger numbers which are to follow. Very soon, when all these troops have been united into one body, we shall make a sudden attack upon their camp. When we attack from without, therefore, be prepared on your part to assist us. Be ready to unbar the gates and come forth as with one mind to attack them. But you must not fear their great numbers. Coming as they do from the far-distant lands of the West, because of the long march and the hardships they have endured, without horses to bear the weight of battle, they cannot be equal in strength or power of exertion to our fresh forces who have just come. Bear in mind also how easily we triumphed over their mighty host, and in one day consigned to death more than fifty thousand of their number. Be comforted, therefore, and have no fear, for tomorrow before the seventh hour of the day you shall receive abundant aid and be delivered from the enemy."

3. *The bearer of the letter is captured. He discloses all the secrets of the enemy to the leaders. The count of Toulouse, who alone was absent, speedily arrives at the call of the other chiefs.*

THE messengers sailed along the shore seeking the best place to land. As they were looking about for a better entrance, however, our people suddenly attacked them and took captive one of the two. The other perished by the sword during the disturbance. The prisoner was conducted in safety to the leaders, where he was led by threats and fear to confess. He made a full disclosure of everything, telling why and by whom he had been sent. From his story it was plain that Qilij Arslan had sent the two men to tell the citizens that he was coming, that he was close by with the mighty forces which he had gathered, and that he intended, the next day, to make a surprise attack upon our camp.

When the chiefs of our legions learned that Qilij Arslan was about to come, they ordered the prisoner to be kept under guard and immediately sent out couriers to beg the count of Toulouse and the bishop of

common among chroniclers of the time. Our author is here elaborating the similar effort of Albert of Aix.

Puy, who had not yet joined the rest, to come as speedily as possible. On receiving this message from their brethren, these leaders felt no slight anxiety. Chafing at any delay, they set forth and marched throughout the entire night. Very early in the morning, before sunrise, they arrived at the camp with loud shouts and cries, banners flying and armor gleaming. Scarcely had they laid aside their packs so that they might take their places with the rest in the positions assigned to them, when about the third hour, just as their prisoner had declared, Qilij Arslan came down from the mountains and entered the plain on his way to the city. He had with him a great company of cavalry estimated at about fifty thousand men. As soon as they saw the foe, our people flew to arms. With warning trumpets and clanging horns, they roused the cohorts, drew up their lines, and formed in battle array. No possible contingency was overlooked, and with strict attention to the rules of military discipline, in which they had had much training and experience, they prepared to meet the oncoming foe.

4. *Qilij Arslan comes down from the hills and makes a furious attack on our camp. His army is defeated. Tokens of the victory are sent to the emperor. He rewards the chiefs.*

Qilij Arslan sent on ahead a squadron of ten thousand horsemen as an advance guard and hastened toward the south gate. This had been put in charge of the count of Toulouse, but Qilij Arslan, ignorant of Raymond's arrival, had expected to find it unprotected as it had been for the past two days. His hope was vain, however, for he found almost more troops stationed there than at any other point. Entirely unaware of these changes, he marched swiftly thither and fell furiously upon the count's men. Although these had scarcely laid aside their packs, they bore the charge splendidly, broke the attack, and completely scattered the enemy's first line. The latter had already turned to flee when the appearance of Qilij Arslan with strong reinforcements revived the courage of the disordered troops and forced them to return to the fray.

At this point, the duke, Bohemond, and the count of Flanders observed that the enemy had come up with larger forces and more closely serried ranks; they realized too that the count's men were exhausted beyond endurance by an overwhelming host of undaunted courage. With forces armed to the teeth, they rushed as with one accord to the assistance of their comrades. Attacking the foe at close quarters, they

pressed them hard with lance and sword. Although, at their first appearance, the infidels seemed to have both courage and strength, yet, after an hour's resistance, during which about four thousand were killed and some captured, they turned and fled.

Thus by the help of God our forces won this first victory. They continued to carry on the siege by laying out their camp in an unbroken circle around the walls. From that day,[7] as long as the siege continued, neither Qilij Arslan nor any other of the infidel princes dared to undertake a similar attack.

In this engagement the chiefs named above acquitted themselves nobly, but Tancred, Walter of Garland, seneschal of the king of the Franks, Guy of Possessa, and Roger de Barneville won great renown by their prowess.

To strike still greater terror to the hearts of the foe, orders were given that the heads of the slain Turks in large numbers be thrown into the city by the hurling machines. One thousand of these heads and a number of prisoners were sent to the emperor, a present which won his hearty favor. In addition, Alexius very generously sent not a little money and silken stuffs of various kinds as a reward for the chiefs of the armies. Furthermore, with great liberality, he commanded that without delay the necessary provisions and a market plentifully supplied with goods be provided for them.

5. *The leaders station themselves in the positions assigned to them. The city, besieged on every side, is attacked. Certain nobles fall in battle.*

In order to carry out their purpose, our leaders deemed it expedient to blockade the city on all sides, as we have said, and to station the leaders in strategic positions, for thus, when disaster was assailing them from every direction, the citizens might more easily be forced to surrender. In accordance with this plan, as agreed upon by all, they divided the circuit of the wall into equal parts and allotted each sector to individual chiefs.

The duke, with his two brothers and their forces, was stationed on the east side. Bohemond, with Tancred and the other leaders who had followed him, whose names were given above, held the north side of the city with his army. Next to these in order came the count of Flan-

[7] May 16, 1097.

ders and the prince of Normandy, also with their cohorts. Raymond, count of Toulouse, and the bishop of Puy, with their comrades, were assigned the southern section. Beyond them Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, with Hugh the Great and some other noble and distinguished men, had placed his camp. When the city had been completely surrounded in this fashion the commanders decided to have built as rapidly as possible the necessary machines for undermining the walls, called *scrophae*. Hurling machines known as *mangons* and *petraries* were likewise ordered built with all speed.[8] Suitable material for these engines was available from the woods near by.

Artisans were called and the work was pressed on with great diligence. Each vied with the other in working zealously, that as soon as the task was finished the city might be attacked. For seven weeks they had applied themselves most earnestly to this work and had made repeated assaults upon the city when one day, during the usual skirmish, by a wretched misfortune, they lost two valiant fighters, both noble men of high rank. Baldwin surnamed Calderon and Baldwin of Ghent perished while fighting manfully during the storming of the city. One was struck by a rock, and the other was pierced by an arrow. Later, by the advice and decree of the leaders, a second attack was launched, and in this engagement William, count of Forez, and Galo de Lille, while fighting too eagerly, were wounded by arrows, and they too perished.

Here also, Guy of Possessa, a nobleman of the kingdom of the Franks, was seized with a violent illness from which he died. Stricken with consternation by the death of these warriors, the people of God consigned their bodies with honors to the tomb and with pious affection rendered the fitting obsequies which are customarily shown to men of high rank.

6. *The townspeople destroy a machine which had been applied to the walls. Many Christians perish beneath it. The lake hinders the success of our efforts.*

At another time, all the leaders engaged in the siege were valiantly striving without rest or intermission to apply their engines to the wall.

[8] The *scrophae*, or "sows," were apparently moveable shelters to protect digging operations and were so named from their likeness to either the shape or the activities of the hog. The distinction between *mangons* and *petraries* is not clear, for both could be used to hurl either rocks or javelins (see Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, I, 131 ff.).

They desired to weaken it in every possible way that they might force an entrance. Count Hartman and Henry d'Esch, noble and distinguished men from the kingdom of the Teutons, nobly assisted by their retainers and household servants, were thus engaged in attaching to the fortifications a skilfully built engine. It was made of oaken beams joined together and enclosed by stout walls. Within the protection of its enclosure it was thought that the twenty brave knights stationed inside for the purpose of undermining the wall would be safe from even the most massive rocks hurled from the engines. But when the machine was applied to the ramparts, as we have said, the citizens eagerly pressed forward from above to defend the walls. The result was that the structure was so completely wrecked by the blows of heavy stones that the joints gave way and all inside were crushed to death. The sympathy of the entire people went out to these nobles, for the work of many days performed at so great a cost was utterly ruined and rendered of no account. They grieved also for the fate of those brave men who had perished so pitiably. Yet the hope of victory comforted them, especially as they doubted not that those who had risked their lives for Christ in such a work had won a better life. For with justice they felt that men who had perished in a combat of this kind had died as martyrs. Hence they too, scorning death and regarding the present life as of no value, were rendered still more brave by this hope and continued to expose themselves with full confidence to all kinds of danger.

As with one accord, therefore, the leaders pressed on the work of storming the city along the whole circuit of the walls. And in proportion as each leader showed himself zealous in harassing the besieged in the section assigned to him, so was his fame enhanced in the eyes of the rest. The work progressed, although at great cost, and the persistent combats and almost constant skirmishes gave the townspeople no respite.

The lake adjacent to the city, however, formed the greatest hindrance to the work of the Christians and prevented their strenuous efforts from having the desired result. It afforded the besieged comforts of every description, for, sailing across its waters, they brought in freely supplies of food and provisions. From time to time also, under the very eyes of our forces, who were powerless to prevent it, they brought in great numbers of cattle.

7. The Christians transport boats on wagons from the sea. They take possession of the lake. The citizens in despair marvel at the resourcefulness of our people.

Accordingly the leaders beloved of God met to consider this particular problem and to devise the best means of grappling with it. It was finally resolved by unanimous consent to send down to the sea a host of people escorted by some cavalry squadrons. Upon wagons or vehicles or by any means whatsoever, they were to drag boats overland to the lake, either entire or in parts. If this measure were not taken, it was evident that all the efforts of the Christians would prove futile, their work and money would have been expended in vain, and the whole rendered of no account.

When those entrusted with the execution of this enterprise reached the sea, the Lord mercifully directing their route and their undertaking, they found there ships of medium size. These they easily obtained from the emperor and drew up out of the sea upon the dry land. Three or four wagons were joined together according as the length of the boats required, and the vessels were placed thereon. Then, during the course of one night, by ropes placed on the shoulders and necks of men and horses, the people dragged these overland to the lake, a distance of seven miles or more. Among the number were some ships of larger size, capable of holding fifty or a hundred fighters.

When this fleet had been dragged overland and placed upon the lake, the Christian army rejoiced greatly. The leaders hurried down to the shore. Oarsmen skilled in handling ships were brought and likewise men strong of arm and of acknowledged bravery. Confident hope of soon taking the city filled the hearts of all.

The townspeople noticed that there were more than the customary number of boats on the lake. They were puzzled, uncertain whether these were a part of their own fleet which had come to assist them or whether they belonged to the enemy. After a time, however, they became convinced that our people had drawn them out of the sea, dragged them by heroic efforts overland, and placed them on the lake. They marvelled greatly at the strength and ingenuity of the Christians, who had successfully carried through a desperate and well-nigh impossible undertaking.[9]

[9] According to Anna Comnena, this stratagem was devised by her father, Emperor Alexius, and constituted the decisive step in the capture of Nicaea. The ships occupied

8. *Nicaea is again stormed on all sides. The count of Toulouse attempts to weaken a tower opposite him. He uses the machines and every other possible device, but the resistance of the citizens makes his efforts futile.*

THUS the city's outlet by way of the lake was cut off by the introduction of the Christian fleet. Public proclamation was thereupon made by the voice of the herald that each legion should arm and take the position assigned to it under its own leader. Extraordinary pressure was to be put forth against the townspeople by another vigorous assault on the city. Each leader urged on his own men and led them fully armed to the combat. An unusually fierce encounter followed. Bold and effective use was made of the engines, and while some turned their attention to sapping the walls, others hurled huge stones to weaken the fortifications.

On the south side, which had been assigned to the count of Toulouse as the point of attack, was a tower conspicuous beyond the rest for its height and massive construction. Near this, it was rumored, the wife of Qilij Arslan had her residence. For several days the count had devoted all his efforts toward wrecking this tower, but in vain. For, although he battered it persistently with rocks hurled from two engines, the solid construction rendered it impossible to dislodge even a single stone. Instead of abandoning his purpose as if conquered, however, he redoubled the pressure and even increased the number of machines. Gradually under the blows of even larger masses of stone and rocks of immense weight, it began to show cracks and finally, weakened by the continual strokes, it began to crumble. At this welcome sight, the army, as one band, leaped across the moat and approached the walls. With shouts of encouragement to one another, they tried to overthrow it or, at least, to make a breach in it.

The citizens, however, were well aware that there was danger of their tower falling. They had, therefore, filled the interior with stones and cement, that if the walls should be undermined or so weakened by the engines as to give way, the new work would take the place of the old and present an obstacle to those trying to make the breach.

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the lake by the morning of June 18, and the surrender of the city followed on the next day, June 19, 1097 (H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, nos. 159, 160). This stratagem was to be used again by crusaders in an audacious attempt to capture Mecca (see G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*, pp. 257–83).

Meanwhile our men, protected by a solid *testudo* which they had attached to the wall by force, were trying to sap the fortifications. After much toil they finally succeeded in making an opening with their iron tools sufficiently large to admit two men easily. Meanwhile the citizens made preparations to resist with vigor all the efforts of their foe; they met stratagem with stratagem, strength with strength, and displayed a spirit not inferior to that of the Christians. With bows and ballistae, hurling engines, and every conceivable weapon, they strove as one man to thrust back the foe and avert the injuries that were being wrought upon them.

9. *Duke Godfrey's notable feat. A citizen hurls fire and fat upon the machines. The sad fate of an illustrious man.*

Among those who were defending the wall against the assailing force there was one man notable for his great size and strength who displayed more animosity than the rest. He worked much havoc on our men with his bow. Finally, puffed up by the success which he had all too long enjoyed, he began to hurl forth insulting abuse against our soldiers, taunting them as lazy and cowardly. In this impudent manner, he was raging along that section of the wall which the duke and his cohorts were attacking. The illustrious Godfrey could not endure this ignominy. He took a heavy bow, sought a suitable position, and directed his aim so accurately that the weapon pierced the vitals of that miscreant and he fell lifeless to the ground. Thus with a just penalty he expiated the many injuries which he had done to the Christians. Under the impulse of his example the rascal's coworkers had been putting up a very bold defense in that section, but thereafter, much terrified by this act, they hurled forth fewer weapons and insults. Others, however, ignorant of this disaster, continued to work valiantly in defense of the city in other places along the wall. Protecting themselves with all due caution, they did not cease with all their strength to inflict wounds and death on our men from the walls and towers. Not only did they throw down pitch, oil, lard, and other things which are wont to lend fury to the flames, but they even hurled lighted brands directly upon our machines. Consequently, a great many of these were destroyed, except where carefully watched.

Those who were assiduously working on the south side in the attack

on the tower continued their zealous efforts toward that end. As they saw, however, that any part of the wall undermined during the day was completely restored in the course of the next night, they soon began to slacken their efforts somewhat. Realizing that their work was meeting with no success, they were about to abandon their purpose when a valiant man of high degree, a knight from the army of the count of Normandy, essayed a remarkable feat. Inspired by the hope that others would follow his example, he donned cuirass and helmet and with undaunted courage crossed the moat. Then protected by his shield he approached the wall. His purpose was to tear down the new stone structure which the citizens had built during that night and to reopen the breach made the day before. The townspeople, however, pressed on the assault from above with much vigor, and since none of the other Christians dared to come to his help, his attempt was unsuccessful. He was crushed to death by massive stone missiles and perished by the wall in full view of his comrades. They, though most willing, were unable to render him any assistance. The infidels raised the breathless body with iron hooks and threw it within the walls, where it lay exposed to their insulting mockery. Finally, stripped of cuirass and helmet, it was thrown back to our people outside. The people wept over it and extolled the great bravery of the man as with due rites of burial they committed his remains to the tomb. They doubted not that his death was precious in the sight of the Lord and that, because of this noble end, his soul would be united with those of the elect spirits. For as has been said, all were agreed in the opinion that those who fell thus in battle merited eternal life and would occupy the places in glory promised to them among the saints.

10. *A certain artisan offers his services to the despairing chiefs. He builds a machine and undermines the wall. It straightway falls.*

Meanwhile the chiefs of our legions vowed to God's service met together for conference, as was their usual custom. It was apparent to them that they were making no progress in their undertaking but were, on the contrary, uselessly wasting efforts and zeal. They therefore diligently consulted with one another as to what ought to be done under the existing conditions. While they were earnestly considering

the problem with anxious hearts, a certain man, a Lombard by nation, came to the leaders. He had noticed that all the schemes of the engineers were in vain and their labor fruitless. He claimed to possess great skill in that same craft and declared that if the necessary materials were provided and sufficient money to complete the work given him from the general fund, he would within a few days, by the will of God, overthrow that tower and make a wide breach so that all who wished might enter. This he would accomplish, he asserted, without the loss of a single man. Accordingly, a sum sufficient to defray the expense was furnished him from the public funds and, in addition, an adequate allowance was named as a recompense for his labor. The materials which he desired were provided, and thereupon he built a machine with marvellous skill. It was so designed that, in spite of the enemy's efforts, those inside could attach it to the walls without danger to themselves. Concealed therein they could then carry on the work of sapping the fortifications without fear. This he actually carried out. For after the machine had been put together and well defended in every part, according to his directions, he entered it with a number of brave men. All wore the cuirass and were well equipped with weapons and the iron tools needed for the work. The engine with the workmen was then moved across the moat and with much ingenuity and skill applied to the walls. With their usual audacity, however, the citizens kept hurling great rocks and combustibles upon it from above. None of these missiles did any damage because the steep pitch of the roof and the sloping sides of the engine prevented them from lodging there. Consequently no harm came to the men below, and the enemy soon began to lose confidence in their customary expedients. Much they marvelled at the ingenuity of the inventor and the strength of the machine, for no tactics seemed to prevail against it.

Those hidden within that shelter were completely protected from the wiles of the enemy. They pursued the work of undermining the tower and breaching the wall with all their strength. As fast as the stone foundation was wrenched away, it was replaced with timbers and wooden supports, for there was danger that when the base of the wall was torn away the upper part would fall upon the engine and crush it. Naturally, the machine would not be able to support the weight of so great a mass descending upon it.

When it appeared that the tower had been sapped sufficiently to cause its fall, fire was applied to the props holding the doomed wall. Suitable combustible materials to keep the fires burning were also supplied. The workmen then left the machine and hastened back to their comrades. About midnight, when the wooden supports had burned away and been reduced to ashes by the consuming flames, the tower fell with a crash like an earthquake, which shook with horror even those who were far distant and carried fear and consternation to their hearts. Roused by the sound, the legions flew to arms, determined to force their way into the city.

11. *The wife of Qilij Arslan, while trying to escape, is taken prisoner with her two sons. The citizens are in despair. They discuss with Taticius the Greek the advisability of surrendering. The leaders send envoys to the emperor concerning this matter.*

THE wife of Qilij Arslan up to this time had endured the hardships of the siege, although with much difficulty. Now, however, exceedingly terrified by the fall of the tower, after the manner of women, she ordered ships to be made ready and, attended by her maids and all her household, secretly left the city with the intention of seeking a safer place. But the Christians had stationed guards on the lake in boats to prevent the besieged from coming or going; and they, like wise men ever on the alert, watched every movement with the utmost vigilance. These guards discovered the lady as she was about to flee and seized her. With her two young sons, she was led to the commanders, who directed that she be kept with her fellow prisoners under strict guard.

The citizens were thrown into a state of consternation over the breach opened by the foe and the capture of a woman of such importance. In utter distrust of their own strength, they straightway sent a deputation to the chiefs begging them to grant a truce for the purpose of arranging for surrender.

Now Taticius, that extremely shrewd man of whom I have spoken, had foreseen that the citizens would wish to abandon their own defense. Accordingly, he had already called a meeting of the principal men of the city and advised them, in the event of a surrender, to honor

the emperor. He pointed out that the army of pilgrims now before the city was hastening on to other affairs. It was only incidentally that these people had engaged in the siege, and in passing, as it were, had turned aside from their main objective. The emperor would always be near them. On his praiseworthy clemency they might wholly rely and ever hope for more prosperous affairs. Hence it would be wiser, on the surrender, to give the preference to the emperor rather than to an unknown people of a barbarous race. The capitulation, which they could not avoid, would then be made to him. Thus, through their aid, the emperor would recover the city of which he had been with injustice deprived recently, through the violence of the Turk. By these arguments and others of similar import, the assembled citizens were persuaded to consent. On condition that their safety be guaranteed, they elected to resign the city, their persons, and all their possessions into the hand of the emperor.

This proposal was not unsatisfactory to the Christian leaders also, since their whole purpose was in truth directed toward a far different end, nor was it their intention to linger long at Nicaea. They hoped, however, that in accordance with the terms of the agreement, the spoils of the city would be given to the army as compensation for the hardships and losses which it had suffered. Before they would treat concerning surrender or agree to satisfy the wishes of the citizens in that respect, however, all the brethren from the army of Peter the Hermit who had been taken prisoners by Qilij Arslan at the fortress of Civitot, and also those taken by the citizens during the siege, were restored to the army.

Then with the acquiescence of the chiefs and the consent of the people as well, envoys were sent to the emperor with the following message: "The Christian army and its leaders have labored faithfully in the siege of Nicaea for love of the name of Christ. By their earnest and persistent efforts, with the help of God, they have compelled that city to surrender. We earnestly beseech your serene highness, therefore, not to delay to send to these parts some of your principal men with a force sufficient to hold this city, which has been surrendered for the honor of your name. They must also arrange for the transference of a great number of captives. For as soon as the city has been delivered to your highness, we wish to proceed immediately on the pilgrimage which, by the authority of God, we have undertaken."

12. *The emperor sends envoys to receive the city. He also sends gifts and thanks to the leaders. The people are indignant. They complain that the agreement has been broken. The emperor orders the captives to be conducted to Constantinople. He honors them with gifts and sends them thence to their own land.*

THIS message filled the heart of the emperor with joy and gladness. He at once sent to Nicaea certain members of his own retinue on whose fidelity and diligence he could rely to receive and fortify the city. The envoys were directed to seize as the property of the emperor all the substance of the captives in gold and silver and in furnishings of every kind. To the commanders the monarch sent immense gifts in the hope of gaining their good will. Moreover, he thanked them heartily, both by dispatches and verbal messages, for their honorable services and the great increase that had come to the empire through their efforts.

But the people and the men of second rank were greatly incensed. They too had worked valiantly in the siege of the city and had expected to repair the loss of their own property by the spoils taken from the prisoners and the rich store of goods found in the city itself. They now saw that their labors were not to receive a satisfactory reward. It was evident that the emperor intended to turn into his own private purse and treasury the spoils which according to the compact were to become public property. Consequently, they repented of their labor, and the money expended for it now seemed to have been entirely wasted. The leaders likewise consistently maintained that the emperor had acted treacherously in respect to the provisions of the treaty. For in the clauses of the agreement between them, this stipulation was said to have been included: namely, that "if, during their entire march to Syria, under the guidance of God, they should chance to take any one of the cities which had formerly belonged to his empire, that city with its adjacent dependencies should be restored to the emperor; but the booty, the spoils, and everything else should be handed over intact to the armies without question, in remuneration for their labor and in payment of expenses." [10]

[10] The later claim of Bohemond to Antioch rested in part upon the theory that Alexius broke the agreement which he had made with the crusaders. William apparently is determined to point out every possible instance of a breach of that treaty by Alexius. His attitude must be regarded as partisan even though he is consistent in his condemnation of breaches of treaties. The full text of the treaty whose substance he here reports

The Christians might easily and quickly have driven the emissaries of the emperor from the city and sent them back empty to their lord. They would have been justified in such an action, for to keep faith with one who is attempting to act contrary to a treaty is wrong. Nevertheless, they had the fear of God before their eyes and were, moreover, hastening on to more important matters. Hence, that the aim of their pilgrimage might be more speedily accomplished, they concealed their true feelings for the sake of the common good. With persuasive words they endeavored to restrain the people, who were highly indignant at this treatment.

The Greeks who had been sent to take over the place entered the city, received the arms of the citizens, and completed the surrender. They then went to the camp and appeared before the commanders as suppliants for the life and safety of the citizens. For these, they declared, had restored the city to the emperor and had subjected their necks to the yoke of his rule.

After the city had been surrendered in this fashion, a force sufficient for its protection was assigned. The wife of Qilij Arslan and her two sons with a large number of other prisoners were then led off to Constantinople. The emperor treated them not only mercifully but even generously.[11] Within a few days they were restored to their former state of freedom. It is said that he did this in the hope of winning the good will of the Turks and also that, by such favors, he might more easily rouse them against us. Then, if our armies chanced to lay siege to another city, he trusted that the people would not be deterred by fear from making a similar surrender.

The city of Nicaea was taken on the twentieth day of June, in the year 1097 of the Incarnation of the Lord.[12]

13. *The siege is raised and the army resumes its march. The leaders separate. Qilij Arslan with a great host again encounters the Christians.*

As soon as the siege was raised, the leaders gave the command to resume the march. The baggage was arranged and on June 29 they set

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has not been preserved (see A. C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 57–78: R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, pp. 125–29).

[11] According to Anna, who frankly acknowledges her father's treachery toward the crusaders at Nicaea, the wife of Qilij Arslan was promised by Alexius not only freedom, but also generous gifts as an inducement to surrender (see Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, trans., *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, pp. 271–75).

[12] June 19 rather than 20.

forth. For two days the legions advanced in one united body. On the second night they chanced to encamp by a certain bridge because of the convenience of water. At earliest dawn before daybreak, while the shades of night were still hanging over the earth, they again made ready to march and crossed the bridge. At this point, whether by accident or design, the leaders with their legions separated from one another. Bohemond, the count of Normandy, Stephen, count of Blois, Tancred, and Hugh, count of St. Pol, turned to the left and marched by themselves that day. Finally they came to a valley called Gorgon.[13] Here, about the ninth hour, they made camp by the bank of a running stream, where they had the advantage of pasturage and grass. They surrounded the camp with guards and, although somewhat anxious in mind, passed a quiet night.

All the other leaders kept to the right and, after the day's march, pitched their camp scarcely two miles from that of the others. Here, too, there was good pasturage and a water supply.

Meanwhile, Qilij Arslan, mindful of the injury done him, constantly brooded over the thought that through the Christians he had lost not only that excellent city but also his wife and sons. With all his heart he yearned to retaliate and determined, if possible, to lay an ambush for his foe. Accordingly, once more he mustered a great force of soldiers and followed with nearly equal pace the host which had turned to the left. His scouts kept him constantly informed about the movements of the advancing host, and he waited eagerly for a fitting opportunity to fall upon them. Through these scouts he soon learned that the army had divided and that the section which was apparently weaker in strength and numbers was quite near him. He at once decided that the chance for which he had been waiting had arrived and with his countless host descended the mountain.

Scarcely had Aurora announced the coming of the next day and light begun to disperse the dense shadows of the night when the sentinels caught sight of the foe, for men had been stationed to watch from afar for the wiles of the enemy, should there be any, and to give timely notice to the army. At once the trumpets sounded the warning that the infidels were approaching at a rapid pace. Admonished by the trumpet's blare and the herald's voice, the entire host flew to arms, made

[13] The site of the battle of Dorylaeum has not been definitely established, though its general location is clear enough. The name of the battle is derived from Anna's identification of the site with the ruins of the ancient city of Dorylaeum, which archaeologists dispute (*H. Chron.*, no. 169).

ready their horses, and prepared for a struggle at close quarters. It was early on the morning of July 1. The entire people were drawn up in battle formation, centurions and captains of fifty were placed over the individual cohorts, and the chiefs took their positions on the wings of the infantry forces.

That the troops might advance to battle without encumbrance, all the infirm and the aged men and women, a helpless throng, were placed with the baggage in a neighboring thicket of reeds. This place was further protected by the chariots and other vehicles and seemed to afford a safe refuge. Messengers were dispatched to carry the news of their critical situation to the other divisions of the army from which they had so rashly separated and to urge them to come with all speed to the rescue.

Thus everything in Bohemond's camp had been arranged in good order according to the rules of military science. About the second hour of the day, Qilij Arslan appeared, leading with him an untold number of Turks. Our army marvelled that in a multitude, said to exceed two hundred thousand, only cavalry was to be seen.[14] Our forces, on the other hand, as has been said, consisted of a mixed host of both cavalry and infantry.

14. *A battle is fought. William, Tancred's brother, falls. Bohemond's entire army is placed in great danger. Tancred himself barely escapes capture.*

As the army of Turks approached, the uproar in the camp became so great that hardly a word could be distinguished. The clang of armor, the neighing of horses, the trumpet's blast, together with the awe-inspiring roll of the drum and the eager shouts of the soldiers which seemed to rise to the skies, struck terror to the hearts of the legions, unaccustomed as they were to such a scene.

As the Turkish lines hurled themselves upon our forces, they let fly a shower of arrows which filled the air like hail. Scarcely a man in the Christian ranks escaped without a wound. The first shower had barely ceased when another no less dense followed. From this no one who

[14] William's account of the battle is derived from at least three of the early chronicles, those of Albert of Aix, Fulcher of Chartres, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta*. He refused to accept the enormous figure of three hundred and sixty thousand which Fulcher states as the number of the enemy. Even the more modest figure two hundred thousand which William substituted seemed too large, and he therefore reports it on hearsay.

had haply escaped from the former attack emerged unscathed. This method of fighting was strange to our men, and because they were unaccustomed to it, it seemed harder to endure. They saw their horses falling, yet were powerless to help, for they themselves were perishing as the result of blows coming from an unexpected and inescapable source. Nevertheless, they continued to charge the foe with sword and lance and tried to drive them back. But the Turks, when unable to withstand the force of the onset, purposely opened their ranks to avoid the clash, and the Christians, finding no one to oppose them, had to fall back deceived. Then as soon as our people returned to their own ranks unsuccessful, the Turks again closed their lines and again sent forth showers of arrows like rain. Scarcely a Christian escaped without receiving serious wounds. Protected by their breastplates, helmets, and shields, our men resisted as well as they could, but the horses and those who had no arms were felled to the ground without distinction.

Almost two thousand men of note, both knights and foot soldiers, fell in that engagement. Among the number was William, a youth of more than usual promise, son of the Good Marquis and brother of Tancred. While valiantly fighting for his people in battle, he was struck by an arrow and killed.

Robert of Paris, a man of brilliant prowess in war, also met his end in the same way. Even Tancred himself, reckless of life and regardless of his high rank, barely escaped death. In the thick of the fight, he was hurling destruction upon the enemy when he was forcibly rescued in spite of himself by the efforts of Bohemond.

The ranks of the infidels kept growing stronger, and those of the Christians began to weaken. The Turks now attacked with swords at close quarters. Meanwhile the bow, hanging from the shoulder, neglected its office. Our cohorts finally broke ranks, took flight, and retreated to their packs and baggage. There in the dense thickets of reeds they huddled together around the chariots and wagons, in the hope of finding some protection.

15. *The other leaders arrive. They come to the aid of their overburdened brethren. Qilij Arslan is put to flight and his army perishes. The Christians bring back very rich spoils. The hosts again become one united whole.*

Under such disasters was the army of the faithful struggling, and Bohemond's strength was beginning to weaken and give way. Mean-

while, those illustrious and splendid men, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Hugh the Great, Baldwin and Eustace, the duke's brothers, and the other leaders devoted to God, were advancing swiftly to the assistance of their brethren. Leaving the unmounted throng in the camp with the baggage of every description, they had gone to the rescue with a force of forty thousand knights splendidly armed. Their coming brought fresh courage to Bohemond's forces, who but now had been ready to succumb. With strength renewed they again returned to the fray. Eager to retaliate for the wrongs done them and to redeem their earlier defeat, they threw themselves vigorously on the foe. Valiantly they used their swords with a strong right hand and in a short time had routed the infidels now powerless to resist—that enemy whom so recently they had dreaded as superior to themselves.

The bishop of Puy, with some of his coworkers in the same ministry, admonished the people and encouraged the commanders not to relax their efforts. They bade them avenge the blood of their slaughtered brethren, in full assurance that victory would be granted from on high. Let them not suffer the enemies of the faith and name of Christ to glory longer over the massacre of the faithful. With these and like words of exhortation, the men of God urged on the people to combat and, as far as lay within their power, inspired them with courage.

Thereupon the Christians with unwonted energy made a furious attack upon the foe with swords. They broke up the battle lines of the infidels and put them to flight with dreadful slaughter. Persistently they followed the fugitives for three or four miles beyond the enemy's camp, which was located in an exceedingly rich valley. Awful was the massacre which they wrought.

The Turks were thus dispersed in great disorder with heavy loss of life. The Christians then turned back to the enemy's camp. With them they brought some of their own people who had been carried away captive by the foe. In this camp were found great amounts of gold and silver. Many asses and pack horses, troops of camels—animals which our people had never seen before—and some horses were seized. Tents and pavilions of various colors and unusual shapes were also found. All these treasures the Christians bore away with them. Thus laden with the richest spoils, and driving before them animals and slaves, the victors returned to their own camp.

The enemy is said to have lost that day nearly three thousand pow-

erful and illustrious men of the highest position among their own people. Four thousand of our common people and those of the lowest rank, both men and women, fell in that battle, but according to the recollection of aged men, only two of higher rank perished.[15] This battle was fought July 1, with varying fortune and with forces quite unequal in strength and number. It lasted from the second to the eighth hour of the day. The number in Qilij Arslan's army, horsemen alone being counted, was said to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand. On the other hand, the number of Christian knights who fought in that great battle was barely fifty thousand.

After this great victory had been won by divine favor, the army was again brought together and granted a short rest to care for the wounded. For three successive days, amid green pastures, they refreshed their bodies and cared for their horses. The great abundance of provisions and the vast accumulation of supplies which the enemy had been forced to abandon when they fled added much to the enjoyment of all.

Our great leaders bore themselves splendidly in that perilous crisis; but some of the less prominent men also won everlasting glory on that occasion, notably, Baldwin du Bourg, Thomas de La Fère, Renaud de Beauvais, Galo de Chaumont, Gaston de Béarn, and Gerard de Cherisi.

From that day it was decreed by common counsel that the armies should unite and thereafter march together as one inseparable body. Thus both adverse and prosperous fortune would be shared together.

16. *The legions enter Pisidia. Here they suffer greatly from lack of water. The situation of the army is pitiable and dangerous in the extreme.*

For three days, as has been said, they tarried in that place, a period of rest very much needed by themselves and their horses. Then at the call of the trumpet, they once more made ready to continue the pilgrimage

[15] It is not certain that William is here referring to oral tradition. Some modern historians, Prutz among them, have scouted the implication of this statement that any of the participants were still living in William's time to impart their oral recollections to him. William's childhood, however, was spent in the Holy Land within less than fifty years after this battle, and at least one participant in the events of the next few months was still living in 1166, indeed writing history as late as 1164. This was Caffaro, the Genoese knight, merchant, and historian.

which they had begun. The route led them across the entire country of Bithynia into Pisidia. In the hope of shortening their march, they descended by chance into an arid region which was wholly without water. Here, overcome by the double distress of intolerable thirst and extreme heat, such as is usual in fiery July, the people began to give way in great numbers. According to report, more than five hundred of both sexes died at that time, prostrated by their sufferings from thirst and heat. The story relates further that, as the result of thirst and the raging heat, pregnant women brought forth their offspring prematurely, a fact which no other history has recorded.[16] Mothers, in agony of spirit, cast forth their babes into the camp, some living, some dead, and others in a dying condition. Other women, moved by feelings of deeper humanity, clasped their babes to their breasts and, regardless of their sex, rolled themselves along the road half nude, concerned rather with the imminent danger of death than with maintaining the respect due to their womanhood.

Men found that their greater physical strength availed them but little. Fainting under the heat and their own exertions, gasping for air with open mouths and distended nostrils, they sought the help of moisture as some alleviation from the intolerable thirst, but found it not. Nor was mankind alone subjected to such tortures. The very beasts who bore the baggage, and all other animals as well, with parched vitals refused their usual obedience. Delicate birds, soaring hawks and falcons, with which the nobility is wont to take delight when hunting and hawking, breathed forth their lives in the hands of their masters, notwithstanding the care lavished upon them. Keen-scented dogs trained for hunting, the pets of their lords, deserted the masters whom they had ever faithfully followed and, panting from thirst, succumbed all along the route. Most serious of all, the faithful steeds, companions in battle, on whom their masters relied for their own safety and who formerly gloried in their state with prancing hoof and gleaming teeth, gave way like common beasts of burden, under the torture of heat and thirst.

At last the Father of all pity and the God of all consolation mercifully came to the relief of these sufferers from lack of water. A river eagerly desired and long sought was found, and to its waters with pas-

[16] Derived from Albert of Aix—this statement indicates William's conscious use of a comparative method in arriving at his facts.

sionate longing the pilgrims ran. They vied with one another in their haste to reach it. But when this water so greatly desired was found, they fell into even greater danger. For they drank of it too freely, and many who had survived the peril of thirst now showed so little self-control—a fault under such conditions—that, through the very abundance of water, they met the death which they had before escaped. Not only men but many beasts of burden also perished in this way.

Finally, by the help of God, they were rescued from these dangers and came down into a very rich and fertile land near Antioch the Lesser, the well-known capital of Pisidia. This was a most delightful region with streams, woods, and pastures, and there in green fields they made their camp.

17. *Some of the leaders separate from the rest and ravage the surrounding country. The duke narrowly escapes death in an encounter with a bear.*

At this place, for the first time, some of the chiefs and their forces purposely withdrew from the main army. The first to do this was Baldwin, the duke's brother. With him went Peter, count of Stenay; his brother, Reinard, count of Toul; Baldwin du Bourg; and Gilbert de Montclair. They took with them seven hundred knights and several companies of infantry. The second to depart was Tancred. He was accompanied by Richard of the Principate, Robert of Anzi, and several other noblemen with a force of five hundred knights and some foot soldiers.

The purpose of all these knights was one and the same: namely, to reconnoiter the routes, explore the surrounding country, and try their fortune. They were then to report to the leaders who had sent them all that had happened both as to time and place, that the army might proceed with more prudence and safety. At first on leaving the camp they kept to the royal highway. They passed through the neighboring cities [17] of Iconium and Heraclea and then, turning to the right, began to hasten toward the coast.

In the meanwhile, the duke and the other leaders who had remained at the camp, attracted by the delightful surroundings and the close

[17] These cities were a considerable distance apart. It is possible that William was here the victim of a copyist's error, the word *Finimine*, the chronicler's name for Philomelium, having become *finitimas* which William here uses. Philomelium was the first of the three cities on this line of march. William refers to it later.

vicinity of the woods, went into the forest to hunt. For in the midst of their strenuous labors, they felt the need of some recreation and desired to withdraw even for a short time from the consuming cares which constantly beset them. On entering the forest, different interests led them in diverse ways, and various adventures befell them.

The duke, who had gone into the wood for exercise and recreation, encountered by chance a huge bear of ferocious appearance. It was fiercely pursuing a poor pilgrim laden with wood. The latter was striving in vain to find a refuge from his pursuer. He was calling loudly for help in his imminent danger, when the duke happened to appear. Ever full of sympathy for his brethren, he quickly rushed to the assistance of the sufferer. As soon as the beast caught sight of the duke, who was in the act of raising his sword to strike, it at once spurned its former victim and hurled itself with teeth and claws upon the braver foe. His horse was seriously wounded; nevertheless, the duke, now necessarily on foot, attacked the bear with his sword. The beast, roaring horribly, met him with open jaws. It scorned alike the perseverence and the sword of the duke as of no account and tried to grapple with him. As the animal charged, the duke drove it back with his sword and endeavored with all his might to give it a deadly thrust. The bear avoided the weapon, however, and, clasping the duke in its arms, tried to throw him to the ground that, while he lay helpless beneath it, it might more easily tear him to pieces with teeth and claws. But the illustrious soldier clung to his sword, and, as he was a man of great strength, he seized the monster with his left hand and with the right plunged his sword up to the hilt in the side of the struggling beast. This caused its death. The duke had won a bloody victory, however, for he was seriously wounded in the leg. Prostrated by his wound, he lay on the ground, so weakened by loss of blood that he could not rise. The cries of the poor man who had escaped death by the duke's help, at last notified the legions of the accident. All the people ran to the spot where the brave hero, the defender of the armies, was said to be lying wounded. He was placed on a litter, and amid the tearful lamentations of all, the other leaders bore him to the camp. Surgeons were summoned, and it was hoped that through their zealous efforts and the use of proper remedies he might be restored to health.[18]

[18] This story, derived from Albert, is usually listed among the legendary episodes of Godfrey's career. William does not accept all of Albert's legends about Godfrey, though this one apparently seemed probable to him.

18. *The count of Toulouse is sick unto death. The army crosses Lycaonia and arrives at Marash. The wife of Baldwin, the duke's brother, dies.*

JUST at this time, Raymond, count of Toulouse, a magnificent man of great renown, had been seized with a serious illness and was likewise being borne in a litter. So sick was he that, when placed on the ground in anticipation of his death, he was barely breathing. Accordingly, William, bishop of Orange, a man of revered life, performed the rites due to the souls of the faithful, as for one already dead.[19]

Deprived as it were of the counsels of two such great men, the legions almost despaired of continuing their pilgrimage in fulfillment of their vows. Gravely concerned over the condition of their leaders, all, as with one mind dissolved in tears, besought the Lord to restore them to health. During the celebration of the divine offices, prayers were offered on behalf of the two chiefs by that entire pilgrim people. The God of all pity graciously listened to their supplications and vows. He restored their leaders to good health and granted with divine favor the prayers of His worshipping people.

After crossing Pisidia, they entered Lycaonia and came to Iconium, the capital of this region. This area was barren, and the pilgrims suffered desperately from lack of food. The Turks had been warned in advance that we were coming. As they had no confidence that any of their towns could resist, they despoiled them and laid waste the entire district. Then, taking their wives and children, the flocks and herds, and all the rest of their possessions, they fled into the impenetrable mountains. Their only hope lay in the possibility that the Christians, exhausted by lack of food, might hurry across their country. This hope did not deceive them, for the pilgrims fled from the sterile country which afforded them no food and marched forward with all possible haste. After leaving Heraclea, they came to the city of Marash. There they encamped and made a stay of three days.

At Marash, the wife of Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, whom her husband on his departure had commended to the care of his brothers, was called from this life. After a long and exhausting illness, she fell asleep peacefully in the Lord. She was an English lady of noble birth, Gutuera [Godehilde] by name, a woman worthy of the highest praise for

[19] This is drawn from Raymond d'Aguilers.

her life and character.[20] She was buried with due rites of honor at that same place.

19. *Tancred goes down into Cilicia and lays siege to Tarsus. Baldwin, the duke's brother, also visits those same parts and is received with due honor.*

MEANWHILE, Tancred, a man worthy of praise in every respect, with those in his train had laid siege to Tarsus, the chief city of that province. He had taken advantage of short routes and was thus the first to reach Cilicia.

Cilicia is one of the provinces of the Orient. On the authority of the ancients, the province of Antiochena is called the diocese of the Orient. Cilicia is bounded on the east by Coelesyria, on the west by Isauria, on the north by the Taurus range, and on the south by the Cyprian or Aegean sea. It contains within its boundaries two capital cities: namely, Tarsus, fatherland and birthplace of the teacher of the Gentiles, of which we are now speaking, and Anavarza, each with its dependent cities. Hence, there are said to be two Cilicias, Prima and Secunda.

The reputed founder of Tarsus was Tharsis, the second son of Japham, the son of Japhet, who, according to ancient traditions, was the third son of Noah. As a proof of this is offered the fact that the city bears the name of the founder. Solinus, however, has a different opinion about the founder and, in the forty-third chapter of the *De memorabilibus*, he writes as follows: [21] "Cilicia possesses Tarsus, mother of cities, which was founded by Perseus, the noble son of Danae. The river Cydnus divides it into two parts. Some authorities say that this stream rushes down in a precipitous torrent from the Taurus range, while others claim that it has its origin in the Hydaspes river." There

[20] Albert and William both allude to Baldwin's wife as a noble Englishwoman. According to Rey, however, Baldwin's first wife was of Norman, not of English origin. W. Morris, on the other hand, believes that Albert and William are justified by the fact that both her father and her first husband lived many years in England and that she may well have spent most of her early life there (see W. Morris, Britain and the Holy Land . . . Unpublished thesis, University of Minnesota, 1940). Her name is variously written by the chroniclers, Gertrude and Ginievre being preferred by modern writers. She is identified as Godehilde, daughter of Ralph II, seigneur of Toëny and Conches. She had separated from her first husband, Robert de Beaumont, count of Meulant. Her marriage with Baldwin was her second marriage (see Sieur Charles du Fresne DuCange, *Les Familles d'Outremer*, ed. E. G. Rey).

[21] This passage is numbered 38 in the edition by Mommsen. William seems to have had a version of the *Polyhistor* of Solinus different from the one edited by Mommsen. (See Th. Mommsen, ed., *C. Julii Solini collectanea rerum memorabilium.*)

may be some truth in both stories, namely, that Tharsis founded it, and that later Perseus restored and enlarged it.

Tancred and his men carried on the siege for several days, when he forced the citizens by threats and bland words to make this arrangement, namely, that his standard should be carried into the city and placed over one of the higher towers as a sign that they intended to surrender. They made the condition, however, that he should protect them until Bohemond and the main army came and in the interim should not compel them against their will to move from their homes or to leave their estates. On these terms they agreed to surrender the city quietly to Bohemond on his arrival. This arrangement seemed good to Tancred, and he accepted it.

The population of this city, as of all the rest of the region, was Christian. It was composed of Armenians and Greeks, with the exception of a few [Turks] who were experienced in arms and held military authority. These had charge of the fortifications and oppressed the people with harsh domination. The faithful were not allowed to bear arms but devoted all their attention to trade and agriculture.

Meanwhile, Baldwin, the duke's brother, who with those in his company had followed out-of-the-way routes, had suffered greatly from want of food. Finally after many circuitous wanderings, he came by chance to the top of a mountain. From this height he was able to obtain a view, uninterrupted as far as the sea, of Cilicia and its cities spread out below him.

When Baldwin discovered that there was a camp around Tarsus, he began to have misgivings about his route, for he supposed that these were the tents of the enemy. Nevertheless, anxious to learn what the region was and whose camp he had seen from afar, with his usual courage he led his company down into the plain. Tancred also had been notified by the lookouts whom he had stationed at high points, and he too was on his guard against possible wiles of the enemy. He at once summoned his comrades and took arms, for he believed that these were hostile forces coming to the aid of the city. He shouted encouragement to his men and marched out against the advancing troops with standards raised. His spirit was undaunted, for his faith was in God. But as the two armies approached and saw each other at close range it was discovered that these were not the arms of an enemy. Both companies therefore drew near each other with confidence and exchanged mutual

embraces. Then, after pleasant interchange of familiar conversation, they joined forces and proceeded to the city to continue the siege. Tancred received them with affection and hospitality, and that night a noble feast was held, the viands for which were supplied from the flocks and herds which had been driven in from the surrounding country.

20. *Baldwin demands that Tancred's standard be torn down from the citadel. He raises his own in its place. Tancred retires in anger. Guelf seizes Adana.*

In the morning, Baldwin and his comrades perceived that Tancred's banner had been placed on the highest tower of the city. Immediately the pangs of jealousy laid hold on them. They forgot the professions of love which they had made while they were marching along peacefully like own brothers, professions which one and all had resolved should be kept forever. They were angry that Tancred had dared to raise his own standard over the city while other more powerful leaders were present with far more troops.

Tancred was a modest man and wished to calm their wrath. He denied that the raising of his standard was intended as an insult to them. He said that he had entered into this agreement with the citizens by virtue of his own valor, before the arrival of the chiefs and before there was any hope of their coming. Instigated by his companions, however, who urged this course with all their might, Baldwin paid no attention to the merits of the case. On the contrary, carried by his own feelings far beyond the limits of discretion, he exasperated Tancred by his insolent words. His arrogance brought the matter to such a pass that they were on the point of turning their weapons against one another for mutual slaughter. Finally Baldwin called the citizens to him and publicly threatened that unless they pulled down Tancred's standard and raised his own in its stead, he would abandon the city and all the adjacent suburbs to destruction, in spite of the fact that Tancred had promised them immunity.

The citizens perceived that Baldwin was a man of far greater prowess and had more troops than had Tancred. Under the same form of treaty, therefore, and the same terms which they had formerly made with Tancred, they pulled down his flag and on the same height raised that of Baldwin. Overwhelmed by an act of such injustice, Tancred burned with righteous indignation; nevertheless, with wise counsel

and pious long-suffering, he controlled his feelings. Then, fearing lest a dangerous dissension might arise among the forces of the faithful, he broke camp and retired to a neighboring city called Adana. When he arrived there, however, he was not permitted to enter. For a certain Guelf of the Burgundian nation had seized that city.[22] He with others had separated from the main army and drawn a great throng of people to his standard. Chance brought him to Adana, where he drove out the Turks and took possession by force.

When Tancred learned that this city had, by the will of God, fallen into the power of our people, he sent messengers to Guelf and besought him to unbar the gates for himself and his people. They desired to lodge there and to purchase the necessaries of life. The envoys were admitted and everything needful for Tancred and his horses as well was furnished in ample quantity, some free, the rest at a fixed price. For Guelf had found the place full of gold and silver, flocks and herds, grain, wine, and oil, in fact overflowing with every good thing.

21. *Tancred takes possession by force of Mamistra, a city in that same district.*

At break of day, Tancred left the city with all his company and marched at a rapid pace along the royal highway to Mamistra. This was one of the splendid cities of the same province, noted for its wall and towers and also for its large population. Its delightful situation, fertile fields, and rich soil also gave it prestige. Near Mamistra, Tancred established his camp. He at once assailed the place and kept up such a continual series of assaults and onslaughts that, within a few days, by the help of God he took the city by force and slew the infidels who lived there. A vast amount of riches and quantities of provisions of every description were found there. All these Tancred divided among his followers in such portions as the services of each deserved. Thus his entire company was enriched. The great abundance of food available here well repaid the pilgrims for the privations which they had previously endured. In the meantime, while they were satisfying

[22] Ralph of Caen, intimate friend and panegyrist of Tancred, states that Adana was held by an Armenian named "Ursinus." Hagenmeyer believes that this Latin word for bear might easily have led oral tradition to substitute wolf (guelf) and hence started the story which Albert wrote and William repeats (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, p. 293, note 66). Nicholson, however, prefers Chalandon's identification of Ursinus as Oshin, lord of Lampron (R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 48, note 2).

their own physical needs with rest and food, they allowed their horses and all the beasts of burden to graze at will.

22. *Baldwin takes Tarsus. By an unfortunate mishap, three hundred Christians die before the city gate.*

After Tancred's departure, Baldwin repeatedly admonished the people of Tarsus. Mingling vigorous threats with his warnings, he ordered them to throw open the gates and admit his forces. For it seemed to him disgraceful that he should thus waste time and sit there idly doing nothing until the army arrived. The citizens feared that if they refused to obey, he would attack the city at close range, for they had seen that Tancred could not withstand him. They had but slight confidence in their own strength, so they made of necessity a virtue, opened the gates, and admitted Baldwin and his entire force. They assigned two towers for his use, which he was to hold for the time being. In the meanwhile, the rest of his people were lodged in the homes of the faithful throughout the city. The Turks who still held the city, however, as yet retained possession of the other towers. They were more in number and still held without dispute the greater part of the city fortifications, yet they were suspicious of the company of Christians whom they had admitted. Since they had no hope of gaining assistance, however, they were seeking an opportunity of stealthily leaving with their wives and children and all their substance.

That same night, three hundred men belonging to Bohemond's expedition, who were on their way to join Tancred, happened to reach Tarsus. By Baldwin's orders, they were refused entrance to the city. Wearied by their long march, destitute of necessary supplies, they earnestly begged for lodgings and a market. The pilgrims of lesser rank within the city sympathized with these, their fellow pilgrims, and earnestly prayed that they be admitted. The request was not granted, however, for they were said to be members of Bohemond's expedition who were hastening to the aid of Tancred. Although they could not go outside, the Christians within the city were not lacking in brotherly feelings. They lowered baskets full of bread and wine in skins from the wall by ropes and thus supplied those outside with sufficient food to enable them to pass the night. So, forced to remain outside, these men established themselves before the city gates and rested as well as they could.

That same night, the Christians both within and without the city had surrendered to sleep and were enjoying grateful repose. In the deceptive silence, the Turks and other infidel inhabitants of Tarsus opened the gates without a sound and stealthily departed. They took with them their wives and children, servants and maidservants, and all their belongings. For they could not feel quite at home with the guests whom they had received and feared to dwell with them. They were entirely free to leave, for one or two city gates were still in their power. In order to leave a bloody victory behind them for their enemies, however, they sent ahead their packs and all the heavy baggage and then killed, almost to a man, those who were lying, heavy with sleep, outside the gates.

23. *The people take up arms against Baldwin but are finally quieted. A fleet with men from the West arrives at Tarsus.*

THE next day, as soon as it was fully light, the Christians who had slept inside the city arose and found it deserted. Astonished at the enemy's noiseless flight, they searched the walls and entrances to discover, if possible, whence they had departed. While they were carefully scrutinizing every nook and corner, they discovered the massacre which the departing Turks had wrought on the servants of Christ. Deepest sorrow and well-deserved grief came upon them, and forthwith they gave themselves over to lamentations. Then the men of the second rank stood apart from the rest and took up arms against Baldwin and the more important leaders. For they imputed to them the death and destruction of the brethren because they had refused to their fellow pilgrims the grace of hospitality, a right which is justly due to all who are needy. Hence, moved with righteous resentment, the people rushed with hostile intent upon their chiefs. If the latter had not withdrawn to the highest towers, the massacre wrought outside would have been avenged in about equal numbers on the persons of the leaders. Finally, Baldwin perceived that the disturbance which had arisen among the people from a just cause was increasing, and he began to consider anxiously how to excuse himself to the people that the tumult might be quieted. He obtained a slight respite and demanded silence. The crowd of foot people, still holding their arms, were quieted a little. Baldwin now began to protest his innocence. He declared on oath that the only reason why he had barred the pilgrims

from the city was that he had faithfully promised to admit no one until the duke arrived. Thereupon, through the flattering and persuasive words of certain nobles, so essential at such a time and place, the people were somewhat appeased and a reconciliation was effected.

Thus the quarrel was settled. They had remained there in full tranquillity for several days, when lo, a fleet was seen on the sea about three miles away from Tarsus. At sight of this, both knights and foot soldiers eagerly hastened down to the sea. They talked with the newcomers from the shore and learned from their own account that they were Christians. Asked as to their country, they answered that they were from Flanders, Holland, and Frisia, in which parts they had for eight years carried on piracy. At last pricked in heart and repenting of their sins, they had sailed into this sea on their way to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. When our people learned that they were men of the faith, they invited them to enter the port. Right hands were clasped in greeting and the kiss of peace exchanged. Then after the fleet had been stationed in a safe harborage, the men themselves were conducted to Tarsus.

Their chief was one Guinemer from the district of Boulogne in the land of Count Eustace, the father of Lord Godfrey.[23] As soon as Guinemer recognized Baldwin as the son of his lord, he left the fleet and arranged to accompany him to Jerusalem. He was very rich and had become still wealthier from that despicable calling which he had so long practiced. He had many people in his service, most of whom accompanied him when he decided to follow Baldwin. A detachment of five hundred men selected from the following of the two commanders was thereupon left as a sufficient protection for the city, and all the rest made preparations to set forth to test fortune.

24. *After taking Tarsus, Baldwin marches on to Mamistra. A combat takes place between Tancred and Baldwin. The two are finally reconciled.*

After leaving Tarsus, the army kept to the royal highway until Mamistra was reached. Only a short time before, as has been related, Tancred had seized this place by force of arms and was now holding it

[23] This episode of Guinemer and his pirates has also been viewed with some suspicion. Certain details in the story as told by Albert and followed by William are obviously legendary, and one or two in conflict with attested facts. The participation of fleets from the Channel ports is however abundantly attested by other sources. Albert is undoubtedly guilty of embellishing the original facts with fanciful details not all

with a strong hand. Well aware that his forces would not be received in the city, Baldwin lodged them outside in the surrounding gardens.

When Tancred heard that Baldwin had arrived and had established his camp near by, he was extremely angry. The memory of the wrongs which he had so unjustly suffered from that man recurred to his mind, and his spirit burned within him. Furious with wrath, he called his men to arms, determined to repay in the same coin the evil treatment which he had received. A troop of bowmen was dispatched to wound the horses which had been turned out into the pastures, or to capture and drive them off. Tancred himself with five hundred mailed knights fell upon Baldwin's camp; he surprised the men off guard and before they could seize their arms nearly annihilated them. They took up their weapons, however, and prepared to resist. A fierce struggle ensued. Both sides fought furiously as if they had been the bitterest of enemies. Many fell and some prisoners on both sides were taken. But Tancred's forces both in strength and numbers were unequal to those of Baldwin. Finally unable longer to endure the stress of battle, he was forced to give way and retreated to the city.

Between Baldwin's camp and the town flowed a river spanned by a very narrow bridge. This formed such a serious hindrance to Tancred's forces in their hurried flight to the city that many, knights and foot soldiers alike, were killed. Others, however, made good their escape into the town. Perchance even greater losses might have resulted, since both sides were burning with hatred, had not the coming of night put an end to the fighting.

Among the followers of Tancred captured were the noble and distinguished men, Richard of the Principate, a near kinsman, and Robert of Anzi. It was mainly due to the advice and instigation of these nobles that Tancred had resorted to the revenge just described. One distinguished prisoner of high rank, Gilbert de Montclair, was captured from Baldwin's following. The absence of these leaders caused much disturbance in the ranks on both sides, for it was believed that they had fallen in the day's conflict.

When dawn appeared the next day, feelings of hatred began to subside, and anger was somewhat assuaged. Thanks to divine mercy, they once more remembered their profession and returned to their

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of which are accepted by William (see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 237–38, and H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, p. 359, note 7).

right minds. Messengers were dispatched to ask for terms of peace; the captives on both sides were returned; and to the mutual satisfaction of both armies, the kiss of peace was exchanged and full harmony restored.

25. *Baldwin returns to the main army. Tancred invades and conquers all Cilicia. The neighboring rulers hasten to win his favor. They offer gifts.*

FROM Mamistra, at the demand of his comrades, Baldwin returned with all his forces to the main army. This, as has been stated, had now arrived at Marash. He had learned of the serious accident which had befallen the duke before Antioch in Pisidia and, full of anxiety about Godfrey's safety, wished to ascertain more fully his real condition.

Meanwhile, Tancred reinforced his own forces by associating with them the rest of the people who had come with the fleet. With this greatly increased army, he overran all Cilicia. He took by storm strongholds of the enemy wherever he found them, burned them to the ground, and put all within to the sword. The last place to be stormed was Alexandria Minor. This also he captured, notwithstanding its desperate resistance. With this last victory the entire region came under his power.

The news that Tancred was subduing the entire country with a strong and numerous force soon reached the Turkish and Armenian satraps who dwelt in the mountains. Terror seized them lest he ascend to them also, conquer their cities, and enslave their people. In eager rivalry, they hastened to send envoys bearing immense gifts of gold and silver, horses, mules, and silken stuffs. By such liberality they hoped to turn aside the wrath of this great chief, to win his favor, and obtain treaties of friendship.

Thus Tancred was successful in all he undertook, for God was with him. The Lord directed all his works as those of a faithful servant.[24]

[24] Tancred, like Godfrey, had become one of the great heroes of the First Crusade by the time William wrote. None of the contemporary chronicles, not even that of Ralph of Caen, which was virtually a panegyric of Tancred, however, had portrayed him as quite so free from blemish as he appears in this work. For some reason William's critical faculties cease to function when he writes of Tancred. The story of the friction between Baldwin and Tancred in this advance guard action is treated in detail by P. Gindler, *Graf Balduin von Edessa,* and by R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred.*

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BOOK

THE FOURTH BOOK BEGINS

CRUSADERS OVERRUN NORTHERN SYRIA AND BEGIN SIEGE OF ANTIOCH

1. *Baldwin, the duke's brother, returns to the main army. At the suggestion of Pakrad, he again undertakes a campaign. He marches to the north and seizes the entire country as far as the Euphrates.*

WHILE Tancred was thus valiantly subjugating everything in Cilicia, the main army had already reached Marash.[1] Thither Baldwin repaired to visit his brother. As he found Godfrey convalescent, he began to feel the fires of ambition once more. Kindled to rivalry by the universal praise of Tancred's valor, which was everywhere proclaimed, he gathered his comrades and determined to set forth again on a quest for new adventures. But those whom he invited to join him for this purpose were loath to accompany him, for they had heard of the haughty insolence with which he, relying on his large following, had treated Tancred before the walls of Tarsus in Cilicia. Practically everyone regarded his conduct as abominable, a judgment which his guilt demanded, and, if regard for the duke had not prevented, Bohemond and his men would not have left unpunished the wrong which had been done to Tancred. Thus it happened that Baldwin found few comrades to accompany him on this expedition. His brother, the servant of God, reprimanded him severely for his action, and he himself, recognizing his guilt, promised in all humility to make fitting amends to the noble Tancred for his offense. Since Baldwin had erred at the suggestion of another rather than on his own impulse, and such conduct was altogether foreign to his character, he received pardon and won back the good will of all.[2] In every other respect he was praiseworthy, nor was there ever again any report of a similar nature against him.

[1] October 13, 1097. The death of Baldwin's wife occurred during the three-day stay at this place. See Book III, note 20.

[2] William has supplied this account of Baldwin's reconciliation with the leaders of the crusade on the basis of either oral tradition or personal conjecture.

He had a friend, a noble Armenian, Pancratius [Pakrad] by name,[3] whose acquaintance he had made at Nicaea, after the latter had escaped from the emperor's prison. This man was always his comrade on his marches. He was a valiant warrior, but very tricky and of doubtful loyalty. He was constantly urging Baldwin to assemble troops and join him in an expedition into the surrounding country, which, he said, might easily be seized with a small force. To this Baldwin at last consented. Accompanied by two hundred knights and not a few people on foot, he set out under the guidance of this Pakrad toward the north. Soon they entered a very rich country. The majority of the people living in this region were of the Christian faith, true worshippers of God. The infidel inhabitants, however, though few in number, were still in possession of the fortresses. They treated the true believers as they pleased and debarred them from military service.

The Christian cultivators of the land abhorred the overlordship of the infidels, and as soon as Baldwin entered the region they turned over the fortified places to him. Thus within a few days he had gained possession of the entire district as far as the great river Euphrates. His very name became so formidable in the country round about that, though no man pursued, the enemy voluntarily deserted the fortresses and took to flight. The mere presence of Baldwin inspired courage and the confidence which springs from courage in the hearts of the faithful who had received him. Thus, in the words of the prophet: "One [could] chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." [4]

Nor was it the people alone who clung to him thus, for the Christian princes in those parts also allied themselves with him. They coöperated heartily with him in his undertaking, furnished him with troops, and rendered him devoted obedience.

[3] Armenian writers have very little to say about this person, who occupies so much space in the accounts of Albert and William. Iskenderian regards him as probably one of those Armenians who had become disaffected in the service of the Greeks and had possibly been imprisoned (*Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, pp. 32 ff.). Beaumont believes the account of Albert and William about Pakrad to be substantially correct (see A. A. Beaumont Jr., "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 105 ff.).

[4] De. 32: 30.

2. *His fame spreads far and wide. He is summoned by the citizens of Edessa. He crosses the Euphrates and hastens thither but falls into ambushes on the march. The people of God come out to meet him and with great rejoicings escort him into the city.*

After some days had elapsed, Rumor, issuing forth, spread the name and deeds of this magnificent man far and wide through the adjacent provinces. His valor, loyalty, and persevering courage were lauded as worthy of the highest praise. The report of his fame reached the citizens of Edessa. Soon the whole city was filled with the news that a mighty leader had come from the Christian army who would be able to loose them completely from the yoke of servitude and restore them to freedom. Thereupon those in charge of the city, as well as the elders in whom the entire authority of Edessa was vested, sent an embassy inviting him most earnestly both by letter and word of mouth to come to them.

Edessa is a famous city of Mesopotamia, known also by the name of Rages. This is the city to which the elder Tobit sent his son, Tobit the Younger, to demand from Gabelus, his kinsman, ten talents of silver which Tobit had loaned him as a child. Immediately after the Passion of our Lord, the citizens of Edessa received the doctrine concerning salvation in Christ through Thaddeus, the apostle. They were found worthy in all respects, in accordance with the preaching of the great apostle and the letter of our Saviour which He wrote to Abgar their king, as may be read in the first chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History* which Eusebius of Caesarea wrote.[5] To this teaching they held with sincere faith, just as they had received it at first in the time of the apostles. They were under the yoke of the infidel to this extent, that they were obliged to pay an annual tribute and tax. They were also forced to redeem their vineyards and fields and whatever lands they owned outside by almost continual exactions. Yet none except the faithful dared to live within the town. For among all the cities of that district Edessa alone retained its original freedom, unsullied by the heathen. Although the enemy had long ago seized all the surrounding region, Edessa had not been subjugated, nor had it suffered anyone of an alien faith to dwell within its boundaries. But those living in the neighboring

[5] Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 1.14.

towns and fortresses caused the people of Edessa great annoyance, for they would not permit the citizens to leave the city or to carry on business outside.

A governor of the Greek nation was in charge of the city. He had been sent there as ruler at the time when the entire province had become subject to the power of Constantinople.[6] He was now a feeble old man, without children of either sex. As the Turks arrived before the expiration of his term of office, he was of necessity forced to remain there. He had continued to hold jurisdiction over the city, either because he was unable to return to his own country or because the people did not compel him to give up the government. He was, however, a useless overlord, unable to protect his subjects from wrongs or to procure them relief from molestation. By the united action of the citizens, therefore, although with the governor's knowledge and good will, messengers were sent to Baldwin, as we have said, to beg him to come and furnish some remedy for their ills.

After listening to the request of both people and elders and consulting with his friends, Baldwin decided to consent and made preparations for the march. Accompanied by eighty knights only, he crossed the Euphrates. The rest of his followers were left to guard the citadels and towns on this side the river, possessions which the Lord had granted him.

Meanwhile, the Turks who lived on the farther side of the river had learned that he was coming and had prepared ambushes for him. There was, however, a fortified town on his route ruled by a certain Armenian, and thither he withdrew to avoid the pitfalls prepared for him. He was kindly received by the lord of the place with gracious hospitality, and there he rested for two days, not daring to proceed. Then the Turks who had lurked in ambush during that time grew weary of waiting longer. With standards raised, they suddenly appeared with a strong force before the place and began to drive off cattle from the pastures near by. As the Christians were unequal to their adversaries both in strength and numbers, they did not venture to go out against them but remained in the fortress, and on the third day the Turks departed.

[6] Thoros was an Armenian who had governed Edessa for the Greeks. When the Turks captured the city, they permitted him to continue as governor. With the news of the defeat of Qilij Arslan and the approach of the crusaders, the small garrison of Turkish troops was driven out, and Thoros ruled independently. Both his age and the fact that he was not a military man led him to call in Baldwin.

Baldwin then resumed his interrupted march to Edessa. He was received on his arrival with much honor by the governor of the city and with good will by all. The clergy and all the people came out to meet him, singing hymns and spiritual songs to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums.

3. *The ruler of the city becomes jealous of Baldwin's success. He repents of his action and desires to rescind the agreement. Overruled by the people, he finally adopts Baldwin as his son, though with treacherous intent.*

Soon, however, the ruler who had caused Baldwin to be summoned began to feel the pangs of envy. As he silently pondered in his own heart over the honor and favor which the people had manifested toward that leader on his arrival, he longed to withdraw from the arrangement into which he had entered. At the time when the invitation was sent, it had been decided that, during the lifetime of the ruler, Baldwin should share equally with him in all the goods, tribute, and taxes which the city possessed. Afterwards, he was to have all without reserve. Now, however, the ruler desired to make a different proposition. Baldwin was to furnish aid to the city and its people against the oppression of the Turks and to ward off their violence. In return, the lord himself would name what in the opinion of an upright man was an honorable annual recompense. Baldwin scornfully rejected this proposal, which seemed to imply that he was to be paid a wage for his services like any common soldier. He began to make preparations to return. But when the citizens learned of this resolution, they hastened to the governor and urgently insisted that he should by no means permit the departure of so great a chief, a man so essential to their liberty. They demanded that he bind Baldwin to himself in accordance with the provisions of the pact, that he as well as the whole city might thereafter enjoy the peace so greatly desired.

In view of the unanimous demands of both people and elders and the fervent affection which Baldwin had inspired, the ruler felt that it would be dangerous to refuse this request. Accordingly, in spite of his misgivings, he reluctantly yielded assent. Furthermore, to make complete amends for his previous conduct, he adopted Baldwin as his son,[7] in the presence of the townspeople. With due solemnity he de-

[7] Not all the sources agree with this statement. Neither Fulcher nor Matthew of Edessa, who knew the facts, mentions this adoption. Beaumont, who quotes a recently

clared him an equal sharer in everything while he himself lived and proclaimed him as his successor thereafter. The people rejoiced, for they felt that all their hope of safety lay in Baldwin. From that time they began to wax bold under the protection of their new lord. As they looked back with greater freedom on the injuries which they had suffered from their ruler, they planned to take revenge, if ever a suitable place and time should present itself. This the subsequent course of events very clearly showed.

4. *At the request of the townspeople, Baldwin lays siege to Samosata. In revenge for the great wrongs which he had brought upon them, the citizens conspire against their inefficient lord.*

NEAR Edessa was the very ancient city of Samosata, famous for its strong fortifications. It was ruled by an infidel of the Turkish race called Balduk, a valiant warrior but a tricky and wicked man. He inflicted many woes upon the citizens of Edessa by doubling the tribute and taxes on their fields and burdening them with services. To insure the accomplishment of these tasks, he was in the habit of holding their children as hostages.The latter were forced under conditions of extreme inhumanity to serve him like slaves with bricks and clay. Accordingly, the entire population, embracing Baldwin's knees tearfully, implored him that he would deign to protect them from the tyranny of this man and bring about the restoration of their children who were thus forcibly detained. Baldwin listened graciously to this, the first request of his people, for he hoped thereby to win their full regard. He called them together, furnished them with arms, and moved with a strong force against Samosata.

For several days he kept up persistent assaults upon the city. The Turks within, however, confident in the strong fortifications of the place, resisted strenuously, and Baldwin soon perceived that he was not accomplishing anything. Accordingly, he returned to Edessa. He left behind, however, knights in an adequately fortified place near by who were ordered to keep up a continual warfare which would leave the people of Samosata no respite.

The citizens of Edessa soon discovered that Baldwin was a man of

discovered contemporary Syrian history of the period, is inclined to doubt the adoption (Beaumont, in *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 107–8).

energy, successful in all he undertook. They perceived the injustice of the arrangement by which he, the liberator of the city and the founder of peace, a man worthy to possess the whole and to dispose of everything according to his own pleasure, was on a par with a man who was utterly useless to the city. They summoned Constantine, a powerful noble who possessed several well-fortified castles on a mountain near by, and, with the consent of all the people, proposed to kill their lord and make Baldwin their ruler and sole master. They hated their governor, as he well deserved. He was said to have extorted gold, silver, and many precious objects from them and to have wronged them greatly. If anyone attempted to resist, he roused the hostility and hatred of the Turks against that person by bribes so that the unlucky man had reason to fear not only that his vineyards and gardens and growing crops would be cut down, his flocks and herds driven off, but even that his very life might be endangered.

5. *They slay the aforesaid lord of Edessa and make Baldwin ruler over them. He buys Samosata at a great price from Balduk, the ruler.*

The citizens of Edessa, in whose minds the evil deeds of their ruler were ever present, realized that through the guest whom they had received a favorable opportunity had come for obtaining the freedom so long desired. In accordance with plans previously arranged, therefore, they flew to arms, boldly attacked the tower in which their ruler had his residence, and with resolute courage endeavored to overthrow it. The fury of the populace and their righteous indignation against him caused the governor to fear for his life. He summoned Baldwin, and pouring out his treasures before him, begged him to intercede on his behalf with the people. Although Baldwin, in good faith,[8] willingly tried to protect the ruler from harm at the hands of the citizens and to turn them from their purpose, he soon perceived that his efforts would be in vain, for the people were becoming more and more angry. He returned to the governor, therefore, and earnestly advised him to take whatever measures he could for his life and safety. The latter, in desperation vainly seeking a remedy where none existed, lowered a

[8] All the sources seem to agree that Thoros was dethroned and killed by the Armenians but not all are agreed that Baldwin was not privy to the conspiracy (see discussion by Beaumont, in *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 109–12, and by Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, pp. 46–48).

rope from a window and entrusted himself to it. Before he reached the ground, however, he perished, pierced by a thousand arrows. The people dragged his lifeless body through the place and cut off his head, but even these measures scarcely satisfied their animosity. The next day,[9] notwithstanding Baldwin's reluctance and in spite of his protestations, they made him ruler over them and took the oath of fealty to him. They then led him with much pomp and solemnity into the citadel of the city and bestowed upon him all the treasures and the vast riches which their former ruler had accumulated during many years. Thus the city was restored to a state of tranquillity.

Now Balduk, who, as we have said, was the ruler of Samosata, perceived that Baldwin was uniformly successful and that he was subjugating all the region. He therefore offered his city for sale at the price of ten thousand pieces of gold. Baldwin realized that the place could not easily be taken by storm because of its strong fortifications. Therefore, after much deliberation he paid the huge sum demanded and received the town. The hostages belonging to Edessa were also recovered, a fact which added greatly to his prestige.

In accomplishing this feat at the very beginning, he won such high favor from the citizens of Edessa that, thenceforward, they regarded him not only as lord but as father and were ready to fight to the death for his welfare and glory.

6. *He lays siege to the city of Seruj and takes it by storm, thereby earning untold thanks from his people.*

THERE was in the same province near Edessa a city called Seruj, which was likewise filled to overflowing with infidels. The ruler of this place was a Turkish satrap named Balas. He was continually harassing the city of Edessa and inflicting grievous wrong upon it. For this reason, Baldwin readily assented to the entreaties of the citizens that he should gather an army and move against it. On the appointed day he marched thither and, in accordance with the wish of his people, laid siege to the place. He first established his camp in a circle round about. Then, after stationing his engines to the best advantage, he boldly opened the attack on the city. Stricken with fear at the resolute purpose of the man and doubtful of their own strength, the citizens sent envoys to him to beg for peace. They agreed to surrender the city if he

[9] Probably March 8, 1098.

would guarantee their lives and safety and, on these terms, the place was delivered to him. A garrison of his own men sufficient for the protection of the city was left there in command of one of the men who had conducted the negotiations. He then imposed an annual tribute upon the citizens and returned to Edessa covered with glory. The occupation of Seruj by the Christians opened free communication between Antioch and Edessa. Up to this time, its position midway on the route between Edessa and the Euphrates had acted as an obstacle to those who wished to go to and fro.

Now with these explanations about Baldwin's affairs, let us return to the story of the main army.

7. *Certain men sent from the main army seize by force the city of Artah. Roused by news of this, the people of Antioch hasten thither with a large force. They lay an ambush for our people and attack the city. Their efforts meet with no success, however; so, after fortifying the bridge, they return home.*

WHILE Baldwin was thus actively engaged in the country of Edessa beyond the Euphrates, the main army, after marching over steep mountains and through winding valleys, as has already been related, had arrived at Marash. With a few exceptions, the inhabitants of this city were Christians. The infidels were in possession of the citadel, however, and treated the rest of the population according to their own good pleasure. As soon as they learned that our army was approaching, however, the Turks secretly fled in great terror, and thus the faithful were left in complete possession of the city.

When the army dedicated to God arrived at this place it encamped before the walls of the city in green pastures. Orders were given that no violence be done to the townspeople; therefore, at that place, an abundant market was furnished without disturbance. Here the Christians were informed by trustworthy natives that the Turks held another city in the vicinity, called Artah [Artasium]. This place lay in much more fertile country and abounded in all good things.

Accordingly, by common consent, Count Robert of Flanders with a force of a thousand mailed knights at once speedily marched thither. Certain nobles accompanied him, namely, Robert de Rozières and Goscelon, son of Conon, count of Montague. As soon as he reached

the place, Robert at once began siege operations. Thereupon, the Turks abandoned the city and retired to the citadel, in whose strength they felt confidence.

When the Armenians and other true believers dwelling in Artasium learned that these warriors, clad in such glittering armor, had come from the army so long and eagerly awaited, the hope of liberty awakened within them. Seizing their weapons, they turned against the Turks who had so long held them under harsh and oppressive rule and slew all without delay. They flung the heads outside the walls, threw open the gates, and with pious affection invited the Christians without to enter the city and quarter there. Moreover, in true observance of the laws of hospitality, they furnished all that was needful for both warriors and horses.

Artasium, also called Chalcis, is, like Marash just mentioned, one of the suffragan cities which owes allegiance to the [patriarchal] throne of Antioch, from which it is fifteen miles distant.

The report of this event spread far and wide through the land and roused the people of Antioch. Zealously they armed and made ready to destroy the invaders who had made themselves masters of Artah by the slaughter of its citizens. About ten thousand picked men from the number who assembled at Antioch for the defense of that city set forth in all haste for Artasium. As they approached the city, they sent ahead a detachment of thirty light-armed knights mounted on swift chargers. The rest of the force remained in a retired spot, hidden in ambush. In the hope that the Christians would incautiously venture out to attack them, the advance guard of skirmishers now began to ride up and down before the city, as if with the object of driving off booty. The insolence of these men, as they rode freely to and fro, proved too much for the patience of the faithful within the walls. Eagerly they flew to arms. As they pursued without due regard for caution, however, they followed the foe too far and soon fell into the ambushes so carefully placed. The enemy immediately emerged from their hiding places and made desperate efforts to prevent the Christians from retreating, for, if they succeeded in reaching the city, it would afford them a refuge from the larger forces which were about to follow. In spite of all their efforts, however, our people, by the will of God, valiantly repulsed them and retired safely into the city with all their following.

The enemy now perceived that to get possession of the city so quickly

was no easy task. Consequently they began to establish a blockade. For one entire day they stormed the place without success, while the Christians within the walls put up a valiant defense. When news came that our main army was approaching, however, the enemy deemed it hazardous to remain longer. Following saner advice, they returned to Antioch, leaving a strong force of soldiers to guard the bridge between the two cities. Thus the count and his comrades zealously protected the city which the Lord had granted them, until the arrival of the main army.

During this time, Goscelon, a youth of unusual promise, a son of Conon, count of Montague, of whom I spoke before, was seized with a serious illness and died. He was buried in that place with the usual rites of honor.

8. *The main army arrives at Artasium. From that place scouts are sent on ahead to investigate the roads. They approach the bridge and, in spite of the enemy's efforts, cross the river.*

Barely had the Turks who had come from Antioch left Artasium about daybreak, when it was reported that the main Christian army had entered the outskirts of the city and made camp not far from the town. With a natural solicitude for the brethren reported to be suffering under siege at Artasium, the chiefs, by common advice, had sent fifteen hundred mailed knights to their aid. The orders were that, if the siege had been raised and there was free access to the city, the count of Flanders and the other nobles who were with him should leave a garrison sufficient to guard the place and return to the army. Similar orders had been sent to Tancred, who had returned from Cilicia, where he had brought the whole district under his control. All the other leaders, who had scattered in various directions as their own interests dictated, had also returned, with the exception of Baldwin, the duke's brother, whose power in the vicinity around Edessa, was, by the will of God, growing stronger day by day. The various divisions of the army were thus reassembled and the strength of the host once more intact. Proclamation was now made by public edict that thereafter no one, unless ordered, should venture to separate himself from the main body of the army.

They then broke camp and directed the line of march toward Anti-

och, taking advantage of the shortest roads. Midway on their route was a river spanned by a bridge which was said to be very strongly fortified. To prevent the possibility of any hindrance at that point, Robert, count of Normandy, with his division was sent on in advance to investigate the route. If any difficulty seemed likely to arise, he was to notify the legions following and to give definite information thereon to the chiefs. At the head of this contingent, with standards unfurled, as chiefs of the legions were Evrard du Puiset and Roger de Barneville, illustrious noblemen well proved in the use of arms.

Separating from the army, therefore, the count and his cohorts arrived in advance of the main army at the bridge mentioned above. This was a stone structure of massive construction, at each end of which rose a well-fortified tower of the same solid work as the bridge itself. In these were stationed a hundred strong and valiant warriors, expert archers well trained in the use of the bow. Their duty it was to guard the towers and to prevent anyone from approaching by the fords of the river. In addition, seven hundred knights had arrived from Antioch. These had taken a position on the farther bank and had seized the fords in order to prevent, against all odds, the crossing of our forces.

The river which this bridge spans is called the Orontes, known in the speech of the people as the Far river. From this bridge it flows on past Antioch and descends to the sea. Some people, therefore, imagine it to be the river Farfar of Damascus, but we have ascertained definitely that those who make this assertion are wrong. The Farfar and the Albana have their origin in the Lebanon mountains. After flowing through the country in the vicinity of Damascus and past the city itself, they hasten to the east, where they are supposed to be lost in the sands of the desert. The Orontes, on the contrary, has its origin in the vicinity of Heliopolis, called also Malbec [Baalbec], whence it flows past Shayzar and Antioch into the Mediterranean sea.[10]

When the count of Normandy arrived with his forces at this bridge, he was prevented from crossing, not only by the guards in the towers on the bridge, but also by the defenders stationed on the opposite bank of the river. The result was that a very sharp encounter took place here, for our people were trying to force a passage while the enemy, by send-

[10] William's more intimate and extended knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land is reflected here and elsewhere. He does not use the ancient form, Baalbec, though he later (Book XXI, chap. 6) refers to "Baalbeth" as the Arabic name for the town.

ing forth dense showers of arrows, were doing their utmost to prevent it and to keep them away from the fords.

While both sides were thus exerting themselves to the utmost, the main army was approaching. For when it became known that the count and the advance guard were being held back by a fight at the bridge, the legionaries quickened their pace to render aid to their struggling comrades. By driving off the foe, they hoped to open the way so that the army might cross without delay.

As soon as all the legions had arrived, the sound of the trumpet and the voice of the herald gave the signal to take arms. Pressing on with all their might, they seized the bridge by force and put the enemy to flight. Those who could not find room to fight on the bridge, scorning to stand idly by, discovered the ford and so crossed to the other side. Here they dislodged the enemy and, without opposition, took possession of the farther bank. When the whole army had crossed, with chariots and wagons and baggage of every description, camp was made in wide-spreading green pastures, about five or six miles distant from the city. On the next day, the march was again resumed along the royal highway between the mountains and the river, and again camp was made, this time about a mile away from the city walls.

9. *A description of the city of Antioch and its dignity.*

ANTIOCH is a noble and glorious city. To it has been ascribed the third or possibly the second place of dignity (for there is much controversy over this question) after Rome itself. It stands at the head and is the governor of all the region of the East. In early times this city was called Reblata. It was here that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was brought with his sons into the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, when, by the latter's orders, the sons were slain before the eyes of their father, and then Zedekiah himself was blinded. After the death of Alexander of Macedon, Antiochus succeeded him as ruler of a part of this region. He surrounded this city by a very high wall with towers, had it restored to a better condition, and commanded that it be called Antioch from his own name. He then made it the capital of his realm and designated it as the royal residence for himself and his successors for all time. In this city the prince of the apostles had his sacerdotal see and was the first to hold the office of bishop there, for the venerable

Theophilus, a very influential citizen of Antioch, dedicated a church in his own house. It was for this Theophilus that Luke, also a native of Antioch, wrote both his Evangel and the Acts of the Apostles, and it was Luke who later succeeded the blessed Peter in that same church as the seventh in the list of bishops.

In this city the first gathering of the faithful was held and here also the name of Christians was adopted. Before this time, those who followed the teachings of Christ were called Nazarenes. Afterwards, by authority of that synod, all the faithful were known as Christians, a name derived from that of Christ. This city voluntarily and eagerly received the preaching of the apostle and was converted as one body to the Christian faith. She was the first to embrace and to teach the Name which, like precious ointment, diffuses its fragrance far and wide. Hence a new name was appointed for her and she was called Theopolis. Thus the city which formerly bore the name of a wicked and impious man received a well-deserved reward from the Lord and was thereafter known as the home and city of Him who had summoned her to faith. For this city, which as mistress of the former error had ruled over so many regions subject to her, in later time when she was leading an upright life in the way of the Lord still retained the same suffragans. The patriarch of that city beloved of God is said to have under his jurisdiction twenty provinces. Of these, fourteen have their own metropolitans and suffragans. The remaining six are under two primates, commonly called *catholici.* One of these pertains to Ani and the other to Hirinopolis or Bagdad. Each has his own suffragans. All these provinces are comprised under the one name, Orient, as is plain from the report of the synod of Constantinople. This reads as follows: "Let the bishops of the Orient have charge of the Orient only and let the honor of priority be retained by the church of Antioch, as is contained in the regulations of the synod of Nicaea." [11]

10. *Of the province in which it is located. Also a description of its site.*

THE city of Antioch is most delightfully and advantageously situated in the province of Coelesyria, which is a part of Greater Syria. It ex-

[11] Canon VI of the Council of Nicaea and Canon II of the Council of Constantinople (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* Vol. II, col. 672, and Vol. III, col. 560).

tends along a valley of unusual beauty with fertile soil and rich fields, practically all of which are well watered by rivulets and streams. This valley lies in the midst of mountains which slope toward the west. It is about forty miles in length and from four to six in width, varying according to the place. In the upper part is a lake formed from the influx of water from adjacent springs which are here brought together. It abounds in fish. One mile distant from it is the river which flows through the valley past the city to the sea. From the lake also emerges a little stream which presently, lower down near the city, joins this same river.

The mountains which encircle Antioch on both sides, although very high, give rise to sweet and limpid waters, and their sloping sides to the very summits are particularly well adapted to agriculture. The mountain on the south is called Orontes as is also the river which flows past the city, according to Jerome, who says that Antioch lies between the Orontes river and the mountain of the same name. A part of this mountain lower down along the sea rises to a great height. It has the distinction of a special designation, being known commonly as Mt. Parlier. Some authorities think that this is the Mt. Parnassus sacred to Bacchus and Apollo, and this opinion seems to be supported by the fact that there is a fountain of Daphne near. For this is regarded by some as the Castalian spring of the old myths, which was sacred to the Muses and which was also celebrated in the schools of the philosophers. This is said to spring up at the so-called staircase of Bohemond, near the city and at the base of Mt. Orontes. But this idea is far from the truth. It is certain that Mt. Parnassus lies in Boeotia, which is a part of Thessaly. Ovid described it as follows, in the first book of the *Metamorphoses:*

"The land of Phocis separates the Boeotian fields from those of Attica; a fertile country when dry land; but at that time a part of the sea and a broad expanse of waters suddenly poured forth. There a lofty mountain seeks the sky, with its twin peaks, Parnassus, whose summits tower above the clouds." [12]

In the forty-first chapter of his *Polyhistor*,[13] however, Solinus calls this Mt. Cassius. He writes as follows: "Near Antioch and close to Seleucia is Mt. Cassius. From the top of this the sun's disk may be seen till the fourth watch of the night; and, by turning slightly as the light scatters the darkness, one may see on this side night and on that day."

[12] Ovid *Meta.* I. 313–317.

[13] Solinus *Polyhistor* XXXVI (ed. Mommsen).

That the reader may not be confused by the ambiguous word Seleucia, he should be informed that there are two cities of that name. The first of these is the capital of Isauria rather more than a five days journey from Antioch. The other is close by that city, scarcely ten miles away, near the mouth of the Orontes river. This latter city is now called the port of St. Simeon. The spring mentioned above is known as the fountain of Daphne or the Castalian spring. It is said that there was once at this place a temple dedicated to Apollo, to which the Gentiles, in their superstitious belief, were wont to resort to consult the oracle in matters of doubt. After Julian the Apostate fell away from Christ and the teachings of true religion, he stayed for a time near Antioch. He was about to make a campaign against the Persians and used frequently to go to this shrine to consult Apollo in regard to his course. Theodoritus mentions this fact in the thirty-first chapter of the *Historia tripartita,* as follows, "When Julian sought an answer from the Pythian shrine at Daphne as to the probable success of his war with the Parthians, the priest rebuked him because the body of the martyr Babylas was buried near by. Thereupon Julian ordered that it be removed." [14]

The same circumstance is related with even more detail in the tenth book of the *Ecclesiastical History,*[15] "Julian gave still another evidence of his folly and levity. When he attempted to propitiate Apollo in the wood of Daphne near the Castalian spring, in the suburbs of Antioch, he was unable to obtain a reply to his question. He inquired what this silence meant, whereupon the priests of the demon answered that the tomb of the martyr Babylas was near by and therefore no answer could be given."

Although this fountain is known as the Castalian spring, it must not be confused with that other Castalian spring which is also called the fountain of Pegasus or of Hippocrene and Aganippe. This latter is in Boeotia, according to Solinus,[16] who writes as follows: "Near Thebes are Mt. Helicon, the wood of Cytheron, and the river Ismenus. Here also are the fountains of Arethusa and Hypodea, of Salmace and of Dirce, and most important of all, those of Aganippe and Hippocrene.

[14] *Hist. tripart.* VI. 31.

[15] Rufinus *Hist. eccl.* I. 35. In William's copy of the *Ecclesiastical History,* the first book by Rufinus followed nine books by Eusebius. Hence William's reference to the tenth book.

[16] Solinus *Polyhistor* VII (ed. Mommsen).

"Since it was Cadmus, the inventor of letters, who first found these springs, while he was exploring the region in search of a place to settle, the fervent imagination of the poets gave rise to two legends, namely, that this fountain was opened by the hoof of the winged horse and that drinking thereof was the inspiration of letters."

On the north of Antioch is a height commonly known as Black mountain. This abounds in springs and is also well watered by rivulets. It affords the inhabitants of the region many advantages in the way of woods and pastures. In early times there are said to have been numerous monasteries in this vicinity, and, even now, many venerable places, the abode of those vowed to the service of God, are cherished here with loving care.

Through the middle of this valley flows the river already mentioned on its way to the sea. The city is built on the nearer and steeper slope of the mountain, toward the south, between it and the river. The wall starts from the top of the height and runs down along the slope to the river. Within its circuit is enclosed a very wide area of mountainside and plain, the latter extending from the base of the mountain to the river. Two very high peaks also lie within the wall. On the summit of the higher of these was the citadel of Antioch, a strongly fortified place regarded as impregnable. A deep and narrow ravine separates these two peaks, and through it rushes a mountain torrent. In its passage through the center of the city, this stream is a source of many benefits to the citizens. There are several other springs in the city, the principal one being the eastern or gate of St. Paul. The fountain of Daphne, three or four miles away, has also been artificially conducted thither by means of an aqueduct. By a skilful device this furnishes water at stated times to many different places.

On the heights and the slopes as well as in the plain, the city is surrounded by walls of solid masonry, very thick and proportionately high. Above these rise, at equal distances apart, numerous towers well adapted for defense. On the west, lower down, around the more modern part of the city, the river runs so close to the walls and the mountain that the bridge which spans it forms a continuation of the wall and the city gate. According to some authorities the extent of the city lengthwise is two miles; others say three. It is ten or twelve miles from the sea.

11. *Who the ruler of this city was; and of how, on hearing of our approach, he first fortified the city strongly, and then mustered within its walls troops from the surrounding towns.*

THE lord of this famous city was a certain Acxianus [Yaghi Siyan] of the Turkish nation. He belonged to the household of a great and powerful potentate, Malik Shah, the sultan of Persia, to whom we have alluded before. By force of arms this prince had brought all these provinces under his power. At length, however, after he had conquered all nations and tribes, he wished to return to his own land. Accordingly, he divided his conquests among his nephews and servants in the belief that the memory of his many benefactions would always bind them loyally to him. In this distribution, Nicaea with its adjacent provinces was conferred upon Qilij Arslan, as mentioned above. The city of Damascus, also with its tributary cities and the surrounding country, was given to another nephew, Duqaq.[17]

On both of these nobles [Malik Shah] conferred the dignity and title of sultan; on Qilij Arslan because, since his kingdom lay on the boundaries of Greece, he was continually at strife with the empire of Constantinople; and on Duqaq because constant conflict and obstinate warfare was ever going on with the Egyptians, whose increase and formidable strength [Màlik Shah] viewed with great suspicion.

Another of the sultan's servants, Aqsunqur, who was the father of Zangi and the grandfather of Nureddin, received the very famous city of Aleppo.[18] With the same equal liberality, he gave Antioch to this Yaghi Siyan, whom we are now considering, with a somewhat limited territory, however, for the caliph of Egypt held all the country as far as Laodicea of Syria.

When Yaghi Siyan learned that a great army under Christian leaders was on the way, he sent out repeated messages, both by letter and the spoken word, to all the princes of the entire East, begging for aid.

[17] William's uncertainty about the early Saljuqs is again revealed. Qilij Arslan was a cousin, not a nephew, of Malik Shah. Duqaq was a nephew and ruled Damascus 1095–1104.

[18] Aleppo was ruled from 1095 to 1113 by Ridwan, a brother of Duqaq. Aqsunqur was at this time associated with Mosul, of which he ultimately became ruler. It was not until the time of his son, Zangi, that the family also acquired Aleppo.

Above all he besought the help of the caliph of Bagdad and of the illustrious sultan of Persia, more powerful than all the rest. To persuade them to acquiesce in his plans was a quick and easy task, for these potentates had long ago received intimation of our coming. Qilij Arslan, who knew by actual experiences as an eyewitness how vast were the numbers and how insuperable the valor of these Christian armies, had given them an accurate description of these forces.

Accordingly, the two sultans with earnest entreaties and profuse tears, begged for aid; the one that he might avenge his own wrongs, and the other that he might make his country safe from the inroads of the Christians and at the same time defend himself against their violence. The potentates promised the forces and the assistance asked, and later, as the result showed, they faithfully carried out their word.

In the meantime, Yaghi Siyan, very uneasy over the coming of the Christians, diligently levied and assembled troops from the neighboring provinces and cities. In daily expectation of a siege, he collected food supplies and got together arms. With ardent zeal he encouraged the townspeople to bring in materials for the construction of various machines: iron, steel, and all other things which are customarily of use at such times. They too, fired by an equally keen desire for the safety of the city and the general welfare, strove diligently that nothing might be wanting which might be of assistance to the citizens in a state of siege. Roving over the entire region, they despoiled the surrounding country and carried off with them grain, wine, oil, and all the other necessaries of life. They drove off flocks and herds and filled the city to overflowing with every necessary commodity. Thus, with great foresight and no small labor, they strengthened their position against the importunity of the advancing army.

From the entire country through which the Christian army passed, there came hither many noble and powerful men, flying before the advance of our troops. In the sole hope of gaining safety, without waiting for summons from anyone they betook themselves to Antioch, whose fortifications and strength seemed impregnable. The population of the city was greatly increased by these fugitives. Including both citizens and the assembled auxiliaries, there were said to be six or seven thousand knights and rather more than fifteen or twenty thousand foot soldiers armed for fighting.

12. *The consultation of our leaders and the advance of the army to the city.*

WHEN our people saw that they were approaching Antioch, they assembled to deliberate on the task that lay before them. Since the winter season was at hand, some of the chiefs advocated postponing the siege till the beginning of spring. It would be a difficult matter, they reasoned, to reassemble the army before that time, since it was now dispersed in various cities and fortresses. It was said, moreover, that the emperor of Constantinople intended to send a large contingent of troops to their aid and that a new army was on the way from the countries beyond the Alps. It would be advisable to wait for the arrival of both these armies, they said, for, with the greatly increased numbers, the desired end would be more easily attained. During the period of inactivity, the forces could be divided and sent in separate detachments to winter in less arid surroundings. Then when spring returned, the army could be brought together again, recuperated and refreshed bodily for the work before them. The horses also would be improved by the winter's rest and feeding.

Others, however, felt that it would be wiser to invest the city at once with an unexpected movement. If there were an interval of delay, the citizens would have more time to strengthen their defenses and to assemble the great forces already invited to their aid. In this important conference, the view of the side which maintained that the siege ought to be pressed at once, that delay was dangerous, and that the expeditionary forces ought not to be separated carried the day. It was unanimously decided to advance on the city and begin siege operations at once.

Accordingly, on October 18, they broke camp, advanced to Antioch, and established themselves before the city. Although the Christian forces who could wield the sword were said to number three hundred thousand besides women and children, yet it was impossible for the camp to surround the town completely. For, in addition to the peaks, which, as we have already said, lay within the circuit of the walls and which no attempt was made to surround, that part of the city which extended from the base of the mountain to the river on more level ground could not be completely enclosed by a continuous siege line.

The arrival of the Christian host and the work of establishing the

camp were accompanied by much noise. The blare of horns, the neighing of horses, and the crash of arms, intermingled with the shouts of men, seemed to rise to the very heavens. Yet during that entire day and for several days following our army's arrival, an utter silence prevailed in the city. Not a sound or noise of any kind was heard from it. It might reasonably have been supposed empty of defenders, although in reality it was well garrisoned with large numbers and abundantly supplied with provisions.

13. *The commanders are stationed around Antioch in strategic positions and the city is blockaded. The townspeople are overwhelmed with terror.*

In that section of Antioch which lay in the plain there were five gates. In the upper part on the east was situated that one which is now called the gate of St. Paul, from the fact that on the slope of the height above it is the monastery dedicated to the apostle of that name. Directly opposite this and separated from it by the whole length of the city was the second or west gate. This is now called the gate of St. George, because it lies near the basilica of that martyr. On the north side are three gates, all of which open toward the river. The upper one of the three is the gate of the Dog, and directly in front of this is a bridge leading across the marsh which is continuous with the wall. The second of these is now called the gate of the Duke. These two gates are about a mile from the river. The third is the gate of the Bridge, so called because here is located the bridge by which the river is crossed. For between the gate of the Duke, referred to above, which is in the middle, and the last gate on that side, the river actually washes the walls and does not recede from the city.

Since it was impossible for the army to approach either this gate or that of St. George without crossing the river, they were left unblockaded, but the upper three were surrounded. The highest gate was besieged by Bohemond with those who had followed his camp from the beginning. Around him but lower down were the camps of Robert of Normandy, Robert, count of Flanders, Stephen, count of Blois, and Hugh the Great. These leaders with their Norman, Frankish, and Breton troops continued the blackade from Bohemond's camp to the gate of the Dog. Around this gate were Raymond, count of Toulouse, the bishop of Puy, and other nobles who had followed their leader-

ship, with a great host of Gascons, Provençals, and Burgundians; this camp occupied the entire space as far as the next gate. At this latter point Duke Godfrey had placed his camp. With him were his brother Eustace and Baldwin of Hainault, Reinard of Toul, and Conon de Montague, counts and warriors of high renown, together with other nobles who had followed his camp from the first. They and their troops, Lotharingians, Frisians, Swabians, Saxons, Franks, and Bavarians, occupied all the rest of the space almost up to the gate of the Bridge. These forces were stationed in a triangle, as it were, between the city, the river which laved its walls, and the camps of the other leaders. There were orchards in this vicinity. These our army cut down entirely, and from the material thus obtained made for themselves and their horses a protecting barricade.

Through the openings in the towers and walls the townspeople watched the camp. They marvelled at the flashing armor, the steady diligence with which the work was carried on, the method of lodging the people, the placing of the camp. The number and strength of the vast throngs filled them with apprehension. As they compared the present time with that of the past, the peril of their present situation with their former tranquil state, they were filled with terror for their wives and children, their ancestral homes, and for liberty itself, mankind's most precious possession. Those whom friendly death had removed from the midst of such perils were regarded as indeed fortunate, since they were no longer in danger of being overwhelmed by like disasters.

Thus, in suspense, they awaited from day to day the taking of the city and the destruction of their people, for they regarded it as certain that a siege of such magnitude, prosecuted with such ardent vigor, would not be concluded without involving the destruction of the city and the loss of its liberty.

14. *The Christians erect a wooden bridge over the river that they may issue forth more freely on foraging expeditions. The townspeople make sudden sallies upon the camp of the count of Toulouse, by way of the nearest gate.*

In order to procure fodder for their horses and the necessary supplies for themselves, the people in camp were forced to make frequent trips across the river and often ventured too far. Again and again they came

back from these forays safe and sound, for as yet the citizens remained within the city and did not dare to roam about outside. Gradually the troops became accustomed to cross over many times a day, although this was attended with much difficulty, for, as the stream was not fordable, it could only be crossed by swimming. The besieged soon became aware of this custom. Sometimes openly, but more often stealthily, they began to cross over by the bridge. As a result they often killed or wounded many of our people, for the latter were accustomed to roam about incautiously in separate bands in search of what they needed. The enemy gained a special advantage from the fact that the obstacle of the river made the return trip very difficult for the Christians. This same reason made it difficult for those in camp to lend aid when they saw their friends roughly handled before their very eyes. To obviate this situation, the leaders deemed it advisable to build a bridge of whatever material was available. This would help them to combat the enemy's wiles more readily and would enable the troops to regain the camp with less trouble. Moreover, it would afford a safe and convenient road for the infantry when they were called out on necessary errands, especially down to the coast.

A number of boats were found on the river and on the lake above. These were lashed firmly together. Planks and other wooden material suitable for the purpose were laid above and bound together securely with wicker fastenings. Thus a solid bridge was furnished large enough to accommodate at one time several persons crossing abreast. This wooden structure was a great convenience to our people. It was located near the duke's camp over against the gate which had been assigned to him to guard and about a mile distant from the stone bridge which was contiguous to the city. The gate just mentioned is still called the gate of the Duke from his connection with it. His camp occupied without interruption all the space between this gate and the bridge just built.

Danger threatened the Christians not alone at this bridge and at the gate connected with it. At the upper gate also, which was the third beyond and known today as the gate of the Dog, our troops were exposed to many perils. Here, as has been stated, there was a stone bridge. This extended over a marsh which reached out from the city, formed by the constant overflow from the spring at the east gate or gate of St. Paul as well as from a continual influx from other rivulets. By way of this bridge, frequent midnight sallies and sudden day attacks were made

upon the camp of the count of Toulouse, who had been assigned to guard that gate. It was the enemy's practice to throw open the gate and let fly a sudden shower of arrows like hail. The result of this was that many of the count's men were killed or wounded. The enemy relied much on this kind of attack, for after the sally had been accomplished and the slaughter perpetrated they could make good their escape over the bridge into the city, whither the Christians could pursue them only by the same way. Hence it was that the count of Toulouse, the bishop of Puy, and the other nobles who were stationed in that vicinity lost far more mules and horses than did the legions of the other leaders.

15. *The count tries various devices against them. Finally the gate is closed by heaping masses of rock against it.*

THE losses in the ranks caused by this situation occasioned much distress to the count and the reverend bishop. Accordingly, they summoned their people and directed them to procure mallets and iron implements for the purpose of making a concerted effort to demolish the bridge. On the day fixed, mailed knights, protected by helmets and shields, assembled at the bridge and tried with all their might to destroy it. But the solid masonry, harder than any iron, offered effective resistance. The citizens also hindered their attempts by hurling forth stone missiles and showers of arrows. Perceiving, therefore, that they were not succeeding, the Christians gave up the attempt and adopted a different plan. They determined to set up a machine over against the bridge and place on constant guard therein armed men whose duty it should be to restrain the sallies made by the besieged. Proper materials of the kind needed were accordingly assembled, workmen were summoned, and quickly within a few days the work was carefully finished in all its parts. With much toil as well as danger to the workers, it was drawn to its position and set up like a lofty tower before the bridge. It was then put under the watchful care of the count.

When the townspeople saw this engine close to the walls, they hastened to the point of danger. Again they aimed their hurling engine thither and tried to weaken it by constant volleys of huge stones. Those stationed on the walls and towers also sent forth arrows and every kind of dart against those in and around the engine in a vigorous attempt to keep them away from the bridge.

Thus the defenders on the walls kept up the attack from all direc-

ions, hurling dense showers of arrows and rocks again and again in the hope of driving the Christians back even a little. Meanwhile others threw open the gate and, with an impetuous charge, rushed forth and seized the bridge by force. Swords in hand, they fought their way in close combat to the machine. Those who had been detailed to protect it were driven off; it was set on fire and speedily reduced to ashes.

Our leaders now perceived that they could make no headway by this method against their troubles at the bridge. On the following day, therefore, they set up three engines. By hurling constant showers of missiles from these, they hoped to succeed in at least weakening the walls and gate so as to prevent the citizens from sallying forth with hostile intent. The result was that, as long as the engines continued their work, not a citizen dared to emerge through that gate. As soon as these efforts were relaxed, however, the besieged recommenced their usual sallies and caused much trouble to those of the camp nearest them.

When this plan also proved to be without result, the Christians adopted a method suggested by some of their number. Immense rocks and massive tree trunks, so heavy that a hundred hands could scarcely move them, were rolled against the gate. Under the protection of the whole army, a thousand mailed knights lent their strength to the work. The material was carried over the bridge and piled up in such a mass before the gate that all attempts of the citizens to move it were futile. These tactics checked the charge of the foe through that gate and the sudden sallies ceased.

16. *The enemy attacks parties who are foraging for fodder. A furious fight results. Many fall on both sides. Some perish by the sword, others are drowned in the river.*

It happened one day that a party of infantry and cavalry from our army, numbering about three hundred, went out beyond the bridge to seek fodder. According to their custom, they began to scatter over the country to look for the necessary supplies. The imperative necessity of seeking provisions had led them to adopt this as a customary practice, and as a rule they had hitherto returned in safety from their frequent foraging trips, even when heavy laden with the needful supplies. Consequently, secure in the belief that they would continue to be fortunate and that no untoward accident such as often occurs on warlike

forays would befall them, they had gradually lost sight of due caution.

The citizens saw this band from the city and suddenly issued forth in numbers far greater. Crossing by the stone bridge,[19] they hurried with all speed against the Christians who were roaming about without due caution. They attacked them suddenly, killed a good many, and put the rest to flight.

The Christians fled to the bridge of boats, with the intention of gaining the camp, but the bridge was already filled with those who had reached it first. Consequently, many tried to cross by the ford but met death in the waves where they had thought to find safety. Others, in spite of their efforts, were pushed from the bridge by the dense throngs and plunged headlong into the river. The majority of these unfortunates were overwhelmed by the force of the waves and swept away together into the deep, which greedily swallowed them up and refused to restore them again.

When the news of this disaster reached the army, thousands of knights rushed to arms. On crossing the river, they encountered the foe who were returning from the massacre of the Christians and exulting in the spoils. Our men at once attacked them and pursued them with great persistence even to the city gate. Much havoc was wrought upon them.

When the townspeople saw their fellow citizens in this desperate peril, wounded and dying, their hearts were moved with compassion. They unbarred the gate and, with unusual courage, swarmed across the stone bridge in great numbers to lend assistance to their friends. Valiantly they attacked our forces, who at first made a sturdy resistance. Soon, however, overwhelmed by the violence of the multitude, they turned and fled, pursued by the infidels as far as the bridge of boats. In this skirmish, many of our foot soldiers fell by the sword and many others were drowned in the river. Some of the knights also, while fleeing from the pursuing foe, became so jammed together on the bridge that they were thrown headlong into the river. Burdened with shields, breastplates, and helmets, they were swallowed up with their horses by the waters and never again appeared.

Thus our people suffered from siege no less than those who were within the walls. They were unable to conceal their excursions into

[19] This chapter appears to be misplaced—possibly by William himself in his hasty closing of the work. It would help to explain the action of the crusaders described in the previous chapter. Chapters 15 and 16 should be transposed.

the country round about from the townspeople, who in turn used every effort to check them. At the same time, other hostile forces, lurking in the woods and fields, were laying ambushes to entrap them—snares which were too often successful. As a result our soldiers did not venture to go out from their camp or to wander very far in search of food. Nor was the camp itself a place of safety, for all were in terror lest the mighty force which the enemy was said to be levying in many quarters might descend suddenly upon them. A wise man might well question, then, which condition was the better and which the more to be dreaded, that of the besieging host or that of those who were supposed to be in a state of siege.

17. *All the provisions are exhausted and the famine becomes worse and worse. The people struggle against hunger. The violent rains cause the tents to rot. The army is in danger of perishing.*

To relate in detail the disasters which occurred almost daily in various places during the progress of this great and long-continued siege would take far too long and would be out of place in the historical summary which I am attempting to give with great accuracy.[20] Passing over particular incidents, therefore, let us follow the general course of events.

When the siege had been carried on into the third month with the varied fortunes attending continual warfare, it happened that food began to fail in the camp and the army suffered from a lack of provisions. At first there had been the greatest abundance of all things needful for the use of man as well as plenty of fodder for the horses; therefore, as is the habit of thoughtless men, the people concluded that the same condition of prosperity would continue without exertion on their part. Hence, they abused their privileges and wasted in a short time the food that should have sufficed for many days if it had been apportioned with proper moderation. There was no limit to the extravagance in camp, nor was economy, the friend of the wise man, present. Everywhere was luxury, everywhere superfluity; not only was this true of those things which are necessary for the nourishment of man, but even

[20] William succeeded remarkably well in bringing together material from at least four Latin chronicles, some Arabic sources, and oral tradition. The order of events which he includes follows the accepted chronological order. He omits some details and expands others, as will be noted.

in respect to fodder for the horses and draft animals. All idea of moderation was lacking. Consequently, it happened that, as the stress of famine increased, the army was reduced to such destitution that practically the entire host was in danger of perishing. A general assembly of the people was thereupon called, and it was determined under oath that all booty which was taken should be divided in good faith into equal portions. Detachments of three and four hundred men were formed. These went out together and roamed over the whole district in the attempt to procure food in any way possible.

Before the townspeople formed the habit of sallying forth to attack these bands and to lay ambushes for them and while the surrounding country was still full of flocks and herds, grain, wine, and other products, these foragers used to return with rich spoils, much booty, and a great supply of provisions. This was the reason for the abundance mentioned before as existing in the camp. But now the resources of the country near by had become exhausted. Moreover, the Turks, who had formerly languished in abject terror, had now regained their strength and acquired courage to defend their possessions. Hence, the foragers came back empty-handed, or, as more often happened, were slain to a man, so that not one survived to tell the camp of their fate.

Day by day the shortage of provisions continued, and the famine grew. Bread sufficient to provide one meal a day for one person could with difficulty be obtained for two shillings. A cow or heifer which earlier sold for five shillings brought two marks. A lamb or kid which might have been bought once for three or four pennies now cost five or six shillings and could scarcely be found at that. Eight shillings was barely enough to purchase the food necessary for a horse for one night. The army had brought with it more than seventy thousand horses, but now there were scarcely two thousand left in the camp. The rest had perished from cold and hunger, while those which still survived were gradually failing and wasting away daily because of hunger and the severe cold.

In addition, the pavilions and tents in the camp had rotted. Thus many who still had food perished because they could not endure the rigorous cold without protection. Floods of water fell in torrents, so that both food and garments moulded and there was not a dry place where the pilgrims might lay their heads or store their necessary effects.

As a result of these conditions, a pestilence broke out among the legions in the camp, so fatal that now there was scarcely room to bury the dead, nor could funeral rites be performed. Those who were apparently still in vigorous health secretly fled that they might not fall victims to the same dread pest. They fled either to Lord Baldwin at Edessa, or into Cilicia to those who were ruling over cities there, or to any other place which had come under the power of the Christians.[21]

By the departure of these, together with the loss of those who had wasted away through hunger and disease and of others who had perished by the sword, the army was diminished to such an extent that it seemed as if barely half survived.

18. *Bohemond and the count of Flanders depart on a foraging expedition with a large force. Meanwhile, the citizens make a surreptitious attack upon the camp, causing loss and injury to the Christians.*

As the leaders devoted to God looked upon the affliction of the people and witnessed the woes by which they were continually beset, they were filled with compassion and sorrow for the perishing army. As was their usual custom, they came together to consult as to a remedy for these desperate calamities. After various suggestions had been offered, it was decided that some of the more important chiefs should take part of the troops and make an expedition through the enemy's country to drive off cattle and seize the necessary food. While they were away, the others were to remain in camp and use diligent care to protect the army. It happened that the duty of foraging devolved upon Bohemond and the count of Flanders, the count of Toulouse and the bishop of Puy being left as guardians of the camp. The count of Normandy was absent,[22] and Godfrey, the duke of Lorraine, was confined to his

[21] Neither at this point, nor on later occasions when he speaks of desertions from the army at Antioch, does William mention the attempted flight of Peter the Hermit and William Carpenter, which was regarded as highly dishonorable to both of them and was prevented by Tancred.

[22] Robert of Normandy was at Laodicea on the coast, where he had gone in response to the plea of English sailors who needed protection. Since their arrival opposite Antioch, the English fleet had been busy in bringing much-needed supplies from the Greek islands and mainland to the crusaders. They did need military escort while on land. Despite the suspicions which Robert's lingering in the relative ease and luxury of Laodicea aroused then and ever since, he managed, unlike Stephen of Blois, to be back at Antioch when the fighting was hardest (see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 105–8).

bed with a serious illness. The two leaders took with them a sufficient force of knights and foot soldiers, as many as the exhausted army could furnish, and marched forth into the enemy's land.

As soon as the besieged learned that Bohemond and the count of Flanders had departed, that the count of Normandy was away and the duke sick, with unusual courage they seized the opportunity to attack our camp, for all agreed that the opportunity afforded by the absence of the leaders should not be neglected. A large force of all sorts of people was convoked from the city and assembled at the gate of the Bridge. The entrance was unbarred. In eager emulation of one another, they crossed the river, some by the bridge and some by the ford lower down, and tried to rush upon our camp. But the count met them with a squadron of cavalry, and they were compelled to retreat into the city with the loss of two men.

During this skirmish, it happened that some of our knights tried to catch a riderless horse whose master had been thrown. The thoughtless and unlucky throng, seeing this, supposed that the knights were fleeing through fear. Accordingly, they also turned in flight and crowded each other so closely together in their panic that they became the cause of their own death.

The citizens soon perceived that the pilgrims were fleeing though no man pursued. Again pouring forth over the bridge, they attacked the fugitives with their swords in a hand-to-hand fight and pursued them from the stone bridge as far as the bridge of boats. Great was the havoc wrought. For our people crowded against each other and so blocked the way that fifteen knights and twenty foot soldiers perished, some by the sword and others by falling into the river. Much elated by this victory, the enemy retired into the city, covered with glory.

19. *The foraging party discovers the foe and defeats them. They return with booty and abundant spoils.*

DURING this time, Bohemond and the count of Flanders had, with the consent of all, led out a company of troops on a foraging expedition. They hoped to relieve the stringency in camp by bringing back a goodly supply of provisions. Their more fortunate exploits in the enemy's land made amends for our mishap, for they captured a villa belonging to the enemy and found it filled to overflowing with all sorts of good things.

Bohemond had sent out scouts in different directions to gather information concerning the condition of the country and, if possible, to bring back abundant booty. On their return, some of these men reported that a large number of Turks had established themselves in that vicinity. He at once dispatched the count of Flanders against them with a strong escort, and he himself followed with the main body to assist if it should be necessary. But the count, a valiant and noble fighter, boldly attacked the foe and did not return to Bohemond until he had slain a hundred infidels and put the rest to flight. As he was returning victorious to the larger force, other scouts brought the news that a much stronger body of enemies was advancing from another direction. Bohemond at once sent the count against these foes with a larger force and an additional escort, and he with the rest of his troops followed behind, ready to go to their aid if need be.

Thanks to God's mercy, which was leading our forces, it happened that the enemy were caught in some of the narrow defiles. Realizing that this fight would not be waged with bows and arrows, but rather with swords in close combat, a kind of fighting with which they were not familiar, they turned and fled. The Christians followed them for about two miles and killed a great many. Then safe and sound, our men returned to camp. They brought with them, as trophies, horses and mules and other spoils in the greatest abundance—in short, booty of all kinds which had been taken from the entire surrounding country.

The success of their brethren brought great joy to the pilgrims and furnished them a slight respite from their hardships. Yet, after all, the booty had not been very large and was barely sufficient to supply the multitude for a few days. Consequently, the straits of the army were not greatly relieved.

20. *Svein, a son of the king of the Danes, who was hastening after the army with his troops, is killed by the Turks near the city of Philomelium.*

ABOUT this time there came from out of the land of Romania a distressing rumor fraught with grief and anxiety. It struck consternation to the hearts of all and added the culminating touch to the sorrows of their wretched condition.

The report, which subsequently proved to be true, was as follows.[23]

[23] This story of Svend or Svein, one of the most pathetic episodes of the crusades,

A certain powerful man of high rank, Svein, son of the king of the Danes, famed alike for his lineage, character, and good looks, had been fired with a desire to undertake this same pilgrimage. At the head of fifteen hundred splendidly armed youths of the same nation, he was hastening to our aid at the siege of Antioch. He had set out from his father's kingdom later than the others and therefore made great haste in order that with his entire retinue he might join the legions that had preceded him. He was hindered by private affairs, however, and was unable to overtake them as he had hoped.

Consequently, he had taken the road alone at the head of his own troops, without the escort of any of the other commanders. Following in the track of the others, he reached Constantinople, where he was received with much honor by the emperor. He arrived at Nicaea in safety, and from there, hastening on toward the army, he went down into the land of Romania with all his company. While he was encamped, perhaps without using proper precaution, between the cities of Philomelium [24] and Terma, a large force of Turks attacked him suddenly by night and killed him in his own camp. Roused by the noise of the approaching enemy—although, alas, too late—his people flew to arms. Before they were fully prepared to receive the foe, however, the host fell upon them suddenly and practically annihilated them. Nevertheless, they made a long and valiant resistance and left behind them a bloody victory for the enemy, so that their lives seemed not to have been sacrificed in vain.

21. *On the pretext of arranging for a market and of entreating the emperor to come to their aid, the crafty Taticius leaves the army, with no intention of returning.*

THE emperor had appointed Taticius as his deputy to guide the pilgrims on their way, as has already been related, and to this time he

has appealed to the literary and artistic fancy of later ages. By it the young prince has been provided with a wife, Florina, who is pictured as fighting by his side to the end of the complete tragedy. Riant dismissed this account by Albert and William as pure legend, because he could find no contemporary Scandinavian sources to confirm it (P. Riant, *Les Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*). J. C. H. Steenstrup and his collaborators, however, have identified the young prince as one of the numerous sons of the Danish king, Svend, and accept the story of his crusade (see *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I, 473, 505; see also K. Gjerset, *A History of the Norwegian People*, I, 311).

[24] Philomelium was the first considerable town after Nicaea on the road followed by the main body of crusaders.

had accompanied the legions. Now, however, seeing the troubles by which they were encompassed, he began to fear, like the coward he was, that the leaders would not persevere in their pilgrimage and that some day the entire army would be cut down by the swords of the enemy. He came, therefore, to the assembly of the leaders and with great earnestness tried to persuade them to give up the siege and move the entire army to the cities and fortresses near by. There they would find the necessities of life in greater abundance, and from them as bases they could continually harass the people of Antioch. From various nations the emperor had levied for their aid an army of untold thousands, which would arrive about the beginning of spring. He added that, as he had determined from the beginning to share their hardships and desired to participate both in their prosperity and adversity, so now he wished to assume an even greater task on behalf of the common good and the general welfare. It was his purpose to go at once to the emperor in order to hasten the movements of the imperial army and to arrange that the necessary food supplies be brought together from the country on this side of the city. Although our leaders had, from the very first, recognized Taticius's crafty and treacherous character, yet no one opposed his words or objected to his proposal. In order to conceal his treachery and guilt under some show of truth, he left his tents and the greater part of his following, either because he was regardless of their welfare or because he had secretly instructed them to follow him on a fixed day to a certain meeting place.

Thus he departed, as if intending to return in the near future, but never afterwards appeared, a wicked and faithless man who deserves to be condemned to everlasting death. His departure established a pernicious precedent, for from that day all who could stealthily stole away from the camp, regardless of their oaths and the public profession which, with ardent vows, they had made in the beginning.[25]

In the meantime, the famine was increasing, nor could the leaders find any effective relief for this great evil. Again and again, chosen chiefs with large forces took turns in going, two by two, into the land of the enemy and frequently returned victorious to their own people.

[25] This interpretation of the departure of Taticius which occurred about the beginning of February, 1098, is definitely partisan, though shared by most of the Latin chroniclers. Anna believed that he was artfully intimidated by Bohemond, who already had designs on Antioch despite the agreement with Alexius. Modern authorities are almost as widely separated in their views of the matter. The best recent summary of the controversy is that by R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch,* pp. 58–63.

Yet they came back without bringing booty or the food which was so necessary. For the report had gone forth that the Christians were in the habit of making excursions, and the enemy had moved their flocks and herds and any other animals they owned into the inaccessible mountains. To these remote retreats the Christians could not penetrate, and even had they succeeded in reaching them it would not have been an easy matter to drive away the spoils.

22. *The famine increases, and a deadly plague lays hold on the people. The bishops ordain a fast of three days. Duke Godfrey's health is completely restored, and the army is comforted because of his recovery.*

DURING this time the famine in the army was growing worse from day to day. Pestilence and many other ills arising from the famine were also on the increase. The elders and others of wide experience perceived that these troubles arose from the sins of the people, and that it was the Lord who, justly provoked to anger, was visiting this chastisement upon His stiff-necked children. They met, therefore, to take counsel together, and with the fear of the Lord before their eyes, began to deliberate anxiously how they might speedily atone for their sins with due penitence. By making amends for their faults of the past and avoiding similar ones in the future, they hoped to appease the wrath of the Lord.

By the authoritative mandate of the bishop of Puy, who was the legate of the apostolic see, and by the other pontiffs beloved of God, with the full concurrence and demand of the lay princes and the whole army, it was therefore decreed that a fast of three days be held, that, by scourging the body, they might strengthen their souls for more effective prayer. When this had been done with all devotion, they determined in like manner to put away from the camp all the light women of ill repute. Adultery and fornication of every description was forbidden under penalty of death, and an interdict was also placed on all revelling and intoxication. Dangerous games of chance, heedless oaths, fraud in weights and measures, chicanery of every kind, theft and rapine were also placed under the ban.

When these rules had been decreed and ratified by general consent, judges were named who were to be responsible for keeping track of these offenses, and upon them was conferred full power of investigating

and punishing the same. Nevertheless, some violators of these laws were afterwards found. These sinners were solemnly accused and convicted by the judges and were sentenced to punishment with the full severity of the law, according to the kind of crimes committed. Their fate, therefore, deterred others from committing the same offenses.

Thus, through the abounding grace of God, the people were recalled to the fruit of a better life and the terrible anger of the Lord was somewhat lessened. For Lord Godfrey, who was, as it were, the one and only prop of the whole army, at once began to recover fully from the serious illness which had long troubled him, the result of the wound which he suffered from a bear in the vicinity of Antioch in Pisidia.[26] His convalescence was a source of the greatest consolation to the entire army in their affliction.

23. *Lord Bohemond devises a noteworthy scheme to remove the annoyance caused by scouts sent out by the enemy.*

DURING this time, constant rumors and reports were spreading throughout the entire Orient, nor had it escaped the notice even of the kingdoms of the South and other outside nations, that great forces of Christians had arrived before the city of Antioch and were besieging it with a strong hand. Each monarch, therefore, much concerned about his own country, was continually sending spies to our army to obtain through them accurate details concerning the manners, valor, and intentions of this vast host. There were many of these people in our camp. Almost every day some were leaving to report conditions in the Christian army to those who had sent them and others were arriving for the same purpose. Nor was it difficult for men of this sort to pass unknown among our troops, for they possessed much facility in various languages. Some pretended to be Greeks, some Syrians, and others Armenians, and all could easily assume the characteristics of such nations in idioms, manners, and dress.

The leaders accordingly met to consider what measures ought to be taken for the public safety in this matter. To expel these spies from the camp would not be an easy task, since in language, habit, and manners they differed but little from the nations just mentioned. There-

[26] Strictly contemporary evidence does not accord Godfrey the all-important role which William here ascribes to him. William at this point reflects the influence of later legend about the man who became the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem.

fore, until it could be fully determined what measures must be taken against them, the leaders thought best to confide their plans to a few persons only. There was reason to fear that, if this information were known to many, it might reach the ears of those who would impart it to the enemy for the sake of injuring the Christians. When it seemed impossible to discover any way of preventing these machinations, Bohemond, a man of unusually keen and clear-sighted mind, is said to have addressed the chiefs as follows, "My lords and brethren, leave all responsibility in this matter to me; for with the help of God, I will find a fitting remedy for this malady." Then the conference of leaders broke up and each returned to his own camp.

As the shades of evening began to come on apace and throughout the camp the usual preparations for dinner were in progress, Bohemond, mindful of his promise, caused certain Turkish prisoners to be brought forth. He handed them over to the headsman with orders that they be strangled. He then had a huge fire built as if for preparing dinner and directed that the bodies, after being prepared with care, should be roasted. His people were instructed that if any question arose about the meaning of such a meal, they were to answer that thenceforward, by decision of the chiefs, the bodies of all enemies or spies seized should furnish meat for the tables of the leaders and the people in the same fashion.

The news that these measures were being taken in Bohemond's camp spread through the army. All the members of the expedition ran thither in wonder at the novelty of the idea. The spies who were at that time in the camp were terrified. They believed that what was rumored to have been decreed was actually so, and without pretense, and drew their own conclusions from it. Apprehending that a similar fate might overtake them also, they left the camp at once and returned to their own land. To the chiefs who had sent them they reported that this people surpassed every other nation and even beasts in cruelty. To seize the cities and castles of their enemy, together with all property of every description, to cast into prison, to torture cruelly in enemy fashion, or even to kill did not satisfy them. These Christians must also fill their stomachs with the flesh of their enemies and feast on the fat of their foes.

Such were the rumors which penetrated to the farthest parts of the Orient and terrified, not merely neighboring nations, but even those

far remote. The entire city of Antioch trembled also, frightened at the novelty and cruelty of the measure. Thus the zealous efforts of Bohemond brought about the elimination of this pest of spies, and our plans were less often divulged to the enemy.[27]

24. *The caliph of Egypt sends envoys to the chiefs. He asks for a treaty and seeks to win their good will.*

MOREOVER, the caliph of Egypt, the most powerful of all infidel potentates because of his riches and military forces, had sent his envoys to our leaders. The reason for this embassy was as follows. For many years, a deep and inveterate enmity had existed between the Orientals and the Egyptians, arising out of differences in their religious beliefs and their opposite dogmas. This hatred has persisted without interruption to the present day. Thus these two kingdoms, often at war with each other, were in constant rivalry, each striving to extend its own boundaries and to reduce the limits of the other, as was carefully explained in the first book of this history.[28] At different periods, according as the prowess, now of the former and now of the latter, gained the upper hand, each kingdom, with the success of its arms, expanded its territory. The result was that whatever increased the domains of one kingdom decreased that of the other.

At this period, the prince of Egypt held possession of all the country from the land of Egypt even to Laodicea of Syria—a journey of thirty days. But a short time before the Christians arrived, as we have already stated, the sultan of Persia had seized Antioch, which lies on the frontiers of the Egyptian kingdom, and had occupied all the country as far as the Hellespont. The Egyptian monarch regarded with suspicion any increase of the Persians or Turks. Accordingly the news that Qilij Arslan had lost Nicaea, where his army was reported to have been badly treated, and also that the Christians had laid siege to Antioch pleased him greatly. He regarded the losses of the Turks as a gain for himself and their troubles as affording peace and safety for

[27] Bohemond's reputation as a master of guile and courage had taken on legendary proportions before the crusade was completed. He was the "crafty Ulysses" of this journey. Several legends of Bohemond's feats of craft and courage appear in the earliest of the chronicles of the crusade, the *Anonymi gesta* (A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, pp. 166–67).

[28] This cross reference suggests the probability that William wrote this chapter when he was making his final revision of the work, presumably in 1182.

himself and his subjects. Fearing, therefore, that weariness of the long-continued siege might cause our people to fail, he sent envoys, members of his own household staff, to beg the leaders to continue the siege. The deputies were commissioned to assure the Christians that the sultan would aid them with military support and resources. They were also to try to win the hearts and favor of the leaders and to close a treaty of friendship with them.[29]

In loyal obedience to the commands of their lord, the messengers set sail and arrived at the camp of the Christians, very anxious over the task entrusted to them. They were received with fitting hospitality and honor by the chiefs of our army and were admitted to frequent conferences with them, that they might have opportunity to deliver their message. Yet while they marvelled at the endurance of our people, their numbers and arms, their patience under hardships, their hearts were filled with apprehension before the mighty host, for they had a presentiment of what was to happen in the future. For that which their master was now surreptitiously trying to bring about, by supplanting another, he was later to experience in his own case.

In a word, after Antioch had been conquered and restored to the Christian faith and its pristine freedom, the Christians, aided by the grace of omnipotent God, wrested from his violent rule by force of arms all the country from that city to the river of Egypt, which is near Gaza—a journey of fifteen days in extent—just as the people of the faithful hold it today.

[29] This chapter reflects William's superior knowledge of oriental affairs, for none of the contemporary Latin chroniclers gives as full an account of the reason for the presence of this embassy from Egypt. The presence of the Egyptian envoys, however, is noted by many of the Latin chroniclers.

HERE ENDS THE FOURTH BOOK

THE FIFTH BOOK BEGINS

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ANTIOCH

1. *The citizens of Antioch call on their neighbors for aid. They respond to the appeal and encamp around Harenc.*

IN the meantime, the citizens of Antioch and their lord were greatly alarmed over their condition. They marked the steadfast endurance of the pilgrims, their perseverence under hardships, and the fact that neither hunger nor severe cold caused them to swerve from their undertaking. On the contrary, though surrounded by so many difficulties, the Christians continued to press on steadily toward the goal set before them.

In view of this situation, the citizens again and again sent letters and messages to invoke the aid of the neighboring princes. With earnest entreaties they endeavored to rouse sympathy and begged these lords to hasten without delay to the aid of their brethren. They even suggested the best method of rendering that assistance. Let their allies repair to the city and lie hidden in ambush until the citizens, as was their custom, should engage the enemy by the bridge and keep them occupied in fighting at that place. Then, when those both within and without Antioch should be fully engrossed in that skirmish, the men in ambush should rush forth suddenly and fall upon the Christians while they were off guard. It was hoped that, when they were attacked both in front and rear simultaneously, not a man would be able to escape death.

In response to this earnest pleading, a large body of troops was assembled from Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, Emesa [Hims], Hierapolis, and other neighboring cities.[1] Secretly and in absolute silence, as their orders directed, they drew near Harenc [Harim], barely fourteen miles from Antioch, and stealthily pitched their tents around it. As the citizens had advised, they intended to fall suddenly upon the Christians while they were engaged with the assault on the city. But the

[1] Ridwan of Aleppo was in command of these forces, which were drawn chiefly from his own territories. Though William refuses to accept the full figure used by Albert, his own statement of the numbers in that army is much too high. Stephen of Blois, writing to his wife Adèle at the time, estimated the number at twelve thousand, which in itself must be considered a generous exaggeration (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 233).

faithful who dwelt in the vicinity and who had often rendered great assistance to our people informed the leaders of the approach and status of these troops. Our chiefs, thus forewarned, met together to consult over the situation. It was finally decided that, at the first dusk of evening, all knights in the army who had horses fit for service should stealthily and noiselessly leave the camp in battle array behind the standards of their individual leaders. The infantry, meanwhile, were to remain to protect the camp until the return of their superiors, who had gone forth at the command of the Lord.

2. *Our commanders leave the infantry to protect the camp and march out with the cavalry against the enemy. They return victorious.*

ACCORDINGLY, at early nightfall, as had been arranged, the chiefs left the city by the bridge of boats. With barely seven hundred knights, they proceeded to a place between the lake (mentioned before in describing the city) and the Orontes river, which at this point were about a mile apart. There the troops rested that night. Meanwhile, the enemy, entirely ignorant of our advance, had also crossed the river the same night by the upper bridge.

On the following day, as soon as the first rays of light appeared, the Christians took arms and drew up their forces in six squadrons under the special leaders already assigned. The Turks, however, had already taken a position in the vicinity, for they had learned from their scouts that our people were advancing against them. Two detachments had been sent on as an advance guard, and the main body of troops was following.

As we have said, the Christians had only about seven hundred men. Divine will ordained, however, that when these were arranged in squadrons according to the rules of military science, they appeared to be unnumbered thousands. It was as if additional forces had been given from on high.

As the enemy's legions moved gradually forward, those in the foremost ranks began to make a violent charge upon our lines. They let fly a shower of arrows like hail and immediately retreated. Our men paid no attention to their onslaught, however, and advanced close upon them. Brandishing their lances with their usual energy, they fell upon the infidels with swords and forced them to crowd together in a mass.

Thus hemmed into a confined space with the lake on one side and the river on the other, the Turks had no freedom of movement and hence were unable to employ their usual tactics of sending forth arrows and then retreating. Crowded together in fear of the swords, they could not endure the pressure exerted by the Christians and soon decided that their only chance of safety lay in flight. Accordingly, they turned and fled. Our men pursued them zealously as far as the town of Harim, just mentioned, ten miles away from the field of battle. Terrible slaughter was wrought upon them as they retreated.

When the townspeople saw that their forces had been routed and that nearly all had fallen under the swords of the victorious Christians, they feared to remain in the citadel after such a disaster to their friends. They therefore set fire to the place and fled.

But the Armenians, inhabitants of the region, and other Christians—a large number of whom dwelt in the vicinity—took possession of the place and at once delivered it into the hands of our leaders before the latter returned to camp.

About two thousand of the enemy's men fell that day. Greatly encouraged and exultant over the double victory won, the Christians gave thanks to the Lord and returned to the camp. They carried back with them the heads of five hundred slain enemies and an immense quantity of spoils, including a thousand strong horses, which were of the greatest use to them.

3. *The citizens are thrown into great consternation at the news of the disaster to their allies.*

In the meantime, throughout that entire night, the people of Antioch were waiting for the promised aid. Eagerly they looked forward to the coming of dawn when, supported by the attack of their allies from without, they intended to sally forth from the city and make a sudden assault upon the Christians. They hoped that the latter, unprepared for such tactics, would be taken by surprise and routed.

It was toward the last hour of the night and the sky was beginning to grow bright, yet no sign of the coming of their allies appeared. The scouts reported, however, that some of the Christian leaders had gone out as if to meet them, so the citizens gathered their forces and eagerly issued forth from the gates. For the greater part of that day, they waged fierce warfare with the Christians. Finally, lookouts posted in

elevated positions in the city notified them that our army was approaching. They then retired within the walls and stationed themselves on the towers and ramparts and other high places in the city to await the coming of the legions, for they were uncertain whether the approaching host was that of allies or enemies. As the troops came nearer, however, the besieged recognized their armor and saw that they were laden with booty and spoils. With consternation, they realized that these were Christian forces returning as conquerors from a victory over the allies for whom they themselves had been anxiously looking. Thereupon they gave way to grievous lamentations over the failure of their great hopes.

Our troops approached the city and proceeded to their camp. There, in sign of victory and further to increase the anguish of the infidels, they caused the heads of two hundred Turks who had been slain to be hurled into the city by the engines. The remaining heads were to be impaled upon stakes and set up before the city. It was hoped that these dreadful spectacles would serve, like a thorn in the eye, to intensify the manifold sorrows of the besieged. From the story of the captives taken, it was learned with some degree of accuracy that the number of allies who had determined to come to the aid of Antioch was about twenty-eight thousand. This happened on February 7, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1097.[2]

4. *Our leaders build a stronghold. Ships from Genoa arrive at the port. The people hurry down to the seashore. Some fall into ambush and perish.*

Our leaders determined, at this time, to build a stronghold on a certain hill above Bohemond's encampment. If, at any time, the Turks should attempt to attack our forces, the new fortress would, it was hoped, act as an obstacle to them and at the same time form a kind of outwork for the camp. When this was finished, it was put in charge of a vigilant garrison, and the position of the whole army was as safe as if it had been protected by the walls of a fortified city. On the east was

[2] The date was usually stated as the first day of Lent, which according to chronological tables would be February 9. William's deliberate translation of the date as given by Albert and other chroniclers into the form here given raises several interesting questions. Did his Easter tables yield February 7 as the first day of Lent in that year? Is the year 1097 a copyist's error, or was William reckoning March 25 as the beginning of the year, the practice of some of the cities of Italy and elsewhere? The correct date of this battle was February 9, 1098.

the newly built fort; on the south the city wall and the adjacent marsh; while on the west and north was the river, which flowed obliquely around Antioch.

The siege had already lasted five months, when some ships of Genoa,[3] carrying pilgrims and provisions, sailed into the mouth of the river from the sea. There they waited, while frequent messengers were dispatched to the camp to ask that some of the leaders be sent to conduct them safely thither. For the enemy knew that the members of our expedition were in the habit of wandering freely down to the shore and also that the sailors were eager to go to the camp. They had therefore blocked all the roads and laid ambushes for unwary passers-by, which resulted in many deaths. So no one dared to go to the camp without a strong escort.

The leaders resolved, at this same time, to erect a redoubt at the head of the bridge where there was a chapel dedicated to the superstitious belief of the infidels.[4] It was hoped that this would in some measure hinder the enemy's power to go forth by way of this bridge. It happened that large numbers of Christians had gone down to the shore and were intending to return after their business was finished. Bohemond and the count of Toulouse, with Lord Evrard du Puiset and Count Garnier de Grey, had been chosen from the leaders to escort the Egyptian envoys to the coast. On the return trip, they were to act as a safeguard for the pilgrims who had recently arrived at the port and also for those of our people who had come down thither from the camp. When the citizens of Antioch learned that these nobles had left for the shore, they sent against them four thousand light-armed soldiers with orders to prepare ambushes. If the Christians should chance to risk the return trip without taking due precautions, the soldiers were to attack them boldly.

Accordingly, as the escort was returning, on the fourth day, accompanied by a large number of unarmed people and a train of pack ani-

[3] This fleet was probably, according to the date, the English fleet on which Bruno, the citizen of Lucca, reached Antioch. A fleet from Genoa had arrived several months earlier. Such an error, however, must be considered pardonable, because fleets were arriving from the Channel ports and from Italy. After arrival, many of the ships engaged in transporting provisions from neighboring Christian lands to the crusading army, so that there were constant goings and comings. Doubtless also each fleet, whatever its origin, picked up additional ships on the way (see *H. Chron.*, no. 240, and C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, App. E).

[4] Hence called *Machumeria* or *Mahumaria* or, in the French, *Mahomerie*, after Muhammad. The name was later changed to St. Mary.

mals laden with food and all kinds of equipment, the enemy suddenly fell upon them in some of the narrow defiles. The count of Toulouse was marching at the head with the advance guard, and Lord Bohemond was protecting the rear. Although these leaders were valiant men, worthy of praise in every respect, yet they could not control the heedless throng as they wished or supply strength or other virtues which nature had denied. For a long time they resisted, as well for their own honor as for the protection of their companions; finally, however, they perceived that further efforts were useless and that delay was merely endangering their own lives. Accordingly, to take measures for their own safety, they left the unequal conflict and repaired to the camp with those of the company who were able to follow them. The people immediately left their packs and the baggage and fled in different directions, some to the woods and others to the hills. Those who were unable to escape fell by the sword of the foe. Great was the destruction wrought upon our people at that place. Various reports of the number who perished there have been given me, but the opinion of the majority is that about three hundred of both sexes and of all ages perished in that fight.

5. *The duke's admirable plan of retaliation for this unfortunate disaster.*

Meanwhile, a report had reached the camp that the people who were on their way up from the seashore had fallen into an ambush laid by the enemy and that all had perished in an unexpected attack. No one, however, could give definite tidings as to whether the commanders were living or dead.

Duke Godfrey, a man of great energy and very prompt to resort to arms, was filled with solicitude for the people of God, as for his own children. He summoned the chiefs and the legions as a whole and commanded them to take arms immediately. The herald was sent forth to proclaim that no one, under pain of death, should absent himself in so dangerous a crisis, but that all must fly to arms to avenge the blood of their brethren. Without delay, the troops gathered as one man and, in a united body, crossed the bridge of boats. The duke then formed them into companies and set over them as commanders Robert, count of Normandy, the lord of Flanders, Hugh the Great, and his own

brother Eustace. Each company was assigned to its proper position under its own leader. The duke then explained the situation to them as to sensible men and roused their valor by his inspiring words: "If it is true, as has been reported to us, that the enemy of the Christian name and faith has triumphed over our lords and our brethren—the Lord permitting it because of our sins—I perceive that nothing remains for us, illustrious men, but to avenge the great injury done to our Lord Jesus Christ or to die with them. Believe me, neither life nor safety is preferable to death or any kind of suffering, if the blood of these great lords has been poured forth upon the earth in vain, if so terrible a slaughter of people dedicated to God does not meet with a swift vengeance. It seems to me that the infidels, somewhat elated over this victory, will not exercise their usual caution. Confident of their strength, they will not hesitate to pass through our ranks as they return to the city with booty and plunder. For, just as an unfortunate and desperate situation induces greater caution, so prosperity generally renders rather careless those upon whom she is smiling for the moment.

"If this seems good to you also, let us be prepared here; and, since our cause is just, let us cherish a confident hope of victory through that One for whom we believe we are fighting. Should the enemy try to return through our ranks, let us receive him at the point of the sword, and, in remembrance of the wrongs inflicted upon us, let us not fall short of the valor of our fathers." This speech was approved and seemed good in the eyes of all. While they were still dwelling on his words, lo, Bohemond returned to the camp from the shore, followed in a short time by the count.

The people greeted their leaders with tears of deep affection, for they realized that they had narrowly escaped losing the consolation of these great lords. When informed of the duke's plan, both the chiefs approved the idea and declared that it ought to be put into execution.

Meanwhile, Yaghi Siyan, aware that his forces had won the victory, nevertheless felt concerned about their safe return, especially since he knew that the legions had left the camp in larger numbers than usual. He therefore issued a general edict that all in the city who had experience in arms should assemble immediately at the gate by the bridge, ready, if it should be necessary, to render timely aid to the returning townspeople.

Our leaders, on their part, had sent out scouts to make a careful examination of the route by which the enemy would probably return, for they felt confident that the Lord would grant them the victory.

6. *The enemy return in triumph, but at the city gate they are slain by the swords of the Christians. Two thousand fall. The duke cleaves an infidel knight through the middle.*

Without delay the lines were drawn up and the standards raised. But while they were waiting for the Turkish army to appear, messengers arrived in great haste with the intelligence that the enemy had already taken a position near by. With frantic shouts, they urged our people to arm and march out against the foe. The legions accordingly advanced as far as seemed expedient, calling on heaven for aid and shouting words of encouragement to each other. Their reputation for valor ever in mind, the Christians brandished their spears and, as with one accord, attacked the foe. According to their usual custom, they persistently pressed the infidels hard with the sword in close combat and, urged on by the remembrance of their own wrongs, gave them no respite even to breathe. Panic-stricken, the enemy lost courage, and their hearts gave way within them. They turned and fled toward the bridge which led to the city, each man trying to outstrip his neighbor.

The duke of Lorraine, however, had experienced many such crises. His troops had already seized a position before the bridge where there was a slight elevation. Hence, as the Turks fled before the pursuit of our revered leaders, they were either cut down as they attempted to escape to the bridge or were forced to return to certain death into the fray whence they had just fled.

The count of Flanders, a strenuous warrior well trained in the use of arms, gave vigorous pursuit with his troops. He boldly overthrew the ranks of the enemy and repeatedly visited upon them the evils that they had wrought upon our forces. The count of Normandy, no less valiant than his fathers, likewise fought nobly in this combat. The count of Toulouse, afire with zeal for the Lord; Hugh the Great, mindful of his royal blood and never falling short of the dignity of his lofty lineage; Count Eustace, the duke's brother; Baldwin, count of Hainault; Hugh of St. Pol; and all the other nobles threw themselves upon the foe with fury and wrought such deeds of valor that

the strength of the infidels was exhausted and they were slain helplessly like sheep.

When Yaghi Siyan sent his forces forth to fight, he ordered the city gates to be closed behind them. By thus removing all chance of return, he hoped to rouse them to greater courage and to induce them to fight more valiantly. He believed that he was acting for the best in taking this course, but he was, on the contrary, unwittingly causing their destruction. For when they could no longer sustain the charge and pressure of our men, flight was their only salvation. Deprived of this hope, however, those who might have escaped death by this road were cut down by the sword and perished in large numbers.

There was in the camp such clashing of arms and ringing of gleaming swords, such neighing of horses and tumult of shouting men that, if the arms of the combatants had not differed greatly in appearance, a fatal error might have exposed many to imminent peril or even to death.

The matrons of Antioch, their daughters, and little ones had gathered on the walls and in the towers with the old men and all the defenseless population. From there, they looked down upon the massacre and with groans and tears deplored the slaughter of their friends. "Happy the times that are passed," they cried, "and fortunate those to whom kindly death granted the privilege of departing before they looked upon calamities like these." Mothers of many children who had formerly been considered fortunate were now regarded as far otherwise, while barren women were thought lucky and much happier than mothers.

Yaghi Siyan now saw that his people were utterly defeated and that the remnant, exposed to the sword, must inevitably be slain in the slaughter going on near by. He therefore ordered the gates to be opened as quickly as possible, that the rest of the people might reach safety. The entrance was unbarred, but a terrible congestion and tumult immediately resulted; for as the fugitives, pursued by the foe, tried to cross the bridge, they became so massed together, in their panic, that great numbers were thrown into the river.

The duke of Lorraine had borne himself most valiantly throughout the entire engagement, but, toward evening, in the struggle around the bridge, he gave a notable proof of the strength for which he was

so distinguished. He performed there a famous deed worthy of remembrance forever—a feat which rendered him illustrious in the eyes of the entire army. With his usual prowess, he had already decapitated many a mailed knight at a single stroke. Finally, he boldly pursued another knight and, though the latter was protected by a breastplate, clove him through the middle. The upper part of the body above the waist fell to the ground, while the lower part was carried along into the city astride his galloping horse. This strange sight struck fear and amazement to all who witnessed it. The marvellous feat could not remain unknown, but rumor spread the story everywhere.[5]

It is said that the enemy lost about two thousand men that day, and, if night, envious of our honors and palms of victory, had not come on apace, the siege of Antioch would unquestionably have ended at that time. Around the bridge and in the river, the evidences of the slaughter wrought were so apparent that the very color of the water became changed, and it flowed into the sea a torrent of blood.

It was said, and this rumor was later fully confirmed by Christian citizens who came to our camp from Antioch, that twelve of the principal Turkish satraps had been slain in that engagement, an irreparable loss to the city.

7. *Our people build a redoubt at the head of the bridge. They send a token of victory to the ships.*

WHEN day returned to the earth, in its usual course, the leaders again assembled to give thanks to Omnipotent God, in return for the victory granted them, and also to hold a conference on important matters. All agreed that their original plan should be carried out and a fort erected at the head of the bridge. This would hinder the citizens from leaving the city and would afford greater ease and safety to our men when they wished to roam about in one direction or another. There was at that place, as we recall mentioning before, a chapel devoted to the religious rites of the Turks, where they had also set aside a place of burial for their people. During the night just past and a part of the day following, they had borne the bodies of their dead thither for in-

[5] This legend of Godfrey's feat of strength may have begun in the description of the battle by Raymond d'Aguilers, who speaks of Godfrey dividing the foe as they came toward the bridge. Albert expanded it, and in this instance William seems to have carried it to its full extent.

terment. Acting on reliable information of this fact, our people broke into the place by force, in the hope of finding spoils that had been buried with the dead. They opened the tombs, disinterred the corpses, and carried away not only the gold and silver and precious garments, but even the very bodies.

Through the revelation thus made, accurate knowledge as to the losses of the enemy was obtained, a matter which had been in doubt heretofore, because the fight had ended at night. The joy of the Christians over the success of the previous day was greatly increased by this knowledge. In addition to those who had been drowned in the river through various mishaps, those who had been buried in the city, and those who, fatally wounded, were on the verge of death, fifteen hundred bodies were found in that cemetery. About three hundred heads, more or less, were sent to the port, which caused great rejoicing to those of our people who had returned there after the fight of the previous day. It also acted as a salutary warning to the Egyptian deputies who had not yet left the harbor.

Many Christians who had escaped from the dangers of the previous day were hiding in the caves of the mountains and in the thickets of the woods. These hurried to the camp as soon as they heard the news of our victory. Thus, by the will of God, many soldiers who were believed to have fallen in battle returned safe and sound.

As soon as the people who had taken refuge in various places returned, a redoubt was built at the head of the bridge from the very stones which had been torn from the tombs. All lent zealous coöperation and aid in the erection of this fort, which was fortified with a solid wall and a deep ditch.

The chiefs then took under consideration the matter of garrisoning this place. No one was willing to undertake so heavy a responsibility, however, and each alleged one reason or another as an excuse. Then the count of Toulouse, that man beloved of God, voluntarily took it upon himself and, for the sake of the general welfare, assumed the care of the new fortress. By this act he regained completely the good will of the whole expedition, which he had forfeited during the year. For, throughout the previous summer and the whole of the ensuing winter, he had lain languid and practically useless, the victim of disease. While all the other leaders with unwearied zeal were bearing the responsibility of the army, he alone seemed indifferent to it. He was

wholly lacking in the grace of affability and showed no generosity toward anyone. This was all the more noticeable because he had the reputation of being a man of greater wealth than the rest, and for that reason might have done more. Hence, to make amends for his laziness and niggardly conduct, he, of his own accord, assumed the burden of this charge. It is said also that he gave into the hand of the bishop of Puy and some of the other nobles five hundred marks of silver by weight, for the purpose of replacing the horses which had been lost in this engagement.

As a result, his own followers, confident that the loss of their horses would be made good, showed unusual courage and initiative in fighting the enemy. Thus, the feeling against the lord count was softened, and all called him the father and preserver of the army.

8. *The city is hemmed in more closely by a new fort just built over against the west gate.*

Thus, the gate of the Bridge was blocked by the new fortress where the count had placed five hundred valiant men. Henceforth the citizens could issue forth from it only with extreme peril, while our people were enabled to roam about more freely on necessary business. In fact, the enemy could no longer leave Antioch except by way of the west gate, which lay between the base of the mountain and the river.

This freedom of exit through that gate did not apparently expose our troops to much danger, since our camps were all located on the other side of the river. Still, it was felt that the besieged had too much liberty to roam about, for in that way the supplies necessary for the city were still being carried in. To consider this problem, those valiant leaders of immortal memory again met in conference. As a solution of the difficulty, it was decided to establish some fortifications on the other side of the river in a suitable location. One of the chiefs would then be stationed there to make it difficult for the foe to pass back and forth. While all agreed that the fortress should be built, no one volunteered to undertake the task of guarding it. In the face of this difficulty, they hesitated, undecided what course to adopt. Finally, the illustrious Tancred, a man full of energy, was chosen for this work. He was about to make some excuse about his lack of means, when the count of Toulouse offered him a hundred marks of silver for the work of construction. Furthermore, that those to be associated with Tancred in this

labor might have an adequate recompense, forty marks a month were set aside for them from the public treasury.

As a result of all this, a fort was established close to that gate on a hill where formerly a monastery had stood. Wise and sturdy men were assigned to guard it, and, by the valiant and successful efforts of Tancred, it was maintained unimpaired to the end of the siege.

About three or four miles below Antioch, along the banks of the Orontes, there was a retired place, delightfully situated between the mountains and the river. There flocks of sheep grazed in luxuriant green pastures. To this place, the enemy had removed most of their horses, because there was a scarcity of fodder in the city. When the Christians discovered this fact, they quietly assembled several squadrons of horsemen, who hastened to the spot. They followed byways, that their errand might not be known. A number of knights who were guarding the cattle were slain, and two thousand fine horses, not counting mules and she-mules, were seized and led back to camp. No spoils of any descripition were of more value to the Christians at this time, for almost all their own horses had perished in battle or had died of starvation, cold, or various other mishaps.

9. *The troops which had been scattered here and there return to the army. Baldwin sends gifts from Edessa to each of the chiefs.*

THE city was now surrounded on all sides, and the inhabitants could not readily pass beyond the walls to attend to their affairs outside. Hence, they were beset by many difficulties. Other troubles began to menace them too, for food was failing and need suddenly stared them in the face, a prospect which caused the citizens much anxiety. The supply of fodder also was growing scarce. The horses were gradually pining away through starvation and refused to perform their tasks. On the other hand, our people could now go forth more freely to the seashore, or wherever necessity called them. Consequently, the stringency of food in camp, which had caused the whole army much distress during the winter, was in great measure relieved. For when the rigor of winter was past and the pleasant spring returned, the sea became calm, and the fleet in the harbor could sail in and out without difficulty. Thanks to the increasing warmth also, the roads became passable, so that those who had private concerns could go out with less difficulty

to attend to their affairs. With the return of milder weather also, those Christians who had been spending the time in castles and cities near by to escape the hardships of camp life came back to the army. They repaired their arms and, with strength renewed, again made preparation for fighting.

At this time, news reached Lord Baldwin, the duke's brother, that the army was struggling with dire need. His heart overflowed with pious compassion, and he determined to relieve their necessities from the abundance of his own riches, which the Lord had so liberally bestowed upon him. His generous gifts of gold, silver, silken stuffs, and fine horses, of much value, greatly relieved the circumstances of each chief. Not alone to the more important chiefs did he show this munificent liberality, but to many of the people as well—a course which won for him universal favor and the love of all.

Moreover, that he might not do less for his own lord and elder brother, he ordered that Godfrey receive all the revenues from the lands in his own possession on this side of the Euphrates, around Turbessel and the neighboring country. These consisted of grain, barley, oil, and wine, as well as of fifty thousand pieces of gold.

There was a certain powerful Armenian lord, Nichosius by name,[6] who was intimately associated with Baldwin. Out of regard for the latter, he dispatched some of his own people with a gift for the duke. This was a pavilion of great size and admirable workmanship. But Pakrad laid an ambush for the servants in charge of this present. He caused the pavilion to be stolen and carried to Bohemond as an offering from himself. News of this outrage came to the ears of the duke, together with all the details of the case as related by the servants of Nichosius. Thereupon, Godfrey took the count of Flanders, with whom he had been on terms of close friendship during the whole campaign, and went to Bohemond. He demanded the return of the gift, which, though destined for him, the duke, had been stolen by force. Bohemond, however, claimed it as a present to himself from the noble Pakrad and alleged that it was lawful for him to retain that which the

[6] This story is not supported by Armenian sources. Iskenderian considers it a rather fanciful symbol of help actually given by the Armenians, while Beaumont, though somewhat skeptical of the specific embroidery of the tale, is inclined to follow Kugler in accepting it. Nichosius, or Nichusus, is mentioned by no other chroniclers (see Galust T. Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu der armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, p. 33, note 100; A. A. Beaumont, Jr., "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 114–15).

duke was demanding. Finally, however, lest it should cause a disturbance among the people or a quarrel among the leaders, he gave way to the urgent requests of the chiefs and restored the pavilion, which had been offered him as a gift. Thus, good will was once more fully restored between the two leaders.

It seems very strange to me that the duke, a man distinguished for moderation and dignity of character, should have shown such persistence in claiming so trivial and unimportant a thing. I can account for it in no other way than by quoting the proverb, "No one is perfect in every respect," [7] and also, "Sometimes even good Homer nods." [8] There is another saying also, "In a long task it is legitimate to succumb to sleep." [9] For the laws of human nature ordain that only too often we perceive in ourselves a defection from the right.

10. *The approach of the enemy's host is reported in camp. Stephen, count of Blois, under the pretense of illness, makes his way to the coast, not intending to return.*

At this time a widespread rumor was current that a powerful Persian prince, in response to the urgent entreaties of the Antiochenes and the constant demands of his own people as well, was sending a host of troops from all parts of his kingdom to the aid of the city. He had sent out an imperial edict commanding that a mighty host of Turks go up to Syria under specially appointed commanders. This rumor owed its origin and increase not to the outside world alone, for refugees from the city who came to our camp were agreed in confirming the same news. From day to day this report increased; soon they were said to be already threatening the very gates. Thereupon, fear laid hold of our army.

At this crisis, Stephen, count of Chartres, a distinguished noble of great influence, whom the chiefs had made the head of their counsels, like a father, because of his exceptional good judgment,[10] took leave of his brethren, under pretense of illness, and went down to the coast.

[7] Horace *Car.* II. xvi. 27. The cluster of quotations from Horace at this point suggests that William may have added this paragraph as he went through the work for the final revision. Classical quotations are more common in the later part of his writing.

[8] Horace *Ars poet.* 359.

[9] Horace *Ars poet.* 360.

[10] Probably age and an engaging personality were more important than his judgment, for there is no evidence that he played a decisive part in determining policy. The severity of William's judgment upon Stephen's conduct is an accurate reflection of contemporary opinion. His return to France was clouded by this act, and he sought to atone for it shortly (see Book X, chap. 20).

He took with him his servants and followers and all his possessions, which were very great. His excuse was that he wished to sojourn at Alexandretta until his health should be fully restored and his strength regained so that he could return. Alexandretta is a place on the seashore, not far from the port, and forms the entrance to Cilicia.

About four thousand men who had come in his train accompanied him on this departure. Reaching the coast, he retired to Alexandretta to await the outcome of events. If the hoped-for success attended our forces in battle he meant to return to the army, as if he had recovered from his ill-health. If fate was adverse, his plan was to return to his own land in ships which he had caused to be in readiness—a course which involved lasting disgrace and loss of prestige forever.

The leaders whom he left in the camp were appalled at this infamous act, so fraught with everlasting disgrace. At the same time they felt pity for the illustrious man who, by such conduct, had dishonored the glory of his line and injured his own reputation. Anxiously they discussed how to meet this emergency, for there was danger that others who were still with them, influenced by his dastardly example, would venture to make a similar attempt. It was finally decided by unanimous agreement to proclaim by the voice of the herald that all, without exception, were forbidden to leave the city. If anyone, no matter what his official position or distinguished service, should furtively leave the camp without permission from the chiefs, he should lie under the ban of perpetual infamy, like a homicide or one guilty of sacrilege. In addition, he should be compelled to undergo the most extreme punishment. As a result, from that time, regard for valor and fear of punishment prevented anyone from leaving the camp, even for a short time, without permission from the leaders. All, like cloistered men, showed themselves obedient to their commanders, without making difficulty or trouble.

11. *The condition of Antioch is described. The friendship formed between Bohemond and a certain Christian of the city is described.*

ANTIOCH, this city beloved of God, received the doctrine of Christ in the time of the apostles through the preaching of the prince of the apostles, as we have said, and has faithfully and devoutly borne His easy yoke even to the present day. While all the East was shaken and

the successors of Muhammad were subjugating by force entire provinces to their impious superstition and perverse dogma, this city rejected with scorn the prophets and their poisonous doctrine and, as long as possible, refused to bear the domination of an infidel nation. For although the heresies of this seducer had taken firm hold on all lands from the Persian gulf to the Hellespont, and from India to the Spains,[11] this city, unique and alone, preserved the faith intact and stood staunchly for its own liberty in the midst of erring nations.

Finally the noble citizens, enfeebled by long sieges and distressed by intolerable attacks of the enemy, were unable to resist longer, and, scarcely fourteen years before the time of which we are speaking, they had been forced to surrender Antioch to the foe of the Christian name and faith. Accordingly, when our army arrived before the walls, nearly the entire population were true believers, but they were without power in the city. They were wholly employed in trade and in the practice of mechanical arts. Only the Turks and infidels were permitted to make war and to hold the more important offices of the city. The Christians were not allowed to possess arms or to have anything to do with military affairs. When the rumor of the approach of pilgrims from the West reached the chief men of Antioch, the faithful were held in even more suspicion. Thus, particularly after the city was in a state of siege, they were not even allowed to leave their homes and go forth in public except at certain hours.

There were among the people in the city certain very noble families, inheritors of the ancient dignity of race from distinguished ancestors. Among these was a family notable for its high lineage, by name Beni-Zerra, which means, in the Latin tongue, sons of the makers of breastplates.[12] For thus they were called, either from the fact that their

[11] It is not clear whether William has in mind here only the Spanish peninsula or also Ispahan, the region northeast of Armenia which the chroniclers of the time likewise called Spain.

[12] This incident of the betrayal of Antioch seems to have appealed strongly to William's fancy. He not only drew upon all his Latin sources but upon Arabic sources as well for information, and then allowed his imagination to carry his pen beyond all of them. Indeed, Tiedau would credit him with a substantial addition to the poetic legend used by the successive authors of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (W. Tiedau, *Geschichte der Chanson d'Antioche des Richard le Pèlerin und des Graindor de Douay*). His account of Firuz is the most complete to be found among the chronicles of the period. The connection of Firuz with the making of armor is supported by Arabic writers including Qalanisi (see Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 45). Iskenderian believes that Firuz was closely associated with Philaret, the Armenian governor of Antioch under Greek rule, who is known to have accepted Islam in hopes of retaining

original ancestor practiced this art, or because they themselves carried on that trade. It seems quite probable indeed that some of this family still followed that craft and exercised the art, which had been handed down through successive generations and to which they owed their hereditary name. A tower commonly known as the tower of the Two Sisters, in the western part of the city by the gate which today is called the gate of St. George, had been assigned to them in order that they might in tranquillity carry on their trade, which was of great importance to the lord and to the city.

There were two brothers in that family, the elder of whom, Firuz, a man of much influence, was the chief of his tribe and family. He was on terms of intimate friendship with the lord of Antioch, who distinguished him by many honors. He held the position of secretary in the palace and enjoyed many other dignities. He was a man of great energy and withal very subtle. He had heard that Bohemond was an illustrious prince of great renown, who was very prominent in all that was going on outside. Accordingly, as soon as the siege began, he succeeded in winning Bohemond's favor through the services of faithful go-betweens. During the entire progress of the siege, he had continued faithful and devoted to that friendship, and nearly every day informed Bohemond in detail about the state of the city and the plans of Yaghi Siyan. A wise and discreet man, he was careful to hide this intercourse with Bohemond, as far as possible, for he feared that, if it became known to others, he and his family might be in danger. Bohemond, on his part, was also reticent about his intimacy with this good man and kept it secret within his own heart. Consequently, not the slightest suspicion of their friendship or of the messengers going back and forth between them was betrayed, even to the servants or household of either.

12. *The plot contrived through messengers between Bohemond and that faithful man.*

THE secret understanding between these two, which we have just mentioned, had continued for about seven months. During this time, there had been much intimate discussion between them as to the method by

his position when the Turks captured the city. Firuz may have done likewise (see Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, pp. 34–36, and H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum, et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, pp. 293 ff.).

which the city might be restored to Christian liberty. Bohemond frequently reminded Firuz of the matter, and at last the latter is said to have sent the following answer through his son, who acted as the bearer of these private messages: "Well do you know, O best of men, who art dearer to me than life itself, how sincerely I have loved you, from the time when, by the will of God, we entered into this common friendship. I call to mind, moreover, that I have ever found in your words the true firmness worthy of a good man. Hence it is that, day by day, you have crept deeper and deeper into my heart and have become ever more dear to me. Over the matter which you have so often brought to my attention I have pondered with earnest care more than once and have given due consideration to all its various aspects. I am convinced that if I can restore my native country to its former state of freedom, drive out these unclean dogs under whose rule we are oppressed, and introduce a people who worship God, I shall not fail of eternal reward and shall be permitted to enjoy the society of the blessed saints forever. On the other hand, if I undertake this difficult and dangerous task and then fail to carry it through successfully, no one can doubt that inevitably my house and the memory of my distinguished race will be utterly destroyed, so that not even the name of it will thereafter be remembered. Nevertheless, the hope of reward is ever wont to attract the mind of mortals to such risks. Wherefore, if your comrades will concede that this city when surrendered to you through my zealous efforts shall belong to you alone, with the help of the Lord, who has joined us in the close bonds of friendship, I will undertake the task, however difficult. This I will do through love of you, for whom, as for my own children, I desire every good thing. This strongly fortified tower, over which, as you see, I have full power, I will surrender to you without hindrance that through this you, with all your people, may gain free entrance into the city. If, however, since you are all equal, you propose to share the city taken under such circumstances with the others on equal terms, I will not involve myself in such danger for the sake of those in whom I have no interest. On behalf of the welfare and safety of all, therefore, make every effort to obtain this concession from the leaders associated with you and rest assured that, as soon as I shall receive definite information that you have secured that promise, I will not delay to open to you the entrance into the city—the end to which you are endeavoring to persuade me.

"Know, moreover, that unless this action is taken very soon it may possibly be deferred forever. Nearly every day, the lord of this city receives messengers and dispatches indicating that reinforcements assembled from the entire Orient for his assistance have encamped around the Euphrates river with a force of two hundred thousand cavalry. If these armies find you still outside the city, you will scarcely be able to withstand the combined forces of citizens and the advancing host of their allies."

13. *Bohemond puts forth strenuous efforts that the city when surrendered be conceded to him. The count of Toulouse alone refuses.*

From that time, Bohemond began with great earnestness to test the sentiments of the individual leaders in an effort to discover what each man had in mind and what disposition would probably be made of the besieged city in the event of its capture. He carefully concealed his own design, however, except from those who would, he believed, readily assent to his desires. When he found that he would have little prospect of success with certain of the leaders, he put off the matter to a more convenient season. Yet Duke Godfrey and the count of Normandy, as well as the count of Flanders and Hugh the Great, agreed to his demands and gave him a willing assent. They approved the secret of the noble man and admired his wisdom. They kept his intention hidden in their own hearts as something that should not be made known to anyone. The count of Toulouse alone was at odds with the others in this matter. As a result of his attitude, a delay ensued which came near being fatal, for that familiar friend of Bohemond was reluctant to undertake a task involving so much danger to himself for the sake of the others. Nor did Bohemond work as earnestly for the common good as for his own personal advantage. Yet he continued to maintain his friendship with Firuz by presents and attentions, thus fulfilling the obligations of a sincere friendship. Frequent messages passed between them, and the friendship once begun was strengthened and fostered by both.

14. *The allies, marching to the relief of Antioch, lay siege to Edessa. Baldwin makes a strong resistance, however, and they are forced to retire without success across the Euphrates.*

DURING this time, the deputies whom Yaghi Siyan and the citizens of Antioch had sent to Persia to beg for aid had returned to their own land. They had successfully completed their mission and obtained the requests which they had made. For the magnificent prince of Persia had heard of the troubles of Antioch and was moved with compassion. It was to his interest to check the attempts of the Christians and to cut off their strength betimes, lest they aspire to conquer, by their arms, some parts of his own kingdom. He therefore sent into Syria countless hosts of Persians, Turks, and Kurds under the command of an intimate friend of his, on whose valor, loyalty, and diligence he could entirely rely.[13] Under this man as general were centurions, captains of fifties, and other lesser officers, all of whom were to obey and be ruled by the word of that commander. To the latter the prince also gave letters having the force of law, addressed to the governors of all regions subject to his own sway. In these letters the prince enjoined on all peoples and nations, tribes, and tongues that, without making excuses, they follow his beloved son Corbagath [Karbuqa], whom he had placed in command of his armies by reason of his services. All were to be subject to the power of this man and must obey him in whatever he pleased to direct according to his own free will.

At the command of his lord, Karbuqa took charge of the legions just named. He reinforced the number of these by troops which he levied on his progress through the land, entered Mesopotamia with two hundred thousand men, and encamped in the vicinity of Edessa. There he learned through various reports that this city and all the surrounding country was held by one of the Frankish leaders against whom he was marching. He determined, therefore, before crossing the Euphrates to attack that city and take it by force.

Baldwin, however, had already received notice of his advance. He had brought together valiant men from all around to aid him and had carefully supplied his city with food and arms. He was therefore only

[13] These forces came chiefly from Mosul and were led by Karbuqa, a Turkish adventurer who had driven out the Arab rulers in 1096 and become an amir under the Saljuqs.

slightly alarmed by the terrible threats of Karbuqa. The latter ordered his heralds to proclaim that the cohorts were to attack Edessa and carry on the siege with all their might. The place made a stubborn resistance, however, and it soon became apparent that Karbuqa could make but little headway in that attempt. Men of practical common sense finally went to their leader and after many arguments persuaded him to abandon this attempt, which was, after all, merely incidental, and proceed to his main objective—namely, to cross the Euphrates and hasten to the relief of Antioch, the purpose for which he had been sent. They reminded him that, on his return, after he had raised the siege of Antioch, it would require hardly more than a day to take Edessa and capture Baldwin.

After time and effort had been wasted before Edessa for three successive weeks,[14] Karbuqa ordered the legions to cross the river. He himself followed and began to push on with energy toward his goal. But that delay of the infidel host at Edessa was the reason why Baldwin could not be present at the siege of Antioch, and it was also the salvation of our people. For if Karbuqa had marched directly to Antioch before the Christians had gained the city, the pilgrims would have been in a critical situation, as Bohemond's friend had predicted. By the grace of God, Antioch was taken before the infidels arrived; even so, however, it was with difficulty that they were able to withstand Karbuqa's coming.

15. *The Christians experience much anxiety over the approach of the enemy. They send out scouts.*

In the meantime, the report of the advance of such great armies ran throughout the camp. Since the report was confirmed as true by many, it was regarded as certain that the enemy was already in the vicinity. Greatly worried over the matter, the leaders dispatched in various directions experienced men on whose fidelity and diligence they justly placed entire dependence. These were instructed to interview [persons] of unquestioned loyalty so that it might be judged whether the reports as generally given out were true. Valiant warriors of high rank were chosen for this mission: Drogo de Nesle, Clarebold de Vendeuil, Gerard de Cherisi, Reinald, count of Toul, and others whose names we do not recall. These men dispersed in various directions with their

[14] May 4–25.

followers. They made very careful investigations and, in their turn, sent out scouts to more remote sections. In this way, they gathered reliable information that troops were being levied from all directions and concentrated into one host, as rivers are wont to flow into the sea. Finally at the proper time, they returned and assured the leaders who had sent them that the report could no longer be doubted. Thus seven days before Karbuqa arrived before Antioch with his forces, the greater chiefs of the Christian army had received warning. They enjoined upon the spies, however, not to allow this information to reach the people. There was reason to fear that the host of common folk, enfeebled by hunger and long-continued hardships, might be overpowered by fear and plan flight—a course which had, indeed, been taken shortly before this by some of the greater chiefs.

16. *The chiefs meet for consultation. Bohemond makes known the secret which his friend had intrusted to him.*

THE chiefs assembled, therefore, to consult on a situation which seemed to be the crisis of the whole campaign. In a spirit of humility and with contrite hearts, they began to consider what measures should be taken in such an emergency. It was suggested by some that the entire force engaged in the siege should sally forth against the coming multitude, to a distance of two or three miles from the city. There, after invoking the assistance of heaven, they should try the fortune of war with the haughty commander who presumed so much on the strength of his thousands. Others thought it would be wiser to leave a part of the army in camp to keep the citizens from going out to unite with the oncoming host. The more powerful part of the Christian army and those of more experience in the use of arms should then, according to the first suggestion, go out about two miles against the infidels and, if so it seemed good to the Lord, there engage them with the help of the Omnipotent.

While they were discussing this question carefully with free interchange of opinion, Bohemond quietly drew the chief leaders aside: Duke Godfrey; Robert, count of Flanders; Robert, count of Normandy; and Raymond, count of Toulouse. When they were by themselves in a retired spot, apart from the rest, he addressed them as follows: "I perceive, beloved brethren, fellow workers in the service of God, that you are tormented with anxiety over the approach of this

chief who is said to be close at hand. In the conference just held, each has had a different opinion according as his own desires directed; yet neither proposition has struck at the root of the matter. For whether we all go out, as some of you wish, or a part remain in camp, it is evident that our zealous efforts and outlay, so long continued, will have been expended in vain. For if we all go, the siege will be ended and our aims defeated; the citizens will recover their liberty, and, with egress free, will either join the enemy or will bring the troops of their allies into the city.

"On the other hand if a part of the troops remain in the camp, I foresee that the same result will be inevitable. Even now, the united and undivided strength of our entire force can scarcely restrain the citizens, although they are in desperate straits and utterly without hope of aid. How, then, is it possible that a part only of our army can keep them within the walls after their allies have arrived? It is apparent to me that one of two things will presently happen. Either they will join their allies and with united forces attack us with superior numbers, or they will at any rate introduce into the city the troops of the allies and will carefully fortify Antioch with arms and provisions. In that case, even if, by God's help, we should defeat the foe outside, we should still have no assurance of gaining the city. It seems to me, therefore, most revered fathers, that we ought to exert ourselves to the utmost to bring Antioch under our power before the arrival of this great commander. Do you ask me by what means and how such a plan can be carried into effect? In order that I may not seem to be suggesting an impossible achievement, I will state that I can open a way by which speedily and easily we may accomplish our desired end. I have in Antioch a loyal friend, a man of much wisdom, as far as human eyes can judge. As I believe I have stated to some of you already, this man holds in his power a strongly fortified tower. This, under certain conditions, he has agreed in good faith to surrender to me, as I have often begged him to do. In return for this favor, I have pledged my word to give him a large sum of money and to insure to him and his heirs, in perpetuity, extensive estates and privileges of all kinds, as the price of his work, if the affair turns out as we desire.

"If then, it seems good to you, dear sirs, that the city, when taken by my zealous efforts, should pass under my jurisdiction, to be held by hereditary right forever, I am prepared to carry out my arrange-

ment with my friend. But if not, let each one of you try to find a better way to bring the city under his power; and let him who succeeds possess it for himself, in peace and quiet. I yield in his favor and am ready to surrender to him whatever share I have in present affairs."

17. *The chiefs gladly concede the city to Bohemond. He negotiates secretly with his friend concerning the surrender.*

THE chiefs listened to these words with joy and gave a grateful assent to Bohemond's request; that is, all except the count of Toulouse, who declared vehemently that he would yield his rights to no one.[15] The others promised to grant the city with its dependencies to Bohemond as an hereditary possession forever, and each man promised by giving his right hand that he would reveal the secret to no one. At the same time, all urged the prince to bring the matter to an end with diligence, lest a dangerous delay should intervene.

The meeting then broke up. Bohemond, whose character brooked no delay, most ardently desired to push on his project. He at once communicated with his friend through the usual messenger and informed him that the chiefs had granted all that he had asked. He urgently admonished Firuz, by the good faith between them, to carry the plot into effect the following night with the help of God. This news rejoiced the faithful heart of the recipient beyond measure.

An event is said to have occurred about this time which gave Firuz a still stronger motive for carrying through the plot which he had arranged. While he was busily engaged in the many responsible duties belonging to the position which he held in the house of his master and indeed in the whole city, for some urgent reason unknown to us he is said to have sent his son, a young man, to his house.

On arriving there, the youth came upon a shameful scene. He found his mother in the illicit embrace of one of the principal Turkish chiefs. Touched to the quick with horror and grief, the young man returned in haste to his father and told him of the outrage. Firuz, greatly enraged, with the angry resentment of an injured husband, is reported to have said bitterly, "It is not enough for the filthy dogs that they crush us under the yoke of unjust servitude and deplete our patrimony

[15] Yewdale regards the opposition of Raymond here as only another instance of self-seeking rivalry with Bohemond that had begun long before this (R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, pp. 50 ff.).

by daily exactions, but they must needs violate the laws of wedlock and destroy the bonds of marriage. If I live, I will put an end to such insolence and, with the help of the Lord, repay them as they deserve."

With these words, he hid his sense of the injury done him and sent his son, the sharer of his secret, whose mind was in a turmoil because of this wrong inflicted upon his mother, to Bohemond by the usual route. He bade him warn that leader to prepare with all care everything needful for the work in hand. There would be no delay on his part, for on the following night he would carry out his promise. He also directed that all the chiefs, each with his own following, should leave the camp about the ninth hour as if intending to march against the enemy. Toward the first watch of the night, they were to return stealthily, and in utter silence, and hold themselves in readiness to act according to his orders about the hour of midnight. Bohemond conducted the young man in secret to the leaders who were privy to the plot and explained all the details of the arrangement which he had made, as planned by Firuz with his son's aid. Filled with wonder at the man's scheme and his sincere loyalty, the chiefs approved the plan and agreed that it should be carried through as he had arranged.

18. *The citizens suspect Firuz. He declares his innocence before the lord of the city.*

But as often happens in undertakings of supreme importance, an unexpected event occurred during those days. For the citizens, especially those who were principally responsible for the welfare of the city, began to divine, more from suspicion than from any definite proofs, that secret negotiations involving the surrender of the place were going on. This soon became the common topic of conversation on the lips of all. The principal citizens assembled, therefore, and went to the governor to advise with him concerning this report. It seemed altogether probable, for many indications pointed that way. There were many Christians in Antioch, as I have mentioned, and they, although entirely innocent of this plot, were nevertheless suspected. Among these was the noble man of whom we are speaking, for, although Yaghi Siyan relied not a little on his sincere loyalty, the other leading men distrusted him.

During the course of this anxious conference on the matter in the

presence of Yaghi Siyan, the name of Firuz was mentioned among those of others suspected. There seemed, indeed, to be all the more reason for distrust in his case, for he was a man of much energy and far more influential in the city than the rest of the Christians. Under the urgent persuasion of his counsellors, the prince finally ordered the man to be summoned. He was brought in, and the same topic was continued in his presence purposely, that they might hear his advice on the matter and be able to decide from his words whether he was justly suspected or not.

But Firuz happened to be a very shrewd and quick-witted man. He instantly divined that this conference was being held on his account and that he was under suspicion. Accordingly, that he might subtly hide his purpose and maintain his innocence before them, he is said to have answered those who had met to test him as follows: "Your solicitude, venerable men and great chiefs of this city, is most laudable and is such as is found only among wise men. For it is the part of wisdom to foresee that which may happen, and to be overcautious does no harm in a capital matter. Hence, you seem to me to be moved by no trivial impulse when you are anxious on behalf of your lives and liberty and for your wives and children. Yet, if you will accept my advice, there is a fairly quick method by which a suitable remedy and an effective cure for this disease which threatens you may be provided. This detestable treachery, which with great foresight you fear, can be successful only through the agency of those who are in charge of the towers and walls and of those assigned to guard the gates. If, then, you distrust the loyalty of these people, let them be changed frequently, so that they may not continue long in any one place and be able to enter into a disastrous friendship with the enemy. For a plot of this nature is not easily arranged; it is indeed a matter of some time. Nor is it possible for a private individual alone to undertake an affair of such importance. It must necessarily involve citizens in higher places, who, corrupted by bribes, are equal partners in the crime. But, by making these sudden and unexpected changes, you will remove all opportunity for perilous negotiations of this kind." [16]

With these words he ceased speaking. His remarks pleased all and

[16] This speech, like several other incidents in this account of Firuz, must be regarded as an effort of William's imagination.

seemed good in their eyes. He had apparently furnished adequate proof of his innocence and mitigated to some extent the suspicion that had been roused against him. His advice would have been put into effect at once, had it not been that day was already declining and night coming on apace. No such radical change in guarding the city, therefore, could be made at that hour. Orders were given, however, that the utmost watchful diligence be used in guarding the town, although all were completely ignorant of the secret measures which were being plotted by that man. He, well aware that the situation would soon be greatly changed, exerted himself assiduously to carry through the plot before anything should occur to prevent its accomplishment.

19. *Describes how the Christians of Antioch were burdened with many services and how the massacre which had been destined for them was brought to naught.*

From the time when our army arrived before the walls of Antioch and placed the city under siege, the townspeople had been suspicious of the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and all other citizens who professed the Christian faith, irrespective of the race to which they belonged. Accordingly, they drove out of the city all the feeble and those who did not have the necessary provisions with which to support themselves and their little families, lest they become a burden to the city. Only the rich and those who had ample means and sufficient provisions in store for their immediate households were allowed to remain. But even upon these so many services, both the customary ones and extra burdens besides, were imposed that the lot of the exiles seemed more fortunate than that of those who had been allowed to retain their residence there for the highest good of the city. In addition, money fines were frequently exacted from them so that even the little which they seemed to possess was extorted from them by violence. They themselves were carried off, in spite of protests, to do all kinds of the vilest and hardest tasks for the city. If machines were to be erected or immensely heavy beams moved, that work was at once laid upon them. Some were forced to carry stones and cement and all kinds of material for building purposes. Others had to furnish the huge stones which were being constantly hurled beyond the walls by the engines and to manage the ropes by which these were operated. In this they were sub-

ject to the will of the overseers, and no chance for rest or relaxation was allowed them. As a culmination of this abominable wickedness, their oppressors held a secret counsel, eight days before the meeting to which the suspected Firuz was summoned, and decided that all Christians living in Antioch should be put to death secretly by night. There was a certain wise and powerful chief in the city, however, who had always showed himself a friend to the Christians. Through the efforts of this man, a stay of eight days was granted, against the opposition of the rest, before the work was put into execution. Had it not been for this respite, without doubt assassins would have been sent to carry out their wicked design, and the whole body of Christians would have perished by the sword that same night. The delay of eight days had been conceded with the view of ascertaining in the interval whether there was a possibility of the siege coming to an end; if it was found that our people intended to continue the blockade, the massacre would be carried into effect; if not, the citizens who had been condemned to death would be spared. The time of respite had now expired and that night was the last. Already the order had secretly gone forth that the sentence should be executed. The massacre was to take place on the very night that our chiefs had set for carrying out the plot which had been so long ago arranged between Bohemond and Firuz and which, by the help of God, was actually accomplished. Thus it happened that when the Christians began to take possession of the city, the leading men felt comparatively little anxiety about the tumult which arose, for they supposed that the uproar in the city meant nothing more than that the orders against their fellow citizens of the Christian faith were being carried out.

Thus when the city had been taken by force in this way, there were found in the homes of the Christians many infidels who had come, as ordered, to massacre the unsuspecting believers.

20. *In accordance with Firuz's plan, the army leaves the camp, with the intention of returning at night.*

About the ninth hour, the voice of the herald was heard proclaiming throughout all parts of the camp that all the cavalry forces, fully armed, should follow their leaders to carry out without delay the orders that would be given them. It was not the people alone who were

completely ignorant of this secret plan, for, in fact, the mystery had been divulged to only a few of the principal chiefs.

In accordance with the wise arrangements of Firuz, therefore, the entire cavalry force left the camp, following the standards of the leaders, as if going to a distance. In reality they were only waiting until night, falling upon the earth, should bring back the usual darkness; then under cover of this they stealthily returned to camp in utter silence.

Firuz, this man of God who had rendered the Christians so signal a favor, had an own brother who differed from him utterly both in feelings and purpose. Firuz, who had but little confidence in this brother's loyalty, had not imparted the secret to him. On the contrary, he distrusted him and had hidden his plans as carefully as possible. That same day, about the ninth hour, as our legions were marching out from the camp, the two brothers happened to be standing together on the battlements. They were watching the camp through the openings and witnessed the departure of the troops. The elder, desirous of knowing his brother's attitude of mind, endeavored to sound his sentiments. With this in view, he began to address him as follows: "I pity this people, my brother, for whom so sudden an end is being prepared, for they profess the same faith as ourselves. Ignorant of what the morrow may bring forth, they ride out confidently, seeming to fear nothing, as if their affairs were in a state of security. But if they knew the snares that are being laid for them and the utter destruction which so soon awaits them, perchance they would take some other measures for their safety." To this the brother replied, "You are worrying yourself foolishly and your compassion is uncalled for. Would that all these people had already fallen by the sword of the Turks, for, from the very day when they entered this land, our condition has become increasingly worse, and it is hardly possible that the benefits which we may gain through their efforts can equal the troubles we have suffered on their account."

Up to this time Firuz had been undecided whether or not to communicate his intention to his brother. At these words, however, his spirit shrank from his brother as from a pestilence; in his own heart he cursed him, and lest obedience to Christ should be hindered through his means, he began to plot his death. Thus, he placed the safety of the Christians in general before his own affection for his brother.

21. *Bohemond begs his friend to complete the work. The latter slays his brother who disagrees with him. He receives the Christians into the city by means of a rope ladder.*

MEANWHILE, Bohemond strove with all his heart to accomplish his project. That the attainment of the goal for which he so longed might not be delayed through inactivity on his own part, he visited the chiefs, one after another, and begged them to be ready for action. He carried in his hand a ladder, very skilfully woven of hempen ropes. This was to be attached above to the battlements of the wall and fastened below by iron hooks. Midnight was already past; all the inhabitants of the city had succumbed to rest, their sleep rendered the deeper in consequence of their constant vigils and incessant labor. Bohemond now sent to his friend a member of his own staff, a man entirely devoted to him. This interpreter was directed to ascertain definitely from Firuz whether it was time for his master's company to advance. When the messenger arrived, he found that man watching at one of the little openings in the wall. He delivered his lord's message in a low tone, and Firuz responded, "Sit down quietly and be silent until the prefect of the guard, who is on his rounds with a large escort and gleaming torches, has passed this place." For it was a custom of the city that, in addition to the watchmen stationed in each tower, the superior officer should make the rounds of the wall three or four times a night, with a large escort carrying lighted torches. Should he find anyone overcome by sleep or not exercising due caution, the prefect would mete out the punishment deserved. The officer charged with this great responsibility soon arrived, and, finding Firuz watching, he commended his diligence and passed on with mind at ease.

Firuz saw that the proper time for action had come and said to the messenger, who had withdrawn a little apart, "Go quickly and tell your lord to come speedily with his picked men." The messenger returned in haste to his master and found him ready. The other leaders were secretly called, and in the twinkling of an eye each responded with his own company, as had been arranged beforehand. In a short time they stood as one man at the foot of the tower long since designated. Not a sound or a noise was heard from them as they approached.

During that short interval, Firuz had entered the tower and found his brother heavy with sleep. Since he had ascertained that the latter's

sentiments were against the project on which he himself was bent, he feared lest through his means some impediment might be offered to its execution, which was now about to be completed. Accordingly, he gave him a fatal thrust with the sword—an act at once pious and wicked.

He then returned to the openings in the ramparts and found that his confederates were below. After greetings had been exchanged, with expressions of hope for their common safety, he let down a rope by which he drew up the ladder from below.

When this had been raised, however, and firmly attached both at top and bottom, no one could be found who dared to ascend. No one would risk his life in such an experiment, not even at the command of his superior officer or of Bohemond himself. The latter soon perceived this; he at once took the initiative and intrepidly mounted the ladder himself.[17] As he reached the top and grasped the battlements, his hand was seized from within by Firuz. On discovering that it was the hand of Bohemond himself, he is said to have cried out, "Long live that hand!" In order to win more favor in the eyes of Bohemond and the other Christians, because he had murdered his own brother who would not join him in a work so holy, he led the chief into the tower and showed him the dead body of his brother lying in its own gore. Lord Bohemond embraced that man of true and steadfast loyalty with heartfelt emotion; then, returning to the battlements, he thrust his head a little way through the aperture, and, in a muffled voice, called on his men to ascend. They still hesitated, however, and no one dared to obey, for they regarded with suspicion all that was said from the battlements. Realizing this, Bohemond returned to his comrades, by way of the ladder, and thus gave them a substantial proof of his safety. Thereupon, they at once began to vie with each other in trying to reach the ramparts. Swarming up the wall, they seized not only that tower, but several others also on either side of it. We have heard that among those who ascended were the count of Flanders and Lord Tancred, by whose example the rest were led to follow.

[17] This would seem to be a greater tribute to Bohemond's bravery than to his discretion and in accord with neither his usual sagacity nor the testimony of eyewitnesses (see A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, pp. 151–55).

22. *The invaders gain an entrance and open the gates. The army, now become participants in the plot, rush into the city. Antioch is taken by storm.*

THE other chiefs, seeing that able men had already reached the ramparts in sufficient numbers, so that one or more gates were now being opened, hurried back to the camp to have their troops in readiness, so that when the signal should be given by their comrades within the city there might be no delay about entering. Those who had already scaled the walls seemed inspired with courage from on high. Under the leadership of Firuz, who had let them into the city, they had already seized successively ten towers in the vicinity, after first killing the guards stationed there. Yet, all this time, the whole city lay wrapped in utter silence and not a sound was heard.

In the section of the wall where the Christians had made their ascent there was a postern gate. To this they descended, and after breaking the restraining bars and bolts, threw it open by force. They let in the soldiers waiting outside; this greatly increased the number of invaders within the walls. Together they hastened to the place known as the gate of the Bridge, slew all the guards, and, by a violent assault, threw that entrance open also.

Meanwhile, some of Bohemond's retainers had borne his standard to a hill overlooking the city and there placed it in a very prominent place, on a height near the upper fortress.

The glowing sky now announced the coming of the sun; the signal was sounded by the horns and clarions; and our people began to make a great din at the entrance to the city in order to rouse to action the forces still in camp. The chiefs, well understanding the meaning of the prearranged signal, ran to arms. Sweeping their own forces rapidly along with them, they hurried to the city and seized the approaches and gates.

Meanwhile the common people, who, up to this time, had been kept in ignorance of the secret plans, were roused. When they discovered that the camp was almost deserted, they too followed the rest and eagerly made their way into the city. The citizens, awakened by the great uproar, were at first in doubt as to the meaning of the unusual noises. Soon, however, at the strange sight of mailed knights rushing about through the city and of the havoc which was being wrought

everywhere in the streets and squares, they came to a realization of the truth. Abandoning their homes, they tried to fly with their wives and children. Bewildered and dazed in their frantic attempts to escape the bands of armed soldiers and to find a safe place of refuge, they recklessly rushed into the way of other warriors.

The Christians who dwelt in the city, Syrians, Armenians, and the true believers of other nations, rejoiced exceedingly over what had happened. They at once took arms and joined forces with the army. Since they were intimately acquainted with all of the localities, they were able to act as guides for the others through the intricate ways of the city. When they found a gate still barred, they killed the guards and opened the way by breaking the locks; then they let in their companions. It seemed to them that this marvellous change had come from God. Those who had been bearing the undeserved yoke of servitude to unclean dogs, mercilessly oppressed under the burden of services and extra services and tortures, were now able to inflict similar woes upon their enemies and bring about their destruction.

By this time, our entire army had been admitted to the city; already they had easily taken possession of the gates, towers, and ramparts; already the standards of the chiefs and the insignia, well known to all, floated from the highest places as the proof of victory. Everywhere was carnage, everywhere anguish and the wailing of women; everywhere fathers of families had been slain and their entire households murdered. Forcing their way into houses, the Christians destroyed articles of domestic use. All the substance of the foe was given over as plunder to the first who chanced to reach it. The victors roamed at will through places formerly inaccessible to them and, maddened by lust of killing and greed for gain, they spared neither sex nor condition and paid no respect to age. They inquired of all whom they met in the streets and city squares where the houses of the most important citizens were situated and where the richest people lived. Then, joining forces, they ran thither in bands. They killed the servants, penetrated into the most private apartments, and put to the sword mothers of families and the children of nobles. Then they divided equally among themselves by lot the furnishings of the houses, gold, silver, and precious garments.

It is said that more than ten thousand citizens were slain that day; along the streets everywhere the corpses of the dead lay unburied, just as they had fallen.

23. *The citizens retreat to the citadel. Yaghi Siyan is killed outside the walls while endeavoring to escape. Many perish by falling from the mountain.*

When Yaghi Siyan saw that the city had been surrendered to the foe, that the enemy had taken possession of all the towers and fortifications, and, furthermore, that all who had escaped death had hastily retreated to the citadel, he began to fear that the Christians would follow them thither and invest that also. In a frenzy, he rushed out through a postern gate and fled alone without a single companion, seeking only to preserve his life. While he was wandering about in desperate anxiety, without any fixed purpose, he happened to fall in with several Armenians. They at once recognized him and drew near as if to show him the customary reverence. Panic-stricken, he allowed them to approach. From the fact that he had fled alone, they immediately realized that the city had been taken. Accordingly, they threw him violently to the ground, drew his own sword, and cut off his head. This they bore into the city and offered to the leaders in the presence of all the people.

There were also certain nobles in the city who had come from distant parts to assist Antioch as an opportunity of exercising their prowess. When it became known that the city had fallen into the power of the Christians, these men resolved to retire to the upper citadel, for they were unacquainted with the place, and, in their anxiety about their lives, knew not what to do. They were trying to make their way thither when they chanced to encounter some of the Christians coming down from the upper part of the city. They were caught in a narrow defile where they could go neither up nor down on account of the steep slope of the hill, and, at the same time, they were crowded together by our men from above. Thus, while they were desperately trying to find any possible means of escape, about three hundred of their number were thrown headlong from the mountain, with their horses and the insignia which distinguished them one from another. Their necks were broken and their limbs so crushed that there was scarcely a reminder of them left.

Those who dwelt in the city or neighboring places and knew the locality were more successful. As soon as they knew that the city had been taken, these people banded together and, at earliest dawn, went

out through the gates, which were now beginning to be barred again, and fled to the mountains. Some of these were brought back by our forces, who pursued them at close range, seized them, and forcibly threw them into chains. Others, thanks to their horses, succeeded in reaching the hills, where they took measures for their lives and safety.

About the fifth hour, our pursuing forces returned. When all who had been scattered through the city were assembled, a careful investigation was made, and the fact was discovered that there were no more provisions in the city. Nor was this strange, for the siege had been carried on without intermission for almost nine months.

On the other hand, such vast supplies of gold and silver, gems, precious utensils, rugs, and silken stuffs were found that even those who had but now been hungry beggars became suddenly rich, with abundant supplies of every kind. In the entire city, scarcely five hundred horses fit for the service of war were found, and these were emaciated and dying of hunger.

The city of Antioch was taken in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1098, in the month of June, and the third day thereof.

HERE ENDS THE FIFTH BOOK

THE SIXTH BOOK BEGINS

CRUSADERS BESIEGED; A MIRACULOUS VICTORY

1. *A description of the mountain which towers above the city. A part of this is still held by the enemy, who have stationed guards there. Messengers are sent to the coast to summon the people, provisions are brought in, and the city is strongly fortified.*

FINALLY the tumult subsided, the city regained its calm, and even the swords of the victors, drunk with blood, became weary of unending slaughter. Then the leaders met for conference, for they knew full well that much work remained to be done before the conquest would be complete. Accordingly they stationed guards at the gates and on the ramparts and determined to ascend the mountain and attack the citadel. The herald was sent forth to proclaim the order that all the cohorts were to ascend the aforesaid hill. When the heights were reached, however, it was evident that, by reason of its fortifications, the citadel was impregnable and could be taken only by famine. Since this method would require many days, the chiefs realized that their zealous efforts would be expended in vain. It was necessary, therefore, to resort to other plans.

The mountain which towers above the city is cleft by a very deep valley with steep and precipitous sides. The slope which faces east is the lower of the two and at the top broadens out into a wide plain, well adapted to vineyards and agriculture. So great is the distance across this deep valley that there seem to be two separate mountains rather than one divided into two. The slope toward the west is far higher, and its top forms a peak. On the highest pinnacle of this latter height rose the citadel, fortified with solid walls and still more massive towers. On the east and north springs a mighty precipice as if from a vast abyss, so that it is impossible to imagine how harm could come to the citadel from either of those sides. Toward the west is a lower hill, and between it and the citadel lies a valley of moderate extent, rather narrow, with gently sloping sides. Through this runs the only road leading from the citadel down into the city, and this of itself presents quite enough dan-

gers even when no one is attacking it. Our leaders deemed it wise to take this hill, that it might not afford the enemy a passage down to the city when they sallied forth from the gate of the citadel for the purpose of attacking our troops. Wise and valiant men were accordingly stationed at that place, and the necessary food and weapons were left there for them. A wall with bulwarks of solid masonry was also built, and above this were placed engines in strategic positions, with which to drive back the enemy. The chiefs then went down again to the city to confer on more important affairs, with the intention of returning when that business was over. For they had determined that all, with the exception of the duke, should remain in that position until the citadel was taken. By the common decision of the leaders, Godfrey had taken under his vigilant care both the east gate and the redoubt outside the city which, when first built, had been put in charge of Bohemond.

News had reached them that Karbuqa, the great chief mentioned above, would arrive very soon, that, in fact, he had already entered the land of Antioch and had poured his thousands over the country. It was thought best, therefore, to send one of our chiefs to the coast to recall those brethren who had gone thither to collect food supplies. All the necessary provisions which could be found were to be brought into the city as quickly as possible.

During the two days that elapsed before Karbuqa's main army arrived the Christians scoured the surrounding country with the utmost diligence. They brought in all available food and fodder from whatever source and made heroic efforts to provision the city. The people living in the country about and the farmers too, well aware that Antioch had been surrendered to the Christians, assiduously brought in all that they could. Yet the entire amount collected from every source was but small—practically nothing—for the protracted siege, which for nine successive months had drained the resources of the entire district, had left nothing which could be of real assistance to our people, even for a few days.

2. *An advance guard of three hundred [sic] from Karbuqa's main army gallop up and down before Antioch. Roger de Barneville incautiously engages them and is slain.*

On the second day after the taking of Antioch, while the Christians were anxiously engaged in guarding and provisioning the city, three

hundred knights from Karbuqa's army, armed to the teeth and mounted on swift chargers, stationed themselves in ambush near the city. They had been sent on in advance for the express purpose of catching unawares any of our people who might be found off their guard outside the walls. Thirty of this number, mounted on the fleetest horses, began to ride up and down before the city. They purposely pretended ignorance of any danger and conducted themselves very carelessly. When the Christians within the walls saw them galloping about in this manner, they could not restrain their anger. They felt that it would be utterly disgraceful if they did not make a sally against them. Accordingly, Roger de Barneville, from the retinue of Robert, count of Normandy, a valiant warrior who had performed many a brilliant deed on that same campaign, hurriedly rode out of the gate to attack them. He took with him a band of fifteen followers and intended as usual to perform one of his doughty deeds. He boldly attacked the skirmishers at full speed, when they suddenly pretended to turn in flight. They continued to retreat until they reached the place where their comrades lay in ambush. The men hidden there at once emerged. Then, with numbers thus reinforced, the united band fell upon their former pursuers and forced them to retrace their course in flight. Roger and his men were entirely unequal in strength and number to the enemy. They tried to retreat to the city, but the speed of the foe's horses prevented. The knight, mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced his heart, fell from his horse dead. He was a man ever to be regretted by his followers, for as far as in him lay he had faithfully carried out the aims of the Christian pilgrimage. His comrades succeeded in reaching the city, but, in full view of all on the walls and towers—powerless, alas, to aid—the enemy cut off the head of that illustrious man and retreated unharmed.

As soon as they departed, the Christians, amid universal tears and lamentations, brought his body into the city with fitting ceremony. Then, in the presence of the leaders and the entire people, the last offices due to mortal man were performed, and he was buried with great splendor in the porch of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.[1]

[1] This church of St. Peter in Antioch was held in special reverence by the crusaders, who believed that the very chair which Peter had occupied was still preserved in it. The leaders of the crusade, in reporting the capture of Antioch to Pope Urban, urged him to establish his seat there. (See H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana,* p. 217, notes 12 and 13; A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade,* pp. 194–95.)

3. *The great prince advances and establishes his camp on the heights above the citadel. The duke is vanquished at the east gate. Two hundred of our people perish.*

By dawn, on the following day, which was the third after the deliverance of the city, just as the sun was rising, that all-powerful prince, so often mentioned, had occupied the entire country as far as could be seen from the upper part of the city. With his multitudes even greater than rumor had affirmed, he had crossed the upper bridge and was now encamped between the lake and the river, which were at that place about one mile apart. His expedition was on so vast a scale and his forces so numerous that even the extensive plain in which, as we have explained, Antioch lay scarcely sufficed to accommodate his camp. Some of the neighboring hills, therefore, were also covered with his tents.

On the third day after encamping before Antioch, however, he decided that he was too far away from the city and therefore took counsel with his people. He wished to be nearer those who were holding the citadel in order to be able to aid them, and he also desired to introduce his forces into Antioch through the gate below the citadel. He accordingly broke camp, ascended the heights, and invested the whole southern side of the city from the east to the west gate with a continuous line.

Near the east gate, on a slightly elevated hill, there was a redoubt which had been erected in the beginning to protect the camp. At first this place was put in care of Bohemond. When Antioch was taken, however, and Bohemond began to carry on the general administration of the city, the fort just mentioned together with the gate near by were placed under the duke's protection. Around this redoubt the enemy pitched a camp, from which they persistently made repeated attacks upon the men within. The duke soon found it impossible to endure their insolence. He accordingly sallied forth with his people to succor the defenders of the fort, who were now almost on the point of giving way. He hoped also that he might be able to break up the camp before the gate. But as he issued forth to go to the rescue of his men, a host of Turks attacked him. Since, both in strength and numbers, they were far superior to his forces, the duke saw that he could not hold his own against them. Escaping with difficulty from their swords, he turned and made good his retreat into the city, whither the Turks pursued

him with great vigor. But the undisciplined mob of pilgrims became so massed together in their desperate flight that they blocked the entrance and prevented each other from entering. As a result some were crushed in the press, others wounded, and still others taken prisoners. About two hundred in all perished miserably there.

4. *The Christians build a ditch within the city, along the base of the hill. A battle is fought there in which the enemy are defeated. Their commander descends from the mountain. He besieges the lower part of the city.*

THE Turks regarded the duke as the chief head of the Christian army. His defeat so elated them that they were inspired to even greater deeds of daring. Through the gate of the upper citadel, they descended to the city, along bypaths well known to them, and made a sudden charge upon our people. They caught them off guard and killed many with swords or arrows. When the Christians tried to pursue them, however, they made a swift retreat to the heights and gained the citadel above, for they had other roads than that by the hill which our people had seized and fortified so carefully.

This happened so often, and so many people of the city perished from this baffling maneuver, that the chiefs unanimously agreed that some remedy for this great evil must be found. By common consent, therefore, Bohemond and the count of Toulouse caused a deep ditch of adequate width to be dug between the lower part of the city and the slope of the hill. This would hinder these constant attacks of the Turks as they swooped down from above and allow the people in the city to rest in peace. To render this still more effective for the protection of the townsmen, a redoubt was built there, on which all the troops worked faithfully and devotedly as for their own safety.

The Turks who still held the citadel above, however, as well as those who were besieging the city from without, continued to descend through the upper gate by secret paths. They made repeated assaults upon this new work and tried by every means in their power to destroy it. One day a body of Turks, more numerous than usual, dashed down from the heights by their accustomed paths to this recently constructed fort and began to make a furious attack upon those within. If the leaders charged with the defense of other parts of the city and all the people scattered throughout Antioch had not hastened to their

assistance, Bohemond and Evrard du Puiset, Ralph de Fontenay, Reibald Creton, Pierre, son of Gisla, Albericus, and Ivo, valiant men of high rank who were defending the redoubt within, would have been made prisoners. But the duke, the count of Flanders, and the prince of Normandy rushed impetuously to the spot and brought to naught the foe's insolent attempts. Many Turks were slain, and some others made prisoners. The rest, with much rough handling, were forced to flee, not only from the redoubt, but, in fact, from the entire city. These fugitives returned to their lord full of praise for the strength and admirable courage of the Christians. Thus in them seemed to be fulfilled the prophecy, "That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies and the tongue of thy dogs in the same," [2] for even those who had persecuted them sang the praises of that faithful people.

Karbuqa made a stay of four days in the mountains, as we have said; then, convinced that he had no chance of success and perceiving also that forage for his horses was beginning to be scarce, he again broke camp and marched down into the plain a second time with his entire host. He then crossed the river by a ford farther down stream, placed his forces in charge of their respective officers, in a circle at equal distances apart, and laid siege to Antioch.

On the morrow, some of the Turks separated from the rest of the army and challenged our people to fight. They dismounted from their horses and boldly attacked the defenders on the wall, an act which resulted in the loss of some of their number. For Tancred made a sudden sortie by the east gate, while they were in this condition, and, before they could remount their horses, had killed six and put the rest to flight. He caused the heads of his victims to be cut off and bore them into the city for the consolation of the people, for the hearts of the faithful were rent with grievous sorrow over the loss of Roger de Barneville, who had been killed there.

5. *The Christians in Antioch suffer greatly from hunger. Some of the nobles furtively depart. Bohemond is placed in supreme control.*

Meanwhile, the Christian people, who had besieged Antioch and taken it by force of arms a short time before, were now in their turn enduring siege—a change of condition which frequently occurs in the affairs of mankind. Moreover, exhausted as they were by hardships far

[2] Ps. 68: 23.

beyond their strength, they were now forced to endure the horrors of a famine serious beyond measure. Without was the sword, within was fear. The numerous forces now besieging the city from without naturally filled them with terror, and in addition, the Turks still held the citadel, from which, as has been said, they were continually making sallies. Thus there was no rest possible for the faithful, and many, as punishment for their sins, had sunk into a state of despair. Forgetful of their profession and the many vows which they had taken upon themselves, many deserted their comrades, and, surreptitiously descending from the walls by means of baskets or ropes, fled to the coast. Some of these fugitives fell into the hands of the enemy and were doomed to perpetual slavery; others reached the sea and forced those already on shipboard to cut the anchor ropes and set sail at once. "This great prince," they cried, "who has come with his countless hosts, has seized by force the city which we had just taken, our people have been utterly wiped out and our leaders slain, but we, by the help of God, have escaped their swords. Cut the ropes, then, and speed your flight lest they follow us to the shore and involve you in a similar fate."

Thereupon, they boarded the ships with those already there and began their flight. It was not alone the common mob and the people of lesser importance who fled in this disgraceful manner. Among the fugitives were illustrious men of high rank, notably William de Grandmesnil, a distinguished man from Apulia, who had to wife Bohemond's sister; Albericus, his brother; William Carpenter; [3] Guy de Troussel; Lambert the Poor; and many others whose names we do not remember, for, since they have been blotted out from the Book of Life, they should not be inserted in this work. Still others, panic-stricken at the thought of imminent perils and unable to endure hunger and hardships, took refuge with the enemy—an act far more abominable—and thus wickedly denied the teachings of Christ and His faith. These renegades informed the Turks of the army's condition, and this came near involving the Christians in extreme danger. Many of those who remained in the city had nevertheless cherished hopes of escaping. But the venerable bishop of Puy and the illustrious leader, Bohemond, forestalled their attempts. Men of discretion, whose experience and

[3] The epithet of rope-dancers (*funambuli*) was applied to these deserters by Western chroniclers. William Carpenter, viscount of Melun, had attempted to flee once before. On that occasion he and Peter the Hermit, who was with him, were brought back by Tancred. Bohemond had rebuked him scorchingly, but evidently without lasting effect (see H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, pp. 258–60, 334, note 17; Book IV, note 21).

fidelity could be trusted, were assigned to each gate, and the towers also were put in charge of special chiefs who kept untiring watch night and day. Thus, no one, however active or wily, found it possible to effect an escape. That these guardians might have more complete power to exercise the jurisdiction which had been given them, all, from the least to the greatest, took oath that they would faithfully and loyally obey the orders of Bohemond until the siege of Antioch was ended and the battle which they were awaiting had taken place. Bohemond himself, attended by his retainers, friends, and those in whom he had complete confidence, exercised the most vigilant care. Day and night without respite, he made the rounds of the streets and squares, towers and ramparts, to see that no one was careless and that no opportunity was given the enemy to enter by treachery.

There were four forts which had to be guarded with especial care: the upper redoubt which had been built directly opposite the upper citadel; a second one below, inside the city, beyond the ditch which had been dug for the purpose of defense against the frequent sallies from the gate of the upper camp; a third, outside the east gate, which was built for the protection of the camp before the occupation of the city; and a fourth at the head of the bridge by the aid of which the Christians had quite recently attacked the gate of the Bridge. This last had originally been guarded by the count of Toulouse, but when Antioch was taken he resigned this charge and entered the city with the others.

After the capture of Antioch, the count of Flanders with five hundred brave and valiant men took over the care of this fort. He strengthened its defenses greatly, for he feared that if it should fall into the enemy's hands, our people would be prevented from going back and forth by way of the bridge, a fact which would render their condition materially worse.

6. *The count of Flanders, unable to save the fort before the gate of the Bridge, voluntarily sets fire to it and abandons it. The commander in chief of the enemy's forces sends some of his Christian captives to Persia.*

Now Karbuqa began to notice that our people had far too much liberty in going and coming. He observed also that the fort by the bridge was a great hindrance to his own plans. Accordingly, one day he ordered a

force of two thousand mailed knights to arm and make a vigorous attack on the place. Instantly obedient to his commands, they took up strategic positions around the wall of the redoubt just mentioned. From the first hour of the day even unto the eleventh they kept up a constant shower of arrows in a succession of skirmishes. The count and his men resisted bravely and made every effort to defend the place which had been put under his charge. As evening began to come on, about sunset, the assailants realized that they were making little progress. Accordingly, they abandoned the attack and returned to camp. But the count feared that on the morrow they would return to the attack with larger forces; he knew well that he could not possibly protect the fort against so large a force. Accordingly, in the dead of night he set fire to the place and abandoned everything to the flames. He then retired to the city with those who had been his companions in that forlorn hope.

When morning came, the soldiers who had formed the assaulting party on the previous day returned to renew the attack, reinforced by two thousand men. On their arrival, they found the place abandoned and for the most part destroyed. They were therefore obliged to return without accomplishing their task.

During the course of those same days, some of the enemy's forces, sallying forth stealthily, happened to meet some Christians—poor and needy people—who had gone out without observing proper caution. These they seized and led before their prince as an offering to him, the first spoils of their success. The mean arms and dress of the captives roused that lord's contempt, for they had only wooden bows and worthless swords covered with rust. Their garments were torn, as the result of their continuous labor, and from constant usage fully looked their age, for the pilgrim people had no extra clothing which permitted a change. As he gazed upon them, the Turkish prince is said to have remarked, "Behold a people well fitted to cause apprehension in foreign nations! A people who ought to consider themselves rich if in any corner of the earth bread were given to them as to the basest mercenaries! Behold the arms by which the nobility of the Orient is to be scourged! A blow from such weapons would scarcely cause even a sparrow to fall to the ground. Bind these men and conduct them in chains, with those arms and that miserable dress, to my lord who sent me, that he may see from the appearance of these wretches of how little

moment it is to triumph over men like these! Let him reflect what must be the reputation of those whom so wretched a people boasts of having conquered! Let him lay aside all care and throw the responsibility on me, for, in a short time, these filthy dogs will have ceased to exist. They will be utterly destroyed so that they will no longer be numbered among the nations."

With these words, he ordered them to be delivered to certain men charged with the duty of conducting them, bound, into Persia to the sultan with the comments he had made. For he was confident that he could easily conquer men whose valor he had not yet tried. But the very words which he had thought would bring him glory, when he disparaged that people to his lord ,were later the cause of his undoing; for, inasmuch as he was defeated and thrown into confusion by a people so contemptible in his own judgment, the disgrace which came upon him was all the greater. For as a rule the conquered find defeat easier to bear if it can be said that they were vanquished by brave and valiant men. Just so, on the contrary, if the victory is won by the despicable and unworthy, the shame is greater and the ignominy doubled.

7. *As the famine increases, the people are compelled most reluctantly to eat unclean food.*

THE city was now besieged on every side, and, as the Christians could no longer go back and forth to attend to affairs outside, their condition became much worse. For since no food could be brought into the place, a famine of unusual violence arose. The failure of supplies and the stern demands of importunate nature drove the starving people to shameful expedients. There was no choice in the matter of food, even for the most fastidious; no arbitrary distinction between clean and unclean meat existed; whatever chance offered, whether free or at a price, was at once used for food; for the famished stomach called aloud for any kind of nourishment whereby it might be filled, if indeed such a thing were possible. The nobles felt no shame, the freeborn no hesitancy in presenting themselves as uninvited guests at the table of strangers. Greedily they hung on the charity of others as suppliants importunately demanding from the hands of strangers what was too often refused. Modesty, once a familiar friend, had fled from matrons; reverence no longer attended maidens; forgetful of their birthright,

with worn faces and voices plaintive enough to move hearts of stone, they sought food everywhere, undeterred by fear of repulse.

There were others who could not be forced by bitter famine to lay aside modesty and with brazen face descend to beggary. Such persons hid themselves away in secret places to languish alone, for they preferred to die rather than to venture forth in public to beg anything for themselves. Now, once robust men whom distinguished valor and high rank had made conspicuous and well known to all might be seen half dead, leaning feebly on their staffs as they dragged themselves along the streets and squares. Though they uttered no words, their downcast faces besought alms from the passers-by. Wailing children also, and babes still dependent on milk for nourishment, were to be seen everywhere exposed at the crossroads to seek food for themselves, for those who had brought them forth, unable to obtain sufficient food even for themselves, refused them maternal care.

Among so vast a throng there was scarcely anyone who had sufficient for himself alone. The resources of all were virtually exhausted, and all alike had practically come to the point of beggary. If, perchance, one was so fortunate as to have some remnant of his private wealth still left, it availed him nothing, for the things necessary to sustain life were not to be bought. Those who had formerly been regarded by their friends as most liberal and lavish in hospitality now sought the most retired places, inaccessible to others, for taking refreshment. There they fell greedily upon the food, such as it was, which they had been able to procure from various sources and refused to share it with anyone. Is it necessary to say more? The flesh of camels, asses, horses, mules, and unclean animals of all kinds was looked upon as the rarest of delicacies when it could be obtained, and, dreadful to relate, the bodies of beasts which had died of suffocation or disease were dug up and devoured. Such were the foods with which they tried to quell the cravings of hunger and to prolong their miserable lives by any means possible.

This overpowering catastrophe, famine, attacked not only the common people and men of lesser rank, but involved in its horrors even the more important chiefs. For them it was the more insupportable, since they had need of more than the rest, because they had more people to maintain and could not refuse their bounty to those who sought it.

Although traditions of this time still exist among aged men, it would require a special treatise to relate what happened to each of the chiefs, and to tell of the straits and difficulties under which these pious leaders labored for the sake of Christ. This is far beyond the scope of a compendium of history.[4] It may be said, however, that on the whole it would be difficult to find elsewhere in history another example of miseries so patiently endured without protest by such great leaders and so vast an army.

8. *The enemy nearly succeeds in taking by stealth one of the towers. Henry d'Esch makes a valiant resistance and, after killing several Turks, gains possession of the tower by force of arms.*

THROUGH the energetic zeal of Karbuqa and his people, Antioch was now surrounded on all sides. The Christians shut up within the walls could not go out, nor could anyone come to them. Furthermore, they were exhausted beyond endurance by almost constant engagements both within and without the city. Weakened by protracted hardships and the pressure of famine, our people now began to display less vigilant care in guarding the place. Those who were almost wholly occupied in seeking the food necessary for mere existence naturally became somewhat remiss in regard to other matters. Thus it happened that one day the enemy nearly succeeded in entering the city through a carelessly guarded tower, next to the one by which the Christians had made their entrance.

Some of the Turks, hoping to seize this tower under the protection of the silent night, had secretly applied ladders to the walls. Thence they thought to descend into the city as we had done before. Toward evening, about thirty men mounted to the walls by this means with the purpose of taking the tower, which they found without defenders. While they were actively engaged in this attempt, however, the prefect of the watch, who was making the rounds of the wall, happened to reach the place where the Turks were working. He discovered the plot and at once gave the alarm to those in the neighboring towers by shouting aloud that the enemy had treacherously seized the tower.

[4] William evidently feels that his summary (*compendium*) treatment justifies an abbreviation of sufferings in the famine. These continued with varying intensity for several months longer.

The uproar roused all those on watch guard in that part of the city. Among others was Henry d'Esch, an energetic and illustrious man, who immediately hastened to the spot with two other knights, Franco and Siegmar, his kinsmen, natives of the town called Mechlin [Malines], on the river Meuse. They feared that someone had by chance yielded to the temptation of bribery and had treacherously betrayed the city. Aided by those who rushed to his assistance from the neighboring towers, Esch attacked the enemy vigorously with his accustomed energy. The assailants put up a very stout resistance, but in a short time he succeeded in driving them from the tower. Four Turks were killed; the remaining twenty-six (for the thirty who had already mounted intended to admit the others afterwards) were thrown headlong from the ramparts and dashed to pieces.

In this encounter the valiant chief suffered the loss of his comrade Siegmar, who perished by the sword; Franco was also mortally wounded and was carried home almost lifeless.

9. *The enemy descend to the coast. They burn the ships and kill many of our people along the way.*

Day by day the lack of food continued to distress the besieged more and more, and, as the famine increased, the sufferings of the besieged became more intense. Rendered desperate by their many privations and the daily burden of affliction, some of the Christians cast aside care for their life and safety and secretly left the city. Though beset by a thousand perils, they passed through the midst of the enemy's lines and succeeded in reaching the sea, where some Greek and Latin ships still lingered. Their object was to buy food and carry it back to the city. Some, however, in the hope of escaping perils so great, departed never to return. They had abandoned all expectation that the situation of those whom they had left behind could change for the better, or that they could by any chance escape the enemy's swords.

Meanwhile, the Turks discovered that some of our people were making surreptitious trips by night to the sea and were wandering to and fro near the city in search of food. They at once sent out men well acquainted with the localities to lay ambushes for these people and thereby wrought repeated slaughter upon them. Success so often attended these attempts that at last they dispatched two thousand picked horsemen down to the sea with orders to seize the sailors and traders

and burn the ships. This measure would, they hoped, completely root out that kind of commerce, so that henceforth, since that way of obtaining food was removed, the Christians would find themselves cut off from all supplies and would give up all hope of safety. That was what actually happened. The Turkish cavalry carried out their orders literally. They burned some of the ships, killed the greater part of the crews, who were caught entirely off their guard, and put the rest to flight. The news of this disaster spread abroad. It greatly alarmed the merchants who had been coming thither on trading voyages from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other islands, as well as from Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, and other maritime countries. Under the existing conditions, they were afraid to return there even to carry their wares and dared not approach. As a result, trading in commodities ceased entirely, and the situation of the Christians, perilous as it had been before, became decidedly worse. Although the small amount of merchandise brought by the traders was entirely inadequate to supply the needs of so many people, yet, as long as communication by sea had been open, some slight relief had come to the Christians in this way.

On their return from the shore, the enemy encountered some of the faithful on the way. All of these were put to the sword, with the exception of a very few who crept away through the thickets and underbrush and found hiding places in caves. The news of this disaster, the harbinger of evil, caused our people not less distress than did the cruel famine. As often as they heard the story of the catastrophe which had befallen their friends, so often was their anguish renewed. Exhausted by many woes, by privations without end, by the daily loss of friends, and by bitter misfortunes, they now began to despair even of life itself; they became less careful, also, to protect themselves and less inclined to obey their chiefs.

10. *Stephen, count of Chartres, visits the emperor of Constantinople.*

MEANWHILE, William de Grandmesnil and the others who had fled with him arrived at Alexandretta. There they found Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, whom the leaders—and in fact all the people—were eagerly expecting from day to day. Under the pretext of illness, he was still sojourning at this place. They informed him of all that had occurred at Antioch, and, lest they too might appear to have deserted their comrades like cowards, for an insufficient and trivial reason,

they exaggerated the extent of the troubles and misery there. The situation was indeed dreadful beyond comparison, yet, by their studied report, they made it still worse and accentuated conditions bad enough in themselves. It was not difficult to convince Stephen of anything that tended to strengthen his cowardice. It was for these very reasons that he had deserted his companions and had fled from them under the excuse of illness. After they had conferred together, therefore, they set sail in ships that were ready for them in the harbor. After a voyage of several days, they arrived at one of the coast cities. Here they anxiously inquired about the emperor's whereabouts. Through various reports differing in substance and veracity, they learned that he had set out for Antioch with numerous troops, both Greek and Latin, to carry aid to the Christians, as he was bound to do by agreement. He was now encamped in the vicinity of Philomelium.

In addition to the armies which he had mustered from all nations, there had joined him about forty thousand Latins. These had been left behind in the emperor's land by the legions which had already gone on, either because they were poverty-stricken or because there was sickness among them or for some other urgent reason. Now, however, they had regained their strength, and, inspired by the presence of the emperor and his innumerable host, they had acquired confidence to march on. With all their hearts and souls, they were now eager to join their comrades of the pilgrimage.

On learning that the emperor was tarrying at that place to await large reinforcements and make further preparations for the march, Count Stephen, accompanied by those in his party, hastened to the imperial army by the shortest route. He was received on his arrival with sufficient honor, but also with astonishment. For the emperor had made his acquaintance in the beginning of the campaign, when Stephen had crossed over with the rest, and friendly relations had grown up between them. In response to the careful inquiries which the emperor made about the life, safety, and status of the other chiefs and why the count had left them, he answered as follows.

11. *Stephen's deceitful speech to the emperor which resulted in fatal consequences to the Christians.*

"Your loyal servants, O invincible Emperor, who were permitted to march through your empire a short time ago and were enriched by your liberality, first captured Nicaea and, after a successful march, arrived

at Antioch. They besieged that city without ceasing for nine successive months, and, finally, by the mercy of God, succeeded in taking it by force. The citadel, however, still held out, for, situated on a high mountain, it towers above the city and is absolutely impregnable. Our people believed that the siege was over and they themselves delivered from all danger, for the city had already been surrendered. But now a new danger arose, much worse than the former, and they fell into far greater peril than they had before experienced.

"Scarcely three days had passed after the occupation of the city when Karbuqa, a powerful Persian general, came with a countless number of troops from the Orient, in multitude far beyond estimating. He invested the city on every side. Entrance and exit were cut off in all directions, and both leaders and people were visited with so many afflictions that they despaired even of their lives.

"The mind can scarcely conceive the vast numbers of that besieging host, for, to put it briefly, their ranks covered the entire country round about the city like locusts, so that there seemed to be scarcely room for their tents. Our people, on the other hand, have been so diminished by famine, by cold and heat, by massacre and death, that the entire host now concentrated in Antioch seems barely sufficient for its defense.

"Moreover, the assistance which, up to this time, has been brought to them by ships from your kingdom and from the islands and cities on the coast has, as you know, been entirely cut off. For the enemy sent out troops, who have seized all the country between Antioch and the sea; they have almost entirely destroyed the fleet, put the sailors and traders to the sword, and thus have effectually deprived our people of all hope of obtaining food by trading.

"It is reported that there is in Antioch at present only enough food to supply the needs of the people for one day. To complete the measure of their woe, not even in the city have they any secure place where they may take refuge. For the Turks are often secretly introduced into the city through the fortress above, whence they make sallies into the very heart of the town and attack the Christians in the streets and squares. Thus our people suffer not less from these conflicts within the walls than from those waged by the foe from without.

"Hence, we ourselves and these captains and men of noble rank who are with us here realized that the undertaking in which our brethren are engaged could not succeed, and we have often talked

with them and advised them in a brotherly way to provide for their safety. Since the divine will is not with them, they should cease to hope to accomplish the impossible. When we found that we were unable to move them from their purpose, we took means to provide for our own safety, lest we also foolishly be involved in the same disasters.

"Now, if it seems good to you and to the illustrious nobles who surround you, give up your intention of marching to Antioch, that the fortunate soldiers whom you are leading be not overtaken by the same perils. For it is wiser to retire while your forces are intact before the vast multitude which the whole Orient has furnished, without attempting this campaign, than to measure your strength rashly with such numbers of valiant troops when the result is uncertain.

"These illustrious men here in your presence have shared the same lot and can testify that our words are true. Taticius also knows this, that shrewd and cunning man whom your magnificence sent with us; for he perceived the weakness of our people and wisely withdrew from connection with them, that he might inform your majesty of the situation."

There was in the emperor's army a brother of Lord Bohemond, Guido by name.[5] As this man listened to Stephen's words, he was moved almost to frenzy and bitterly lamented the misfortunes of his brother and friends. At first he desired to contradict the count's story and to reproach him with cowardice because he had so inconsiderately withdrawn from the fellowship of those great chiefs; but William de Grandmesnil, the brother-in-law of Bohemond and himself a man noble in birth even if not in character, succeeded in silencing him.

12. *The emperor returns to his own land. His confidence in the count's words leads him to dismiss the expeditionary force which he had assembled for our assistance.*

After the emperor had listened to these words, he called his nobles together to consider whether he should march on to Antioch or turn about and lead his army home. After all phases of the matter had been considered at length, it was unanimously decided that it would be wiser to lead the army back in safety than to rouse the kingdoms of the entire Orient and risk the vicissitudes of war.

[5] Called Wido by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*. He was a younger half brother, the offspring of Robert Guiscard by his second wife.

The emperor placed such confidence in Stephen's words that he believed all would be as the count had stated. He even feared in his heart that Karbuqa, who, it was said, had destroyed our forces, might invade the empire with the vast armies which rumor affirmed he was leading. Thus Nicaea with all Bithynia, which had been gained by the zealous work of the crusading leaders, might again be wrested from the emperor's power. To provide against this danger, he ordered that all the provinces along his line of retreat, both on the right and on the left, from Iconium to Nicaea, should be given over to fire and pillage. If, by any chance, the enemy should be inclined to direct their strength against his kingdom, he hoped that this devastated country, deserted by its inhabitants and utterly without food supplies, would at least serve as an obstacle.

Thus the conduct of Stephen deprived the Christians of the aid they so vitally needed, aid which the emperor was preparing to bring in fulfillment of the treaty.

As one carefully examines the count's action in this matter, with due consideration for the intrinsic facts, it appears wholly inexcusable and seems to have sprung from an instinct in itself vicious and essentially dishonorable. Yet, through the protecting care of Him who alone is potent and wise enough to bring to the best issue even that which had its beginning in evil, the result certainly redounded to the glory of the people of God and their leaders. It was indeed fitting that those who had borne the burden and heat of the day, those who had left wives and children to fight as pilgrims for the Lord, should enjoy the glory resulting from their labors. If the emperor had been present, however, he would have begrudged this to all the others. If he had been on the spot with his legions, he would undoubtedly have brought the siege to an end, because of his superior authority and larger forces. Thus the palm would have fallen, and with justice, to him. One must believe, then, that it was the Lord Himself who brought it to pass that those who had toiled faithfully and devotedly under hardships without number should gather in the fruit of their labor and win the title of victory.

13. *The news of the emperor's withdrawal inspires the enemy to press on with still greater vigor. The Christians, in despair, refuse to do their duty. Bohemond sets fire to the city in order to drive them out of their hiding places. The chiefs meditate flight. The duke defeats their purpose.*

MEANWHILE, many tongues spread the rumor throughout the city that the emperor had turned back. This report added the culminating touch to the woes under which the Christians were suffering and came near plunging all headlong into the depths of despair. They abhorred the very memory of Count Stephen and condemned it to eternal infamy. They cursed William de Grandmesnil and all the participants of that impious treachery. They implored heaven that those who not only withdrew from the hardships common to all but even defrauded the people of God of the abundant help which the Lord seemed to have prepared for them might have their portion with the traitor Judas in the fire everlasting.

Karbuqa and his principal leaders had learned through their scouts that the emperor was on the march and were naturally in a state of much anxiety. Not without justice did they fear his strength, composed as it was of the flower of his empire. When it became known, also through these same scouts, that the Greeks had turned back, Karbuqa's insolence greatly increased; and, as if already assured of victory, he pressed our people more cruelly and hemmed them in yet more closely. As a result, the faithful inside the city were plunged into many new miseries. No longer did there seem to be hope of rescue or of help from any source. Utter despair settled upon all, and day by day this feeling grew stronger.

The general responsibility of the entire army had been committed to Bohemond; but, as he passed around the city, he found it impossible, either by words or blows, to drive even one person from the houses where the people were hiding. Not a man could be found to do guard duty or to engage the enemy either within or without the city, although all were suffering from the many woes inflicted by the infidels.

One day, after the heralds and public servants had returned exhausted from their fruitless efforts to call forth the people, Bohemond decided that it was useless to make further attempts to force them from their retreats. Accordingly, he ordered his helpers to set fire to

the city in several places. The fear of fire might, he hoped, drive out into public view those whose hard hearts refused to obey the divine will. This maneuver was successful, for, whereas before that time he had been unable to procure enough men for the public service, thereafter he found all zealously anxious to perform these duties.

It is said also that [some of] the chief men, in despair of life and safety, held a private conference in which they determined to desert the people and the entire pilgrim host that very night in order to attempt a stealthy escape to the coast by night. These plans reached the ears of the duke and the venerable bishop of Puy, who summoned the guilty ones to their presence and vigorously reproached them. They reminded them that the stigma of everlasting infamy would be branded upon themselves and their posterity if, in defiance of the demands of honor and their high lineage, they should withdraw from this great assemblage of the faithful in Christ.

At this crisis, there was such a lack of food among the people of God, such desperate straits of famine, and such pressure on the part of the enemy, both within and without the walls, that there seemed to be no remedy or help anywhere. Great and small alike were involved in the same disaster and thus could render no assistance to one another. When they thought of the wives and children they had left at home, and the broad ancestral estates which they had forsaken for love of Christ, they gave way to complaints against the ingratitude of the Lord, because He regarded not their labors and true devotion, but suffered them, like a people alien to Him, to be given over into the hand of their enemy.

14. *A revelation is made to one Peter. The Lance of the Lord is discovered. The people are once more comforted.*

WHILE the people of God were suffering affliction in this way, the Lord looked upon them and heard their groans and sent them consolation from the seat of His majesty. A certain cleric named Peter,[6] as

[6] This was Peter Bartholomew, an obscure cleric in the Provençal army. Raymond d'Aguilers, chaplain of Count Raymond, became a sort of sponsor for the visionary and devoted a large portion of his history to a refutation of the charges against the authenticity of the Lance. According to Raymond there were five visions between December 30, 1097, and the finding of the Lance (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, nos. 221, 236, 251, 277. The account of Raymond is translated in full in Krey, *The First Crusade*).

it is said, from the land called Provence, came to the bishop of Puy and the count of Toulouse. He claimed that the blessed apostle Andrew had appeared to him in dreams three or four times and had commanded him most urgently to tell the leaders that the Lance which pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ lay hidden in the church of the Prince of the Apostles. They were to seek it there with all diligence in the spot which the apostle had indicated by definite signs.

Accordingly Peter went to those beloved servants of God and made known to them in full detail the command which he swore had been laid upon him. He declared that he had been forced by the apostle to do this under threats of many terrors. Again and again he had refused to undertake the mission because he was a poor and unlearned man, yet at last he could no longer evade the urgent command of the apostle, even though it be at the risk of his life.

This communication was confided in all secrecy to the other leaders, and Peter was brought before them that they might learn from him the exact mode and form of the command. After listening to his words, they put faith in his story and assembled at the place which he had named, within the precincts of the church mentioned above. The earth in that spot was dug up to some depth, and there they found the Lance just as Peter had said.[7]

When the people heard the news, they ran to the church as one man, for they felt that consolation had been sent them from on high. Gifts and offerings were brought to honor the discovery of that precious token. Freed from their anxiety, they began to breathe once more and felt renewed strength to carry out the divine commands. There were some, also, who claimed to have had visions of angels and the holy apostles, which, as corroborating evidence, tended to strengthen faith in Peter's dream. The despondent spirits of the people rose marvellously.

Then, at the suggestion of venerable and God-fearing men, all the chiefs renewed their vows and took an oath of fidelity to one another. They promised that, if the Lord would mercifully rescue them from their present critical situation and grant them the longed-for victory over their enemies, they would not separate until, by the help of God,

[7] June 14, 1098. The circumstances of the finding of the Lance were used in the indictment of Peter Bartholomew. William has abbreviated the story greatly. (For the divergent views held at the time see Krey, *The First Crusade*, pp. 174–93, 223–41.)

they had restored the Holy City and His glorious sepulchre to the Christian faith and its own former state of liberty.

15. *By the common consent of the chiefs, Peter the Hermit is sent as an envoy to the enemy. He intrepidly undertakes the mission.*

For twenty-six successive days, the people had struggled under these intolerable conditions. Now they took heart once more and began to gird up their loins with new courage, comforting themselves in the abundance of their long-suffering by the hope sent them from on high. All from the least even unto the greatest agreed that these sufferings must be brought to an end. They must come to a conflict with the enemy immediately and, aided by divine strength, forthwith repulse the infidels who presumed so much on their great strength. Thus the city which the Lord had bestowed upon them would be liberated. Far wiser would it be to try the fortune of war once and for all than to waste away slowly through long-continued famine and to be tortured by the ever-present burden of misfortunes.

This was the sentiment on the lips of all; it was imperative that they march forth from the city and fight it out with the enemy. Nor was this the view of the nobles alone. The common people also were kindled with the same desire. They even accused their leaders of inactivity and chided any delay.

The leaders recognized that the fervor of the people was inspired from above. They met for deliberation, and it was decided by common consent to send a deputation to the commander in chief of the enemy's forces, proposing that he agree to do one of two things: either let him depart and leave the city to the Christians as a possession forever—the city which had been theirs in the first place and which now by the will of God had been restored to them—or let him prepare for battle and submit to the decision of the sword.

Peter the Hermit, that man of revered life, about whom so much has been said in the preceding pages, was chosen for this mission. He was given as his associate and companion the wise and discreet Herluin,[8] a man who possessed some knowledge of the Persian idiom and

[8] Persian and Parthian are somewhat vague as here used. Doubtless Karbuqa's army from Mosul did include Persians as it likewise included Turks. Most of them, however, must have been familiar with Arabic, the language of Islam. Herluin, the in-

was also skilled in the tongue of the Parthians. To these two men was entrusted the delivery of the proposition just stated. The condition was added, however, that if the prince should choose battle, the decision should rest with him whether he himself would try single combat with one of the Christian chiefs, or whether a certain number of his men should fight with the same number of ours, or, again, whether the entire host on both sides should meet in general combat.

A temporary truce was obtained and peace granted for the purpose of sending a deputation. The two men mentioned above then set out for the camp of the prince with the escort assigned to them. They found Karbuqa surrounded by his chiefs and satraps. Peter the Hermit, though small of stature, was a man of lofty spirit. He acquitted himself of the task assigned to him faithfully and vigorously. With fearless and steadfast demeanor, he approached the Persian satrap and, disdaining any obeisance, delivered the ultimatum as follows: "The sacred assemblage of leaders, beloved of God, who are at Antioch, have sent us to warn your highness to desist from molesting them and to cease besieging the city which divine mercy has restored into their hands. This city was called out of idolatry by Peter, the prince of the apostles, that wise and faithful dispensator of our faith. Through the power of miracles and by the gracious words of exhortation in which he excelled, Antioch was converted to the faith of Christ and given to us as a peculiar right. This city, which you took from us by force, not by right, the Lord, strong and mighty, has now restored to us.

"Therefore, with a deep sense of the responsibility due to the heritage of our fathers, the intimate abode of Christ, the Christian leaders offer you the opportunity of choosing one from the several propositions which we are about to place before you. Either withdraw from the siege and cease troubling the Christians, or, the third day hence, try the ordeal by battle with them, when the sword shall be the judge. Moreover, lest perchance you should try to avoid the engagement offered

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terpreter, is thought to have been a priest familiar with Provençal as well as Arabic and Latin. The crusaders seem to have had surprisingly little difficulty in communicating with the peoples of the East. The Normans of southern Italy and Sicily had been dealing with Greeks and Arab-speaking Muslims for a generation, and some of their leaders, e.g., Tancred and Richard of the Principate, are thought to have known Arabic. Doubtless Greeks and Armenians served as interpreters on many occasions. Comparatively little is known about the extent of linguistic knowledge at this time (see R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 38; also C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, chap. ix, *passim*).

by inventing some reasonable excuse, they give you the option of choosing one of several propositions. You may yourself meet one of our chiefs in single combat and, if victorious, obtain all, but, if vanquished, leave us in peace. Or several of your knights may fight with the same number of ours, under the same terms; or, again, the entire hosts on both sides may try the result of battle."

But the prince spurned their proffered challenge and is reported to have said, "It does not seem to me, my Peter, that the leaders who have sent you here are in a position to propose options to me, or to force me to make a choice according to their will. By our prowess they have been reduced to a condition where they have no freedom of choice but must carry out or abandon their own wishes in accordance with my good pleasure.

"Go then and say to those foolish leaders, who do not yet realize their situation and have therefore sent you to me, that I shall save all those who are in the flower of youth of either sex, for the service of my master. All others, however, I shall cut down with the sword like dead trees, so that no memory of them may survive. Had I not preferred to leave them to die of cruel hunger rather than to destroy them by the sword, I should long ago have broken down the walls and taken the city by storm, and they would have gathered in the fruit of their ways under the blows of the avenging sword."

16. *Peter returns to the chiefs. He gives them a full account of the arrogant attitude of the enemy. Battle is declared.*

WHEN Peter learned the mind of the prince to whom he had been sent and took note of his haughty bearing, which arose from a consciousness of incomparable riches and the vast array of troops, he took leave of Karbuqa and returned to his own people. Upon reaching the city, he desired to deliver the answer with which he was charged to the leaders who had sent him. The entire multitude, both fathers and people, was impatiently waiting to hear the nature of the response and the result of his mission.

Peter had determined to give a circumstantial account in the assembly of the entire people of everything that had occurred during his audience with Karbuqa, the haughty attitude of the prince himself, his threats, and his overweening arrogance. But the illustrious Godfrey feared the effect on the populace if all the details of the matter were

made known. The common people, weakened by constant hardships and already almost fainting under their burden of woes, might be so terrified that they would be utterly prostrated by fear. He therefore stopped Peter, as he was eagerly proceeding with his story, and drew him apart from the throng. He suggested that he omit all the details and merely give a brief summary of Karbuqa's answer, namely, that the enemy demanded war. To preparations for that the Christians must now turn their whole attention.

Accordingly, the people merely learned from Peter's account that the enemy demanded battle. All, from the least to the greatest, were at once kindled with the same desire and demanded with intense longing that they fight. With such joy was this report received that the people, in sure anticipation of victory, seemed to have forgotten utterly the hardships under which they had been struggling. By words and gestures all signified that they were one in heart and mind, and battle was accordingly proclaimed for the following day.

The people then returned joyfully, each one to his own place, and passed a sleepless night in eager anticipation of battle. They brought out their weapons, made ready their horses, cleaned breastplates and helmets, fitted their shields, and sharpened their swords. There was no time for sleep or for indulgence in repose. Public proclamation was made by the voice of the herald that at earliest dawn, before sunrise, each man, armed and arrayed for battle, should join his legion and follow the standard of his own commander.

At break of dawn on the morrow, moreover, the priests and ministers of God celebrated divine service in the churches and offered the sacrifice. They then invited the people, after making confession according to custom in a spirit of humility and contrition, to fortify themselves against the perils of the world by the body and blood of Christ. Thus, when all sins had been forgiven and hatred, should any exist, laid aside, their hearts transformed with more perfect love, they would march forth to battle with more assurance, as disciples and members of Him who said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." [9]

After the celebration of divine service, when all the legions had been filled with the divine gift, grace in wondrous fullness was showered upon them from on high. Those who, but yesterday and the day be-

[9] Jno. 13:35.

fore, were listless and abject, emaciated and lifeless, so weak that they could scarcely lift their eyes or raise their heads, those who, lean with hunger and fainting under privations, were seeking hiding places without a thought of their former reputation, now voluntarily came forth in public. Casting aside cowardice, they bore their arms manfully, as if with strength renewed, while with their former customary boldness they discussed military matters and foretold victory. In that vast assemblage there was scarcely a person, no matter what his age or condition, who was not planning valiant deeds, not one who did not spring to arms and prophesy success for the Christians.

The priests, clad in their sacerdotal robes and bearing in their hands the cross and the images of the saints, went about among the ranks and wherever the people gathered. They promised indulgence for sin and full pardon for all offenses to those who should fight bravely in battle as defenders of the Christian faith bequeathed them by their fathers. The bishops also exhorted the princes and leaders of the army, both individually and publicly, and urged them on with all the power of eloquence that was granted them from on high. They blessed the people, likewise, and commended them to God. Foremost among these prelates was that servant of Christ, the lord bishop of Puy. He, ever constant in exhortation, fasting, and prayer, as well as most generous in bestowing alms, was continually offering himself as a sacrifice to the Lord.

17. *Drawn up in battle array, they march out of Antioch. The count of Toulouse is left to guard the city.*

At daybreak, on June 28, after invoking aid from on high, all assembled as one man before the gate of the Bridge. Before marching out of the city, they drew up the ranks in battle formation and assigned the order and mode of proceeding to the legions. Hugh the Great, brother of the king of France, was placed in command of the first corps, as leader and standard-bearer; with him was associated Anselm de Ribemont, a man worthy of praise in every respect, and other nobles whose names and number we do not recall. In charge of the second division was Robert, surnamed the Frisian, count of Flanders, with those who had followed his camp from the first. Robert, duke of Normandy, was assigned to the command of the third division, and

with him was his distinguished nephew, Stephen, count of Aumale, and other nobles who had come in his retinue. Lord Adhemar, the bishop of Puy, of precious memory, led the fourth unit, which comprised his own followers and those of the count of Toulouse. He bore the Lance of the Lord. Reinard, count of Toul, was directed to lead forth the fifth division; with him were Peter de Stenay, his brother, Count Garnier de Grey, Henry d'Esch, Reinhold von Ammersbach, and Walter de Dommedard. Over the sixth division, by order of the leaders, were placed Rainbald, count of Orange, Ludovic de Moncons, and Lambert, son of Conon de Montague. Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, that illustrious and magnificent lord, with the revered Lord Eustace, his brother, in command of the seventh division, drew up that contingent according to the rules of military discipline.

The eighth division was commanded by Tancred, distinguished alike for his nobility of character and for his prowess in arms. Count Hugh of St. Pol and Enguerrand, his son, Thomas de La Fère, Baldwin du Bourg, Robert, son of Gerard, Renaud de Beauvais, and Galo de Chaumont were assigned to the command of the ninth. In charge of the tenth were Rotrou, count of Perche, Evrard du Puiset, Drogo de Monci, Ralph, son of Godfrey, and Conon Roto. Isoard, count of Die, Raymond Pilet, Gaston de Béziers, Gerard de Roussillon, William de Montpellier, and William Amanjeu led the eleventh unit. The twelfth division, which was larger than the others, formed the rear. This looked to Lord Bohemond as chief and leader. He was to bring up the rear, that he might aid the troops ahead at critical moments and also look out for those who might be subjected to unusually heavy pressure from the enemy.[10]

The count of Toulouse was seriously ill at this time. He was therefore left to protect the city. For the Turks still held the citadel, and there was danger that they, believing the city to be without defenders in the absence of the chiefs, might try to sally forth and attack the feeble old men and women and the rest of the defenseless populace.

On the hill opposite the citadel, the Christians built a solid wall of cement and stone with outworks, on which were placed several hurling machines. A force of two hundred gallant men, well armed, was left there to hold the place.

[10] The eyewitness accounts vary as to the number of battle lines, noting from six to thirteen. William here follows Albert of Aix, though with some corrections.

18. *Karbuqa prepares to prevent the Christians from marching out of the city. Our people effect an exit by force.*

WHEN our forces had been drawn up in this way and arranged in battle formation, the leaders decreed by common consent that Hugh the Great, the count of Flanders, and the duke of Normandy should march out ahead of the main army. The rest were to observe the following order of march. First came the infantry and, immediately behind them, the cavalry as a guard. A general proclamation of warning was also issued to the effect that no one should dare to cast an eye toward the spoils, but that the entire attention of all should be given to destroying the enemy. When the victory had been won and the enemy laid low, then, with a clear conscience, they might return to collect the plunder.

From the very first, but especially after Peter's visit, Karbuqa had foreseen that the Christians would make a sudden attack on his camp. Accordingly, he had arranged with the Turks in the citadel that, if at any time the Christians were seen to be preparing for a sortie, the townspeople should instantly notify his camp by means of a prearranged signal.

About the first hour of the day, our people began to form their lines. The Turks in the citadel immediately perceived the movement and gave the signal to notify the camp. Karbuqa, determined to anticipate and prevent our intended action, at once dispatched about two thousand knights to engage our troops at the bridge and prevent them from leaving the city. In order to attack more vigorously and gain space for using their bows, these men dismounted and, on foot, seized the farther end of the bridge.

The Christians arranged their lines and distributed their men according to the rules of military science. They then unbarred the gate, and the legions, still maintaining their positions at the same distances apart, marched out, rank by rank.

While the enemy's forces which had been dispatched to prevent our people from sallying forth were exerting themselves strenuously to that end, Hugh the Great, who, as we have said, was in command of the first contingent, sent on ahead a force of infantry and bowmen, who made a vigorous charge upon them. At first they tried to resist, but, at length, unable to withstand the onset of our troops they were forced

to flee in disorder. Hugh pursued them so furiously that it was only with the greatest difficulty that they succeeded in reaching and remounting their horses. As they fled, Anselm de Ribemont, a man of much renown, who had been stationed in the first line, attacked them boldly and gave an ever-memorable proof of valor. Regardless of his own safety, he rashly plunged into their midst, overthrew some, thrust others through the heart with his sword, and exerted himself so valiantly in the work of slaughter that he drew to himself the eyes and good will of all the ranks. At sight of this gallant behavior, Hugh the Great, Robert, count of Flanders, Robert, count of Normandy, Baldwin, count of Hainault, and Eustace, the duke's brother, full of admiration for the man's prowess, flew to his aid. Uniting their forces, they made a charge and routed whatever troops still remained to their foe. They continued the pursuit almost to the enemy's camp and inflicted untold loss upon the infidels.

19. *As the Christians sally forth, dew as from heaven is shed upon them, whereby all receive consolation.*

JUST as our troops were leaving the city, a circumstance worthy of record occurred. Equipped for action, they were already leading their forces out of the gate. Some of the foe who had proposed to block their exit had been killed, and others put to flight. Just at that moment a gentle dew fell upon the Christian army from heaven. Slight but most refreshing, it descended so sweetly upon our people that it seemed as if the Lord himself were shedding His benediction and favor upon them. Whoever came under the influence of that heaven-sent rain experienced such fullness of joy, both of body and soul, and complete restoration of strength that it was as if he had endured no hardship nor trouble during the whole pilgrimage. Nor was this true in the case of men alone. Even the horses were completely restored to their former vigor by the power of God. Although for days before, their food had consisted only of leaves and the bark of trees, yet throughout that entire day their speed and endurance surpassed that of the enemy's horses, which had been fed on barley and straw.

So strong was the hope of victory and power of endurance inspired in our soldiers by the benediction of this dew that of them it might have seen said, "Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, whereby

thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when it was weary."[11] They doubted not, in fact, that they had visibly received the grace of the Holy Spirit.

When all the legions had been led out of the city, the chiefs determined to extend the lines to the mountains, which are about two miles from Antioch, and occupy the entire plain. For there was danger that the enemy with their vast numbers might, either by stealth or by violence, interpose themselves between our troops and the city. In this way, by surrounding our people on every side, as is their custom in battle, they might cut off the retreat of the fugitives to the city. The Christians were advancing at a slow pace, yet in such fashion that their ranks might not become intermingled or thrown into disorder. By the operation of divine power, it happened that the Christians who, when inside the walls, seemed to be less in number than the enemy, or rather almost none in comparison with them, appeared, now that they were outside, to be more, or certainly not less. Thus, that same One who once so greatly increased the remnants of the five loaves of bread after the multitude had been fed, determined, by no less a miracle, that this people, dedicated to a good work so acceptable in His sight, should also be multiplied for the glory of His name.

Mingling with those who went forth to do battle were priests and Levites consecrated to God. Clad in white vestments, they carried in their hands the wondrous sign of the cross. Still other ministers of God remained in the city; these, likewise wearing their sacerdotal robes, mounted the walls and, with outstretched hands, continually supplicated the Lord with tears and prayers on behalf of His faithful people, that He would spare them and not give His heritage for a reproach to the Gentiles.

20. *Karbuqa draws up his ranks in battle array. A fight at close quarters follows. Qilij Arslan attacks the Christians in the rear and presses Bohemond's lines hard. The other leaders come to his aid. The Turks, routed, set fires to make a smoke screen.*

DURING this time Karbuqa had learned from the signal displayed on the citadel and also from the fugitives who had been routed when our forces marched out of Antioch that the Christians were advancing.

[11] Ps. 68:9.

He at once summoned his elders and the leaders of the forces to a conference, for the situation which he had formerly ridiculed was beginning to assume a serious aspect. He now viewed with alarm that insignificant people whose equipment and small numbers he had so recently scorned. By the advice of his council, therefore, and with due consideration to the experience of the Antiochenes, he organized his troops and drew up his battle lines. With much skill, he arranged his forces, making a careful distinction between the contingents which were to form the advance guard and those which were to follow. Among his other shrewd movements was the following: before the Christians had occupied the entire plain between the city and the mountains, he dispatched toward the seashore a corps noted for the efficiency and bravery of its members. This unit is said to have been under the command of Qilij Arslan, that illustrious prince of Nicaea who has been so often mentioned before. The purpose of this maneuver was that, if the people of God should be worsted and forced to flee, they might find themselves opposed both in front and rear, whether they attempted to fly to the sea or to the city. Thus caught between the pursuing forces and those who were cutting them off ahead, they would be crushed as between two millstones.

The rest of his forces Karbuqa placed on the right and on the left, each under its special commander. He gave strict instructions that if they wished to win his favor they should ever remember their reputation for valor and strive to fight bravely and vigorously. Let them regard as of no importance all the efforts of an unwarlike people, a mere mob of famished creatures, unarmed and undisciplined.

When our forces had occupied the entire plain in such a way that there was no danger of their being surrounded, the trumpets sounded the signal, and the troops, preceded by the standard-bearers, advanced gradually toward the ranks of the foe. When they were so close that the infidels could discharge their arrows against them, our first three lines rushed forward simultaneously and attacked the foe at close quarters with swords and lances. Our foot soldiers, who were using bows and ballistae, preceded the cavalry squadrons and, in emulation of one another, hurled themselves forward in a furious charge. Close on the heels of the infantry came the cavalry, using every effort to protect the vanguard. While the first lines were exerting themselves to the utmost in the combat, those behind came up to their support with a charge

not less vigorous, thus stimulating the vanguard to deeds even more courageous and daring. All the Christian forces except the rear ranks commanded by Bohemond had now come up to the enemy and were fighting valiantly. Many Turks had been slain, and their lines had become so disorganized that they were now in flight. Meanwhile, the duke with his unit had also completely routed the strongest and most closely massed cohort of the enemy. But just at this moment, Qilij Arslan turned back with that legion which, as we said above, he had led shoreward. He made a fierce onset from the rear on Bohemond's contingent and sent forth such showers of arrows that they covered the entire company like hail. Then, laying aside their bows, his forces abandoned their usual tactics and hurled themselves with clubs and swords upon Bohemond. So furious was the charge that his lines were barely able to sustain the pressure of the impetuous attack. His legion was almost thrown into confusion, although he himself, with a few comrades, fought gallantly in the midst of the enemy like a brave and valiant leader. At this critical moment, however, the duke, who had been hastily summoned, hurried up with his forces to Bohemond's aid. With him came that valiant leader, Tancred. The opportune arrival of these nobles offset the enemy's strength. Their courage dwindled away as the Christians pursued them with vigor, dealing out wounds and death. When they saw that their strength was unequal to ours and realized that they could no longer withstand the force of their opponents, they had resort to other tactics. According to their usual method, they set fire to the stubble, for there was much dry grass and straw about, which readily took fire and furnished the necessary fuel for a blaze. Although the flame was but slight, yet it produced a dense and noisome smoke. Enveloped in this dense cloud, our forces could not pursue the foe so fiercely, for the smoke and the dust stirred up by the feet of many men and horses almost blinded them. Under cover of this smoke, so skilfully raised for the purpose, the enemy attacked our forces and killed some of our foot soldiers. The knights, however, thanks to the speed of their horses, succeeded in avoiding the dangers of the smoke screen and returned to the fray. Sustained by aid from on high, they continued the fight, and at length, with strength divinely renewed, they put the enemy to flight before their avenging swords. Nor did they cease the pursuit until they had forced the infidels, seriously disorganized, to retreat to their own lines.

21. *The commander of the enemy's forces flees. His legions perish. Those who escape are put to flight.*

NEAR the scene of battle was a little valley through which, in the winter season, a mountain torrent used to cut its way as it rushed down from the heights above in headlong course. Our forces had driven the enemy beyond this stream, and there, on a hill a little above the plain, the infidels were endeavoring to make a stand and to recall their scattered troops by the sound of trumpet and drum. Our chiefs pursued them, however, without a moment's pause and swiftly came up to them. In the rear, where the principal engagement was taking place, Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Tancred, and some other nobles had engaged Qilij Arslan's contingent, and, by the aid of God, routed it. Meanwhile, the vanguard, consisting of Hugh the Great, the two Roberts, counts of Flanders and of Normandy, with many others worthy of remembrance forever, had already put to flight the ranks opposing them. These warriors crossed the valley, dislodged the enemy from the hill by force, and compelled them a second time to flee in disorder, unable to endure the pressure exerted by the Christian forces.

From the beginning of the engagement, Karbuqa had kept apart from the throng and had stationed himself on a certain hill. A stream of messengers constantly went back and forth to bring him reports concerning the progress of the battle. He was anxiously awaiting the result of this important conflict when he suddenly perceived that his legions, completely disorganized and scattered, were fleeing in every direction. He was panic-stricken over the realization of the disaster. His followers advised him to take means for his own safety, so, without a thought for his people, he left the camp, and, waiting for no one, fled in great haste. By a constant relay of horses to facilitate his escape, he reached the Euphrates. This he crossed in such a state of terror that even when on the farther shore he could scarcely believe himself safe.

Thus deserted and deprived of their leader's aid, the enemy's forces lost at the same time both their courage and their strength. They seized all available horses, and, following their leader's example, took to flight to escape the swords of their pursuers. Our people did not venture to continue very far lest their own horses might give out, but Tancred and a few others followed them for three or four miles, until the hour of sunset, and wrought great havoc among them.

So deeply had divine power impressed fear upon the hearts of these fugitives that they did not try to make a stand or to repel the attacks of their assailants. For ten of our people seemed to them as many thousands, nor was there anyone to give them counsel as they fled before us. This fact plainly proves that "there is no counsel against the Lord." [12] The truth of the proverb, "God hath not forsaken them that hope in him," [13] was likewise made manifest in this same experience, when a people, needy and almost perishing from famine, were able, solely by the aid of God, to defeat such a host of strong warriors and, far beyond any hope of their own, to confound in one battle the entire strength of the Orient, which knew not God.

22. *Our people return from the slaughter of the enemy. They bring back to camp an immense amount of plunder.*

When the battle was over and our people had been granted the victory from on high, they turned back to the enemy's camp. There they found a wealth of all necessary things and great stores of Oriental treasures. So vast were these that it was impossible to count or measure the gold and silver, the gems, silks, and valuable garments, to say nothing of utensils, most excellent both in workmanship and material. Horses, flocks, and herds were also found there, together with foodstuffs and grain in such abundance that even those who but now had been in extreme destitution hardly knew what to choose. They took the enemy's tents and pavilions, of which they had especial need, for their own were old and had become so rotten through exposure to the heavy rains that they were practically useless. Treasures in abundance were seized and carried back to Antioch, including maidservants and children whom the Turks had left behind when they fled. Among other spoils, they came upon the pavilion of the commander in chief. This was a marvellous piece of work, woven of the finest silk of many hues. It was made in the likeness of a city with turrets, walls, and ramparts. From the center, as from a main hall, connecting apartments ran out in many directions, separated from each other as if by streets. It was claimed that two thousand men might be comfortably accommodated in this tent.

[12] Prov. 21: 30.
[13] Judith 13: 17. Here the Douay translation more correctly gives William's meaning.

Laden with spoils and enriched with booty, the Christians carried their plunder into the city. Here, in joy and exultation, a solemn day of triumph was observed. Unto Him from whose hands it had come, they rendered thanks that, after so many hardships and disasters, they had finally obtained the long-desired victory.

The Turks who were still holding the citadel now realized that their allies had been defeated. As there was no further hope of relief from any other source, they surrendered the place to our leaders, whose standards were thereupon placed on the highest towers. The Turks stipulated, however, that they should be permitted to leave unharmed and unmolested, with their wives and children and all they possessed.

Thus, through the superabundant grace of God, the Christians had won the victory and gained possession of the citadel. The poverty-stricken and famished throng of the preceding days now had all good things in the greatest abundance. For even those who had been most powerful among the pilgrims, those who bore illustrious names, had been reduced to such straits that they were compelled to beg. To say nothing of the common people, we may mention the case of Count Hartman, a nobleman of the Teutonic kingdom. This nobleman found himself in such dire poverty that, as a great favor, he was allotted a daily dole of bread from the duke's own table. Henry d'Esch, likewise a man distinguished for his upright life, would literally have perished from hunger had not the duke received him as his own guest.

During this siege the duke himself suffered great inconvenience before a battle because he had no horses. Finally, with much difficulty and urgent entreaties, he obtained one from the count of Toulouse, on which to ride forth to the conflict. For Godfrey and the other chiefs also had already expended all the money they had brought with them in generous almsgiving and in works of piety, especially those which concerned the common welfare.

Hence, on the day of battle many noble knights, distinguished alike for high birth and warlike deeds, went into battle either on foot or mounted on asses and other beasts of burden, for they had exhausted their means and were now needy and without horses.

But before the sun set God the Comforter looked down upon them in His goodness. He brought about the defeat of the enemy and bestowed upon His needy people more than abundant wealth. This was plainly a repetition of that ancient story of Samaria, when a measure

of wheaten flour and barley was sold for a single piece of money.[14] For he who in the morning had barely sufficient for his own support had by evening enough to feed many.

This battle occurred in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1098, in the month of June, and the twenty-eighth day thereof.

23. *Peace and order are now established in Antioch. The churches are cleansed and repaired and clergy placed over them.*

After the leaders had returned from the battlefield and the city had been restored to a state of peace and order, the first care of all was for the churches. The venerable bishop of Puy in particular, as protector of the army, felt especial responsibility for this work. The other priests in the army heartily coöperated with him, and the people lent eager assistance. In this way the principal church, dedicated to the prince of the apostles, and all the other churches of Antioch as well, were restored to their original state of dignity. Clergy who were to devote themselves continually to the divine services were also established in these.

The sacrilegious race of Turks had desecrated the venerable places; they had driven out the ministers of divine worship and put the churches to profane uses. Some of these sacred edifices had been used as stables for horses and other beasts of burden, and in others pursuits unbefitting the sanctuary had been carried on. The pictures of the revered saints had been erased from the very walls—symbols which supplied the place of books and reading to the humble worshippers of God and aroused devotion in the minds of the simple people, so praiseworthy for their devout piety. On these the Turks had spent their rage as if on living persons; they had gouged out eyes, mutilated noses, and daubed the pictures with mud and filth.[15] They had thrown down the altars and defiled the sanctuary of God with their impious acts.

It was accordingly determined, by the wish of all, that the clergy be restored without delay to their former positions of dignity in the churches, and money was set aside for the support of those who were fighting for the Lord in that way. Gold and silver taken as spoils from

[14] II Ki. 7: 1.

[15] William's interest in painting appears on several occasions. The region around Antioch saw a revival of painting by Armenians as well as continued interest in mosaic work by the Greeks (see Prologue, note 5).

the enemy were brought for making candelabra, crosses, chalices, inscriptions from Holy Writ, and all other things necessary for the service of the church. Silken stuffs were also offered for priestly vestments and altar coverings.

The Patriarch John, a true confessor of Christ, who had suffered untold troubles from the infidels since the coming of the Christians, was restored to his own see. Bishops were placed in neighboring cities which had formerly possessed the dignity of cathedral churches. It was not deemed wise to choose or consecrate a patriarch of our Latin race, however, while the former occupant of that sacred office was still living, lest two should be holding the same seat, a condition which is clearly contrary to the sacred canons and the statutes of the holy fathers. Scarcely two years later, however, John, realizing that he, as a Greek, could not effectively rule over Latins, voluntarily left Antioch and went to Constantinople. After his departure, the clergy and people of the city met and chose as patriarch over them Bernard, bishop of Artasium, a native of Valence, who had attended the bishop of Puy on this expedition as his chaplain.[16]

But according to the promise made in the beginning, the power and rule over Antioch were yielded by all to Bohemond, except in the case of the count of Toulouse. He retained the gate next to the bridge with its adjacent towers and placed a garrison of his own men there to guard it.

Later, however, after the count left the city, Bohemond drove out these soldiers and took the place, as will be related below. His own men had called Bohemond by the honorable name of prince; hence, from that time on, the lord of Antioch was known as prince.[17]

[16] Greek historians take a different view of the departure of Patriarch John, believing that he, like Taticius, was forced out by Bohemond. It is interesting to observe that the crusaders originally thought a single ecclesiastical organization including both Greek and Latin prelates might serve. The Greeks at Constantinople continued to choose patriarchs of Antioch, whom successive emperors tried to reinstate.

[17] The implication seems to be that Bohemond formalized the title of prince of Antioch because his soldiers were in the habit of calling him that informally. This statement has been erroneously interpreted as meaning that Bohemond had held a title of prince, e. g., prince of Taranto, before the crusade. This error is corrected by Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, pp. 29, 85.

HERE ENDS THE SIXTH BOOK

THE SEVENTH BOOK BEGINS

DISSENSION AMONG THE CRUSADERS; THEY MARCH ON JERUSALEM

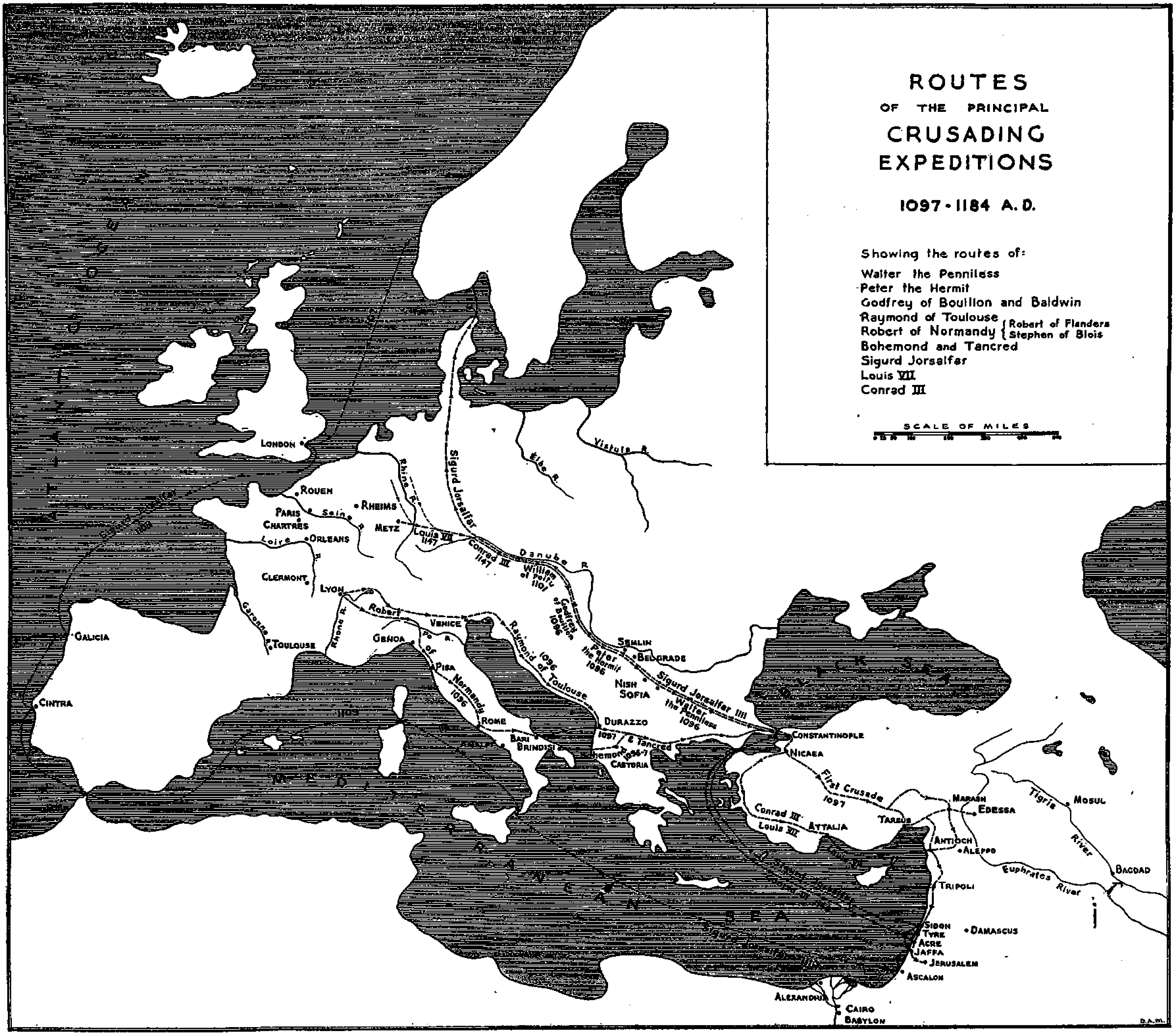
1. *Hugh the Great and the count of Hainault are sent as envoys to the emperor. Count Baldwin disappears on the way. Hugh the Great fails to return. The bishop of Puy dies. A pestilence arises.*

AFTER affairs in Antioch had been thus adjusted, the leaders resolved by unanimous consent to send envoys to entreat the emperor that he come at once to their aid in person, as provided by the agreement which he had made with them. The envoys were instructed to inform him that the Christians were about to set forth for Jerusalem and to beseech him to follow them soon, as he was bound to do by the treaty. If, however, he should fail to carry out the stipulations of the pact, they desired to be considered as in no way bound to him. Two noble and distinguished men, Hugh the Great, brother of the king of France, and Baldwin, count of Hainault, were chosen for this mission. The latter disappeared while on the journey after a skirmish with the enemy, and his fate is in doubt even to this day.[1] Some say that he fell in the fight, while others maintain that he was taken prisoner by the enemy and carried away in chains to far distant parts of the Orient.

Lord Hugh, however, successfully avoided the wiles of the enemy and reached the emperor in safety. At this juncture, alas, he dimmed the glory of his brilliant deeds by a heavy cloud and fell short not a little of the splendid title of his race. Many valiant deeds had he done on the expedition and thereby won immortal fame for himself. While on this mission, however, he besmirched his fair name; for, after completing that affair, he did not carry back the answer to those who had sent him, nor did he trouble himself to return. His dereliction in this matter was all the more conspicuous because of his exalted rank; for, as our Juvenal says, "Every fault of character has in itself more conspicuous guilt according as he who sins is esteemed the greater." [2]

[1] Another instance of the use of oral tradition for this period.

[2] Juvenal VIII. 140, 141.


ROUTES
OF THE PRINCIPAL
CRUSADING
EXPEDITIONS
1097-1184 A.D.
Showing the routes of:
Walter the Penniless
Peter the Hermit
Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin
Raymond of Toulouse
Robert of Normandy { Robert of Flanders
Stephen of Blois
Bohemond and Tancred
Sigurd Jorsalfar
Louis VII
Conrad III
SCALE OF MILES
LONDON
ROUEN
PARIS
CHARTRES
ORLEANS
RHEIMS
METZ
Seine
Loire
CLERMONT
LYON
Garonne
TOULOUSE
Rhone R.
GALICIA
CINTRA
GENOA
VENICE
Po R.
PISA
ROME
AMALFI
BARI
BRINDISI
DURAZZO
CASTORIA
SEMLIN
BELGRADE
NISH
SOFIA
CONSTANTINOPLE
NICAEA
ATTALIA
TARSUS
MARASH
EDESSA
ANTIOCH
ALEPPO
MOSUL
BAGDAD
TRIPOLI
SIDON
TYRE
ACRE
JAFFA
JERUSALEM
ASCALON
DAMASCUS
ALEXANDRIA
CAIRO
BABYLON
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
Danube R.
Tigris River
Euphrates River
Sigurd Jorsalfar
Louis VII 1147
Conrad III 1147
William of Poitu 1101
Godfrey of Bouillon 1096
Peter the Hermit 1096
Walter the Penniless 1096
Sigurd Jorsalfar IIII
Robert
Raymond of Toulouse 1096
Normandy 1096
Bohemond 1096-7
& Tancred
First Crusade 1097
Conrad III
Louis VII
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
D.A.M.

Soon after the siege had ended gloriously in the capture of Antioch and affairs there had been brought to a state of quiet, a terrible pestilence fell upon the people from causes unknown. So frightful was the mortality that scarcely a day passed when at least thirty or forty corpses were not borne out for burial. In fact, the scanty numbers who had survived the siege were reduced to almost nothing.

This baleful contagion attacked all classes everywhere without distinction. Among others who went the way of all flesh at that time was Adhemar, bishop of Puy, a man of revered character and immortal memory. The entire people mourned for him as their father and especial guide. Amid the tearful sobs and heartfelt groans of all, he was buried with high honor in the church of the blessed Peter, in the place where the Lance of the Lord was said to have been found.[3]

Henry d'Esch, highly esteemed both for his lineage and his valiant conduct, was also stricken by this grievous plague. He died and was buried at the fortress of Turbessel. Reinhold von Ammersbach, a warrior equally famous both for race and for valor, likewise perished of the same scourge and was interred in the vestibule of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Women in particular were the victims during this epidemic, nearly fifty thousand perishing within a few days.

Those who have had the curiosity to investigate this subject in the hope of ascertaining the causes of this terrible scourge have arrived at varying conclusions. Some say that it arose from seeds of disease that were latent in the air. Others believe that when the people, so long victims of cruel hunger, finally obtained an abundance of food, they were overeager to eat in order to make up for their privations. Thus their unrestrained gluttony was the cause of their death. As a convincing proof of this opinion, they point to the fact that those who were temperate and partook of food sparingly were in much better condition than the rest and returned sooner to a normal state of health.[4]

[3] This is the same church as that called the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles elsewhere.

[4] The nature of this plague has not been definitely established. The bubonic plague was recurrent in the eastern Mediterranean regions. William's emphasis upon temperance as a protection is characteristic.

2. *The people make vociferous demands that the journey to Jerusalem be resumed. The departure is deferred until the first of October. Bohemond goes down into Cilicia and seizes the entire district.*

MEANWHILE, whether for the sake of escaping the pestilence or with the intention of forcing the resumption of the pilgrimage, the populace began to make loud and vociferous demands that the leaders again prepare to take up the march toward Jerusalem, the goal for which they had come. Let them lead forward the army of the Lord and thus accomplish the main purpose which had moved all to leave their own lands. Accordingly, the chiefs met and entered into consultation concerning this wish of the people, for it seemed worthy, in truth, of a favorable hearing.

The reaction of the individual leaders to this demand differed. Some felt that they should set out on the way without delay and thus satisfy the wishes of the throng. Others, however, in view of the intolerable heat of summer, the scarcity of water, the lack of horses, and the enfeebled condition of the people brought on by long endurance of famine, argued that it would be far wiser to defer the march until the Kalends of October, when the weather would begin to be more favorable.[5] In the interval, they might acquire new horses and give the old ones a chance to recuperate; the people too, restored to their former condition by rest and food, would rise with renewed strength and be better able to cope with the hardships of the march.

These latter sentiments met with the approval of all, and, by common agreement, a stay until the time mentioned was determined upon. The leaders then separated for a while, in the hope of avoiding the death that threatened them. It seemed probable also that they might find more abundant provisions elsewhere. It was well understood, however, that at the appointed time all would return without delay.

Bohemond went to Cilicia. There he took the cities of Tarsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anavarza, appointed rulers in those places, and made himself master of that entire district.[6] The other chiefs dispersed through the neighboring cities, where, apart from the throng, they

[5] Hagenmeyer sets the date as November 1, 1098, instead of October 1 (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 299).

[6] Bohemond was evidently trying to consolidate these places which Tancred had taken into a principality of which Antioch would be head.

devoted themselves to the recuperation of their own strength and that of their horses. Many, both nobles and people, crossed the Euphrates and hastened eagerly to Edessa. Here Baldwin, the duke's brother, was ruling, and from him they hoped to obtain favors. They met with a kind reception from the count, who showed them high honor while they were with him and, at length, sent them back to their friends in good spirits, enriched with many gifts.

3. *The lord of Hasarth seeks the duke's help against his overlord, Ridwan. The duke summons Baldwin, his brother, and hastens thither.*

ABOUT that time, it happened that Ridwan, prince of Aleppo, had incurred the enmity of one of his satraps, who was in command of the castle of Hasarth [Ezaz].[7] The hostility between them had reached such a point that the prince summoned troops from all the regions subject to him and laid siege to that fortress. The lord of the castle saw that, unless he received aid from the Franks, he would have great difficulty in withstanding the anger of his powerful and irate lord. He therefore sent one of his own people, a loyal Christian, to request an alliance of friendship with the duke. In the hope of more readily winning favor, he sent gifts also and promised to devote himself heart and soul to Godfrey's service. He expressed the desire to bind himself by the indissoluble bonds of a treaty, and, that the duke might have full confidence in his words and not hesitate over any part of this promise, he offered to send his own son as a hostage. Most earnestly he begged Godfrey to relieve him from the present danger and promised that at an opportune time he should receive a fitting return for his services.

Moved by these words, the venerable man entered into friendly relations with the lord of the castle and received him into his favor. He at once dispatched messengers to the count of Edessa, his brother, inviting him to come with his forces to aid in raising the siege for the relief of this friend.

Ridwan had been established with his forces in camp before the castle of Ezaz hardly five days when Duke Godfrey set forth from Antioch. He was accompanied by a large number of his own faithful

[7] The dissension among the amirs, here illustrated, was one of the chief factors in the success of the crusaders. The failure of Karbuqa to coöperate with Ridwan and vice versa were other instances.

retainers and by friends whom he had invited to assist him in the undertaking. They formed a strong company and marched with all haste to the relief of Ezaz.

The envoys who had been sent to the duke felt that they had successfully accomplished their mission, according to their wishes, since they had secured full favor for their lord in the sight of the duke. Nevertheless, it was impossible for them in person to inform their master of the result, for the hostile camp so encircled the castle on every side that no one could enter or leave it. They therefore sent forth two pigeons, especially trained for the purpose, to deliver the message. Notes containing a complete report of their success were fastened to the tails of these birds so that their master would be fully informed of all that they had accomplished.[8] As soon as the pigeons were freed, they flew swiftly home, where both were captured by those who had guarded and tended them. The dispatches were removed and presented to the governor. Terror of the investing host had so overwhelmed him that he despaired of longer resistance. On reading the message, however, he was filled with such buoyant hope that he did not fear to take the initiative in attacking his foe.

4. *Baldwin sets forth with a large force to meet his brother. The other chiefs furnish aid. Ridwan flees. Some of our people perish on the march. About ten thousand of the enemy are killed.*

THE duke and his company had advanced a day's march when Baldwin met them wtih a band of three thousand fighters splendidly armed. Godfrey welcomed his brother with deep love and pious affection. He explained all the details of the campaign, dwelling especially on the alliance of friendship which he had made with the lord of Ezaz. Baldwin approved of all. He warned Godfrey, however, that his forces did not seem adequate to raise so formidable a siege. He advised him, above all, before proceeding further to call to his assistance the leaders

[8] The use of carrier pigeons as a means of communication across enemy lines was evidently new to most of the Westerners. According to Dr. C. A. Webster of the American University of Beirut, whose avocational interest is the history of postal service, the use of carrier pigeons had long been highly developed among the Arabs. The method of attaching the message to the tail of the bird, however, seemed to him unusual, for the regular method was to attach the messages under the wings to balance the weight.

who had remained at Antioch. Reinforced by them, he could advance with more confidence to the undertaking.

The duke willingly hearkened to his brother's advice and at once dispatched a messenger to Bohemond and the count of Toulouse. Earnestly he begged that, in view of their fraternal bonds, they would come without delay and help him in his efforts on behalf of his ally. He assured them that, at the right time, he would return the favor. As a matter of fact, he had already asked their aid before leaving the city and had, in a most friendly way, invited them to join him. Jealousy, however, and the fact that the lord of Ezaz had appealed to Godfrey first had led them to decline to follow him. But on the second summons they perceived that they could no longer refuse the duke's request with honor to themselves. Accordingly, they summoned their troops, followed the duke, and joined his expedition. When all the forces thus united were assembled, their total strength was about thirty thousand fighters.

Ridwan was said to have a force of forty thousand Turks. Nevertheless, he distrusted his own strength. Terrified at the thought of our approach, which his spies informed him would soon materialize, he disbanded his army and returned to Aleppo.

Meanwhile, Godfrey's forces, unaware that the enemy had fled, were still proceeding on the march. They were followed at a distance by many foot soldiers and knights from Antioch who wished to join the advancing legions. Since they were somewhat behind the army, however, many had the misfortune to fall into ambuscades that had been carefully set by the enemy. Unequal to the Turks both in strength and energy, they were easily overcome, many being killed and others carried off as prisoners.

As soon as the duke and the other leaders learned of this, they halted and, as with one mind, started in pursuit of those malefactors. By good luck they encountered them before the Turks could retire to their retreats and regain their accustomed hiding places. The Christians charged them furiously with the sword and in a moment broke their ranks. They rescued some of our people who were being carried off as prisoners, killed many Turks, and took innumerable captives. The rest fled, their numbers reduced to almost nothing. These forces were picked men chosen from Ridwan's retinue and retainers and were often known as his own corps. They were in number about ten thousand.

After this victory, our army, again in one united body, resumed the march and at length arrived at its destination. The lord of the castle came out to welcome the forces with three hundred knights. In full view of the assembled legions, he knelt on the ground and, with bowed head, returned thanks, first to the duke and then to the other chiefs. Before all the people he pledged himself to be faithful to the Christian chiefs and gave the oath of fidelity, declaring that no exigency of time or circumstance should ever draw him away from fealty and obedience to them.

Thus the duke had rendered the desired assistance to his ally, and the matter was happily concluded. Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, then went back to Edessa, and the army returned to Antioch.

5. *To avoid the danger of pestilence, the duke turns aside into his brother's country. There he destroys fortresses belonging to certain traitors. Some of the other chiefs also repair to Edessa to share the magnificent generosity of Baldwin.*

As the plague was still raging in Antioch and the mortality among the people was still mounting, the duke decided to accept his brother's invitation to visit the land of Edessa. During their recent expedition together, Baldwin had very cordially urged Godfrey to do this, that he might avoid the heat of August and escape the menace of contagion in the air. Accordingly, the duke took with him his private retinue and a large throng of needy people, for whose wants he was eager to provide, and went down into his brother's land. He took up his residence in the vicinity of Turbessel, Hatab, and Ravendal, where he used the whole region as he pleased and often enjoyed the society of his brother.

While he was living there, it frequently happened that the people in the vicinity, and especially religious men dwelling in the many monasteries round about, poured forth serious complaints in his presence about two brothers, Pakrad and Corasilius [Kogh Vasil].[9] These men were Armenian by nation, very distinguished, but crafty beyond meas-

[9] Kogh Vasil, known to history as a friend of the Christians from the West, is here cast in a doubtful role. Iskenderian denies that the appellation Kogh, meaning thief, was intended as a reflection upon Vasil's character. He believes that it was intended to characterize Vasil's method of warfare in a complimentary fashion. He doubts both the relationship to Pakrad and the participation in these unsavory activities (see Galust T. Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, p. 61, and A. A. Beaumont, Jr., "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," *Munro-Crusades*, p. 119).

ure. They owned fortified places in that district, and, presuming on the strength of these, they burdened the inhabitants and particularly the monasteries with heavy and unjust exactions. The daring of these lords had reached such a point that they had actually ventured to rob, on the highway, messengers sent by the count of Edessa with gifts for his brother, when the latter was still actively pressing on the siege around Antioch. These presents, designed for the duke, they sent to Lord Bohemond, that they might win his favor for themselves against the count of Edessa. The duke's just indignation was roused as he listened to these accusations. He sent against the marauders forthwith fifty of his own knights, with people of the region, who broke into their strongholds by force of arms and razed them to the ground, that the intolerable insolence of these lords might be, in some measure at least, checked.

During the residence of the duke in this region, nearly all the more important men of our army and large numbers of the common people as well flocked in eager rivalry to the count. They hoped to obtain from him some assistance against the ever-pressing menace of poverty. This was especially so after the castle of Ezaz, which stood midway on the route to Edessa, had come under our protection. Baldwin received all these people with honor and finally dismissed them with generosity so lavish that it astonished even those who had come thither for the very purpose of receiving its benefits.

6. *The citizens of Edessa conspire against their lord, indignant because he is using Latins only. Baldwin is warned of the plot. He puts the conspirators to death.*

THE Christians now began to flock to Edessa in such numbers that the multitude of Latins in that city became an annoyance to the citizens. Although such hospitality had been shown them, these guests soon began to cause their hosts trouble by reason of their domineering attitude. Baldwin, too, depended less and less on the counsel of those noble citizens by whose favor he had won that great city. This roused strong indignation against him and his race, and his subjects bitterly rued that they had given him dominion over them. Since nothing seemed to satisfy him, they feared that eventually he would despoil them of all they owned. Accordingly, they entered into a conspiracy with some of the Turkish princes in the vicinity and began to plot how Baldwin might either be suddenly killed, as if by accident, or at least

driven from the city. In preparation for this attempt, they deposited their treasures and all their substance with friends in the castles and cities near by. While they were working out their plans with great care, however, word of the plot came to the ears of Baldwin through a true and loyal friend. On investigation, many indubitable proofs of the scheme were found. Accordingly, the count sent a large force of his own people to seize the conspirators, whom he ordered to be bound and held as murderers. Eventually, the whole matter was fully revealed through their own confession. Baldwin thereupon directed the ringleaders of the party to be blinded. Others, who seemed less guilty, were exiled from the city, and their goods were confiscated. Still others, though mercifully allowed to remain in Edessa, were severely penalized financially by the forfeiture of their possessions to the count's treasury. In this way the count acquired a quantity of gold pieces to the number of twenty thousand, which he disbursed with great liberality to his guests, by whose assistance the cities and neighboring castles had been brought under his power. Thus to the towns and people in the vicinity his very name carried such fear that many were actively plotting his destruction. Even his father-in-law, fearing that grave questions might be raised over the rest of his daughter's dowry, which, though promised, had not yet been paid, fled surreptitiously into the mountains, where he had strongholds of his own.

7. *Balas plots treachery against the count. The latter takes precautions for his own safety. Some of his allies are seized. Fulbert of Chartres alleviates this disaster. The traitor Balduk is slain.*

THERE was a certain noble of the Turkish race named Balas living in that part of the country, who had formerly been the lord of Seruj. At that time, he had been allied by treaty with the count, and before the Latins arrived in such numbers the two had been on very friendly terms. This man perceived that Baldwin's affection toward him had become less. Led either by his own feelings of resentment, or possibly by the request of the citizens, he went to the count and begged as a favor that he would come personally to receive the one fortress which still remained in his [Balas's] possession. He declared that Baldwin's favor would be all-sufficient for him and would be esteemed as a valuable

heritage. He said also that he intended to bring his wife and children, with all he possessed, to Edessa and pretended to stand in great fear of his fellow countrymen, because he had become so friendly with the Christians. To carry out this wish, the count was persuaded to set a day to visit the place. At the time appointed, he set out with two hundred knights and marched to the fortress, whither Balas had preceded him. The latter, however, had secretly strengthened the defenses of the castle by introducing a hundred valiant knights, splendidly armed. This force was concealed inside in such a way that not a man was visible.

When Baldwin arrived before the castle, Balas begged that he would take only a few of his staff with him into the fortress. He gave as an excuse for this request the risk of danger to his property if the entire force were introduced. His persuasive words almost induced the count to accede to his wishes in every respect. Fortunately, however, some of the wise noblemen in attendance on Baldwin had a certain foreboding of treachery. Almost by force they held the count back against his protest and prevented his entering the castle. They rightly distrusted the evil designs of the rascal and judged it safer that the trial be first made by others. The count acquiesced in this prudent counsel. He ordered twelve of his bravest men, well armed, to enter the place. Meanwhile, he himself with the rest of his band remained quietly outside near by until he should see with his own eyes the result of the experiment. No sooner had the gallant band entered than they fell victims to the perfidious treachery of the wicked Balas. For the hundred Turks mentioned above at once emerged from their hiding places, armed to the teeth. They seized the betrayed knights and, in spite of their efforts to resist, threw them into chains. This result distressed the count greatly. Anxious about the fate of his loyal men whom he had lost by so dastardly a trick, he drew nearer to the castle and earnestly admonished Balas to remember the oath of fidelity which he had taken. On the strength of this fealty, he urged him to return the prisoners so treacherously seized and to receive instead a large sum of money as ransom. Balas absolutely refused to consider this proposition, however, unless Seruj were returned to him. The count perceived that he could do nothing more, for the castle was situated on a steep precipice and was impregnable both because of its strength and because of the skill with which it was built. Exceedingly angry over the seizure of his men, he returned to

Edessa earnestly pondering in his own mind the deception which had been practiced upon him.

The city of Seruj just mentioned was at that time under the charge of Fulbert of Chartres,[10] a man of much experience in the science of war. He had with him a garrison of a hundred knights well equipped for action. When he heard of the trick which had been played on his lord, his whole heart went out to him in pity, and he began to plan earnestly how to avenge the outrage. In accordance with this purpose, he laid an ambush one day before Balas's castle in a spot well adapted to his design. Then with a purposely small escort, he approached the fortress as if to seize and drive off cattle. His real purpose, however, was to induce the enemy to pursue him. The garrison within noticed that he was trying to steal the herds from the pasture. They seized their arms and started in pursuit. Fulbert pretended to flee. The infidels followed him eagerly until he passed the ambuscade. At that point, his men who were lying in hiding burst forth. Reinforced by them, he turned on his pursuers and attacked them. Some were killed, and others narrowly escaped by fleeing into the fortress. Six prisoners were taken.

Shortly afterwards an exchange of prisoners was arranged, and Fulbert received for these six men an equal number of Christians. Four others of this same company of twelve succeeded in eluding their guards and gained their liberty, but the remaining two were beheaded, by order of that wicked and impious man. From that day forward, Baldwin declined any alliance of friendship with the Turks and utterly distrusted their good faith. Of this fact he soon after gave a striking proof.

There was in the same vicinity another Turkish lord named Balduk. This man had sold to the count for a consideration the ancient and well-fortified city of Samosata. By the terms of the treaty made between them, Balduk was bound to bring his wife and children, together with his entire household, to Edessa. With plausible excuses, however, he kept putting off the fulfillment of his promises, waiting for an opportunity to do some malicious injury. One day, as this man, according to his usual custom, approached the count to offer some trifling reason for his delay, Baldwin ordered him to be beheaded. By this summary act he prevented the possibility of similar treachery in the future.

[10] Fulbert or Fulcher of Chartres, mentioned by Albert and by the *Chanson d'Antioche*, is not recognized by the chaplain of Baldwin, who has the same name and came from the same town. There is considerable confusion regarding him in the pages of Albert (see B. Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, pp. 178–79).

8. *The count of Toulouse takes Albara. He establishes a bishop in that city. A Teuton fleet sails into the harbor. Loss by death is unceasing.*

WHILE Godfrey was still lingering in the vicinity of Turbessel and the events just recorded were taking place in the country round Edessa, the count of Toulouse, accompanied by his own following and a great number of poor people, set forth from Antioch. Anxious lest his energy be wasted in this period of inactivity, he laid siege to Albara, a well-fortified city in the province of Apamea, distant a march of about two days from Antioch. By force the citizens were soon compelled to surrender their city. After the seizure of Albara and the conquest of all the adjacent country, Raymond established a bishop in that place, Peter of Narbonne, a member of his own staff, a very religious man of honorable life and character. On the new bishop he immediately bestowed half of the city and of the whole district, and rendered thanks to God that through his zealous work the East was to have a Latin bishop.[11]

By the direction of the count, Peter then went to Antioch to receive the gift of consecration and was there invested with pontifical power in all its fullness. Later, when the church at Antioch was set in order by Bernard, the first Latin patriarch of that city, Peter transferred the allegiance of his own metropolis to that church. He himself became archbishop and received the insignia of the pallium by the hand of Bernard.

There was at this time in the company of the count of Toulouse a certain nobleman named William. By a lucky accident, when the city of Antioch was taken, this man had captured the wife of Yaghi Siyan, the governor of the city, and also the two little children of her son Samsadolus. They were still in his custody. As ransom for them, Samsadolus offered William a large sum of money, on receipt of which the lady and the two children were restored to their former freedom.

About this time also, a large company of people, numbering about fifteen hundred, landed at the port of St. Simeon after a prosperous voyage. They were from the vicinity of Ratisbon in the kingdom of the

[11] It is interesting to note the important part which the secular leaders on the crusade took in the selection of prelates in the East. The Investiture Struggle concerned with this issue was still being actively waged in the West at this time. The influence of that controversy is reflected in William's emphasis upon the ecclesiastical merit of the person selected and upon his investiture by higher church officials at Antioch. Albara is the modern Kafr al Bara.

Teutons.[12] Within a short time, however, all these people died of the epidemic which was raging there at that time. For three successive months until the beginning of December, that malignant disease had so ravaged the people that more than five hundred men of knightly rank died, and the number of victims among the people was beyond estimating.

9. *The Christians besiege and capture Maara. William, bishop of Orange, dies. Joufier de Lastours becomes famous.*

By the first of November all the leaders who had left the city to avoid the plague had returned, as they had agreed to do. The city of Albara had already been taken, as we have related, and now, by common consent, it was proposed to assault Maara, a very strongly fortified city eight miles distant from Albara. It was necessary that some activity be carried on during this interim, for the insistent clamor of the people, as they demanded that the march to Jerusalem be resumed, was unendurable. Accordingly the necessary preparations were made, and on the day appointed the counts of Toulouse and Flanders, the count of Normandy, the duke with his brother Eustace, and Tancred set out with the purpose of laying siege to the city of Maara.

The citizens of this place were extremely haughty and arrogant, because of their great riches. Moreover, they were particularly proud of the fact that they had once slain a large number of our people in a certain engagement—a feat of which they were still boasting. Hence they scorned the Christian army and hurled insulting abuse upon its leaders. They even set up crosses on their ramparts and towers, and upon these, as an insult to our people, they visited all sorts of indignities, even to the extent of spitting upon the sacred emblems.

As is ever the case when sacrilege is concerned, these outrages roused the Christians to still more passionate wrath. They attacked the city in a succession of assaults so violent that, if a sufficient number of ladders had been available, it would have been taken by force on the second day after their arrival.

On the third day, Bohemond joined them with large reinforcements. He continued the blockade by hemming in that side of the town which had hitherto remained open. Several days after his arrival, the pilgrims, incensed because they were being detained at Maara so long

[12] This incident rests upon the sole authority of Albert of Aix.

without results, built wooden towers, wove protections of wickerwork, and set up hurling engines. Then, impatient of delay, they pushed on the work of storming the city with even greater boldness. But the defenders within the walls resisted with all their might. Persistently they hurled down upon their foes all sorts of missiles. In their desperate efforts to drive the enemy from the fortifications, they made use of stones, beehives swarming with bees, fire, and even quicklime. But, thanks to the all-powerful mercy of God, they were successful in injuring few, if any, of our number.

It now became increasingly evident that all the efforts of the defenders were in vain and that their strength was beginning to weaken. Spurred by this, the Christians pressed on the siege yet more valiantly and stormed the city on every side. The assault had continued without interruption from break of day until sunset, and the defenders, exhausted by their steady exertions, were now showing less caution in their resistance. Accordingly, the Christians attached the ladders to the walls and succeeded in scaling the ramparts by force. First to ascend was Guelferus, surnamed of the Towers [Joufier de Lastours], a nobleman from the bishopric of Limoges. He was followed by many others. Certain towers were seized, but the approach of night prevented them from continuing their efforts and winning the whole city. That matter was deferred until the following day. It was planned, however, to renew the attack at daybreak, and the knights, with several bands of the principal men, kept watch round the city throughout the entire night to prevent the enemy from leaving.

Meanwhile, however, the undisciplined people, weary of their long privations and the bitter straits of protracted famine, entered it without the knowledge of the elders, for not an enemy appeared on the walls and the entire city seemed to be wrapped in utter silence. They found it without defenders and secretly and stealthily carried off all the spoils. The citizens meanwhile had fled to underground caves that they might secure their own safety, at least temporarily.

When morning came, the leaders arose and seized the city without a battle, but they found little booty to carry away. They discovered, however, that the citizens were hiding in underground retreats. Thereupon they built fires around, which poured forth such volumes of dense smoke that the fugitives were compelled to surrender. Some of these people, thus forcibly driven from their hiding places, were slain, and others were taken prisoners.

There died at that siege William, bishop of Orange, of good memory, a devout and God-fearing man.[13]

The duke and others remained at Maara for fifteen days. Then, as his own affairs required his presence, he returned to Antioch, accompanied by the count of Flanders.

10. *The duke returns to his brother and takes leave of him. On the return trip to the army, he falls into an ambush but escapes unharmed.*

About this time Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, perceived that the people were making preparations to depart and that they were constantly importuning the leaders to proceed toward Jerusalem. Before leaving that region, however, he resolved to visit his brother, that he might enjoy pleasant converse with him. Accordingly, he set out with his private escort and went down into Baldwin's kingdom. After he had visited with him and finished the business on which he had come, he took leave and started back to Antioch, where the other leaders were awaiting him. About five or six miles from the city, attracted by a pleasant grassy place beside a spring from which bubbled forth sweet and limpid water, he dismounted from his horse to take food. While his companions were occupied in making such arrangements as pertained to the time and place, a squadron of the enemy's cavalry, armed to the teeth, suddenly emerged from the reeds of a marshy place near by and rushed upon them as they ate. Before the Turks reached them, however, the duke and his companions had seized their weapons and leaped upon their horses. A skirmish followed, in which, by the grace of God, the duke came off victorious. For he killed many and put the rest to flight. Then, covered with glory, he resumed his march to the city.

11. *A strife arises at Maara between the count of Toulouse and Bohemond. Bohemond seizes the count's holdings at Antioch. The chiefs meet at Rugia but nothing of importance is decided. The people struggle with famine.*

After Maara was taken a violent controversy arose between Bohemond and the count of Toulouse. The latter had proposed to give the con-

[13] William of Orange was virtually the last important prelate who had started on the crusade. The hardships of the expedition had fallen upon the older men with especial weight.

quered city to the bishop of Albara. Bohemond, however, was unwilling to concede to the bishop, at Raymond's bidding, that part of the city which he himself had taken, unless the count would first agree to surrender to him the towers still in the latter's possession at Antioch. Bohemond finally abandoned the conflict at Maara in anger and returned to Antioch. There he seized the towers which the count's followers had fortified and were still holding and drove out the defenders by force of arms. By this summary action, he acquired possession of the entire city and held it as sole lord.

When the count saw that his rival had retired and that consequently it was within his own power to dispose of the conquered city as he wished, he granted it to the bishop of Albara, as he had originally intended. He was conferring with the bishop in regard to protecting the place from the enemy and had appointed guards from both infantry and cavalry troops when the people discovered his design. They became violently angry. They complained to each other that the leaders were ever trying to invent excuses for delay and that the main object of the pilgrimage seemed wholly forgotten. Whenever a city was taken, the chiefs at once began to wrangle and fight over the question of its possession. They thereupon held a meeting of their own and decided that as soon as the count happened to be away for any reason they would destroy Maara, that thereafter there might be nothing to hinder the accomplishment of their vows.

It happened that at this same time the leaders were assembled at Rugia, a city about half way between Antioch and Maara.[14] The purpose of the conference was to deliberate over the clamorous demands of the people that the pilgrimage be resumed. The count had received a summons to this meeting and went. As all the leaders held different opinions on the subject, however, no harmonious or helpful decision on the matter at issue was reached.

But while the count was at Rugia, the people left at Maara seized the opportunity for carrying out their plan during his absence. In spite of the opposition of the bishop, who forbade it absolutely, they tore down the walls and towers from their foundations, that the count, when he returned, might find no excuse on that account for further delay.

Raymond was greatly distressed, on his return, over this catastrophe, but, perceiving the wishes of the people, he wisely concealed his feel-

[14] Probably about January 4, 1099.

ings. The people continued their insistent demands. They implored and besought him that he would act as the leader of the children of God in carrying out the pilgrimage on which they had started. If he refused to do this, they threatened to place some one of the soldiers in command of the army to march at their head on the way of the Lord.

To add to their troubles, a severe famine was raging in the army at this time, and, as food failed, many in defiance of custom relapsed to the savagery of wild beasts and began to eat the flesh of unclean animals. It is asserted also, though this is scarcely credible, that many, through lack of proper food, fell to such depths that they were eating human flesh.

Pestilence was rife among the pilgrims also, nor could this be otherwise, since the wretched people were subsisting upon unclean and noxious food (if indeed that can be called food which is contrary to nature). Nor was this terrible famine which had come upon the people a temporary thing, lasting but a short time, since for five weeks and even longer the people had been exposed to this scourge while they were detained before Maara in the attempt to take it.

A number of distinguished men of high rank died before that place, not only from the vicissitudes of war, but from various diseases. Among them was a young man of unusually promising character, Enguerrand, the son of Hugh, count of St. Pol. He was stricken with a serious malady from which he died.

12. *The count makes a foray into the enemy's country and drives off cattle. Unable to endure longer the clamorous demands of the people, he starts on the march. The count of Normandy and Tancred join him.*

TROUBLED in heart and mind over these matters, the count of Toulouse, that distinguished and eminent man, was hesitating, undecided as to what course he ought to follow. The distress of his imperilled people weighed heavily upon him, and the critical situation wearied him. A passionate longing to proceed on the pilgrimage burned in the hearts of all, both great and small alike, and their importunate demands, accompanied as they were by incessant shouts and earnest entreaties, allowed him no rest. In the hope, therefore, of providing a fitting remedy for both of these troubles, he appointed the fifteenth day of the month as the time for starting on the way to Jerusalem. This he

did to satisfy the demands of the people and his own conscience, although he knew well that the other chiefs would be unwilling to follow him in that course.

In the meantime, that the people might not be endangered by the rapidly increasing famine, he took a party of knights and some foot soldiers who seemed stronger than the others and went down into the enemy's country. The rest of the people were left in the city. Raymond's object was to procure at all costs the things that were necessary to sustain the life of the people. With a very strong following, he entered an extremely rich country belonging to the enemy. Here he assaulted many fortified towns, burned some of the suburbs, and returned from that raid with many flocks and herds. He brought back also servants and maidservants and large supplies of food so that the starving and thirsting people were refreshed even to satiety. He was able also to send back a goodly portion to those who had remained at Maara to guard that city.

On his return from this expedition, the count once more hesitated as to his course, for the people again clamored that the day set for the departure was already at hand and spurned the thought of delay. Realizing that the cause of the people was a really worthy one, the count felt that he could no longer resist their pleadings. Accordingly, although he was alone in the matter, for not one of the other chiefs had determined to follow him, he set fire to the city and reduced it to ashes. Then, accompanied by his own people only, he started out on the march.

Since he had but few knights, however, he asked the bishop of Albara to make the march with him. The latter kindly agreed to the count's request and placed his own affairs in charge of a certain nobleman named William of *Cumliaco*, with whom he left a force of seven knights and thirty foot soldiers. This man attended to the matters intrusted to him so loyally and devotedly that within a few days the number of knights increased from seven to forty and the foot soldiers from thirty to eighty or more. Thus, as the result of his efforts, the property of his lord was greatly increased.

On the appointed day, the count set out on the march without waiting for any of the others. He had about ten thousand men in his company, of whom not more than three hundred and fifty were knights. The count of Normandy and Tancred, each with forty knights and a

numerous company of foot soldiers, joined him and became his inseparable comrades on the march. After starting, they found such an abundance of necessary things on the way that nothing more was needed to supply the people.

As they passed through Shayzar, Hama, and Emesa, which in common parlance is called Camela, the rulers of those places offered them escorts and also furnished markets under the best of conditions. In addition, the fortified towns and municipalities through whose lands they marched likewise made them many gifts in gold and silver as well as flocks and herds. All kinds of provisions were also furnished that the countryside might be spared. Thus day by day the strength of the army was increased and its condition improved, since there was a great abundance of everything needful. Gradually, too, they secured by purchase and also gratis a large number of horses, the lack of which heretofore had been a great disadvantage to them. Consequently, before they met the other leaders, they had a thousand or more newly acquired horses for army service in addition to those which they possessed before.

After they had advanced for several days along the inland road, however, it was unanimously resolved to return to the shore route. This course would enable them more easily to ascertain the situation of the other chiefs whom they had left behind in the land of Antioch. It would also make it possible to buy the supplies which they needed from ships coming from Antioch and Laodicea.

13. *The count's army, while on the march, suffers attack from brigands. The count makes a clever counterattack. A fortress which tries to resist is taken by storm. The camp is placed before Arka. Envoys from the surrounding places come to the chiefs.*

From the time that they left Maara, everything, during the entire march, had gone very prosperously for the Christians. The only annoyance was that brigands kept hovering about the rear of the expedition and, from time to time, made furtive attacks on the sick and aged who were unable to keep up with the pace of the army. As a result, some of these people were killed and others made prisoners. The count met these attacks very shrewdly. He sent Tancred, Robert, duke of

Normandy, and the bishop of Albara to march on at the head of the column, while he himself, with other noted men of valor, remained behind in ambush. At the right moment he intended to attack those miscreants who were following in the rear of the advancing army to waylay any incautious stragglers. So when the rascals attacked the train according to their usual custom, the count suddenly emerged from his hiding place, attacked, and utterly routed them. Then he returned to the expedition with exultation, bringing with him the captured horses and the booty as well as a number of prisoners. Thereafter, the Christians marched along in safety and without difficulty, plentifully supplied with all things needful.

In the entire region through which the Christians passed, there was not a city or town on the right or on the left which did not send gifts to the army and its leaders, with requests for treaties of friendship. One city only there was where the people felt such confidence in their numbers and the strong defenses of the place that they did not offer a market or ask for a treaty or send presents to the leaders. On the contrary, they united their forces and tried to hinder the passage of the expedition. When the Christians perceived this, they were filled with righteous indignation. As one man they fell upon their opponents and, in a short time, had broken up their ranks, taken some prisoners, and seized the place by force. Flocks and herds, as well as horses which were grazing in the pastures near by, were driven off and all the goods of the foe seized.

There were with the army at this time envoys from some of the neighboring rulers who had been sent to ask for peace. These men witnessed our strength and daring. Anxious to obtain full security for their lords, they returned home and informed those who had sent them about the habits and bravery of the Christians. Soon they came back to the Christian host with presents of horses and goods of various kinds.

After traversing this middle region for several days in complete security, the army came down into the plain not far from the sea. Here, splendidly defended by its natural position, lay an ancient city called Arka. Near this place, not far from the walls, the Christians established their camp.[15]

[15] Probably February 14, 1099.

14. *Arka is described. Word is received from some of our people who are held prisoners at Tripoli that Arka should be besieged.*

ARKA is a city of the province of Phoenicia. It is situated on a well-fortified height at the base of Mt. Lebanon, four or five miles from the sea. The extensive plain in which it lies is blessed with rich and fertile soil and pleasant pasture lands, and streams of running water are not lacking. Ancient traditions say that this city was founded by Aradius, the seventh son of Canaan, from whom it received its name, which was later corrupted to Archis.

As we have already stated, the Christians placed their camp before this city. This was not done by chance, but in accordance with advice sent them in letters from some of our people who were held in the bonds of the enemy. For in the splendid maritime city of Tripoli, five or six miles from Arka, were a number of Christians who were detained there by force. From the very beginning of the siege of Antioch, and still more after the conquest of that city, lack of provisions had forced the Christians to wander about the countryside in search of food. Since they did not observe proper precautions, they were naturally exposed to captivity by the enemy. As a result, almost every city and fortress in that vicinity held some of our people as prisoners.

In the city of Tripoli just mentioned, more than two hundred Christians were held under these conditions. When they heard that the army of Christians was approaching, they notified the leaders that Arka ought not to be passed by. It should by all means be besieged, for it could probably be taken in a few days. If not, the leaders would be able to extort a large sum of money from the ruler of Tripoli as the price of sparing that city. Then, in arranging terms, they might also obtain the release of their brethren who were prisoners there.

This advice was followed. The Christians hastened at once to Arka, encamped in a circle around the city, and began the siege. They had two objects in view, to test the information which had been given them and also to occupy the time while they were waiting for the other chiefs who, it was expected, would soon follow them.

15. *A party of Christians leaves the camp and takes the city of Antarados by force. They return laden with rich spoils and continue to carry on the siege of Arka.*

In order to seek the provisions so necessary to their existence, a force of a hundred knights and two companies consisting of two hundred foot soldiers, under command of Raymond Pilet, left this camp and went out on a foraging expedition. They proceeded as far as the city of Antarados, commonly known as Tortosa, which is about twenty miles from Arka.

Antarados [Tortosa] lies on the seacoast. About two miles away is a small island where in earlier times was the ancient city of Arados, renowned through many ages. Ezekiel the prophet mentions this place when he is writing to the prince of Tyre: "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners." [16] And again: "The men of Arvad, with thine army, were upon thy walls round about." [17] The place now under discussion derived its name from this earlier city, being called Antarados because it lay over against that other city Arados. Both these places are in the province of Phoenicia and had one and the same founder, Aradius, the youngest [sic] son of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah.

The detachment of the count's army just mentioned proceeded to Tortosa and made a vigorous attack upon it. The citizens resisted with great spirit, however, and the Christians did not succeed in accomplishing much, so, as night was coming on, they decided to put off further operations till morning. When reinforced by their comrades, who were to follow the next day, they hoped to be stronger for the second attack. But the citizens, fearing that during the night additional forces would arrive which, in the end, they would not be able to withstand, left the city with their wives and children and all their households and fled to the mountains for safety.

At break of dawn, the Christians took arms, entirely ignorant of the events of the night. With shouts of cheer to one another, they proceeded to the city to continue the assault of the previous day. But a nearer approach showed that the place was empty. Without fear, therefore, they entered boldly and were rewarded by finding quantities of provisions and other spoils. Laden with plunder to their heart's con-

[16] Eze. 27: 8. [17] Eze. 27: 11.

tent, they returned to camp and recounted to their comrades all that had happened to them while away. The success of this expedition brought great joy to the entire army.

16. *Duke Godfrey arrives at Laodicea, accompanied by the count of Flanders and the rest of the forces. He effects the release of Guinemer from prison and restores his fleet. Bohemond accompanies the forces on their departure as far as Laodicea.*

ABOUT the beginning of March, as the day set for resuming the pilgrimage approached, the Christians who had remained at Antioch began to exert great pressure to induce the chiefs to start. Urgently they besought Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, Robert, count of Flanders, and the other chief to set out on the march and lead forward the people who so eagerly longed to fulfil their vows. They cited the steadfast loyalty of the count of Toulouse, the duke of Normandy, and Tancred and praised the kindly attitude which those leaders had shown toward the people of God in thus leading them faithfully for many days on the way of the Lord.

By these words and others of similar import, the leaders just mentioned were also spurred to action. The baggage was arranged and all things necessary for the march made ready. With them they led the entire body of knights and foot soldiers, all of whom were filled with ardent desire to proceed on the way to Jerusalem. On March 1, twenty-five thousand gallant men, splendidly armed, assembled at Laodicea in Syria, under the leaders named above. Bohemond and his army accompanied them as far as Laodicea. He could not attend them further, however, nor could he remain longer at that place, lest he might, without good reason, be neglecting the city of Antioch, so recently acquired. The conquered city, surrounded by enemies as it was, could not be left undefended, even temporarily.[18] Yet, mindful of his alliance with the other chiefs and of the friendships which he had formed with them while on the way of the Lord, the prince accompanied them

[18] Bohemond's chief concern was doubtless about the Greeks, who continued to claim Antioch under the terms of the agreement made with Alexius. This is indicated by the letter which he, though in the name of all the leaders, wrote to Pope Urban II (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequalis ac genuinae*, no. XVI, translated in A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, p. 195).

as far as Laodicea. With much devotion, he showed them all possible courtesy and kindness, that the memory of him might abide with them constantly after they were separated from one another. At Laodicea he parted from the host. Amid tearful sighs of regret, he saluted the chiefs, took leave, and started back to resume diligent care of the city entrusted to him.

Laodicea is a noble city on the seacoast and dates from ancient times. It had Christian inhabitants and was the only city of Syria which was under the jurisdiction of the Greek emperor. Hither had come one Guinemer of Boulogne, who, as was mentioned, had earlier landed with his fleet at Tarsus of Cilicia, while Baldwin, the duke's brother, was holding that city. Guinemer had made an unsuccessful attempt to storm Laodicea and bring it under his power. His forces were insufficient, however, and he was seized by the townspeople and thrown into prison with practically all his people. Because this man had come from the land of Godfrey's father and had, furthermore, rendered honorable service to his brother Baldwin at Tarsus, the duke begged the governor and chief men to release him. The Laodiceans did not venture to oppose the word of the duke in anything. They released Guinemer with all his comrades and surrendered to the duke the fleet in which these people had arrived. Godfrey at once restored Guinemer to the command of his vessels and directed him to follow his own advance on land with equal course by sea. These orders were obeyed.[19]

17. *The duke with his army invests Gabulum, but the machinations of the count of Toulouse force him to abandon the siege. He hurries to Arka and joins the other leaders. The siege of that city is unsuccessful.*

THE army then set out from Laodicea of Syria, reinforced by those Christians who were found in that city. From Antioch and Cilicia and the cities in that vicinity came others who had been unable to leave earlier on account of private affairs. These too joined the host. They followed the shore route as far as the city of Gabulum [Jabala], also known as Gibelin, twelve miles from Laodicea. Here the camp was placed so as to encircle the city, and siege operations were carried on for some time. Finally the governor in charge, a procurator of the caliph of Egypt (for this was the first coast city subject to the power of

[19] See Book III, note 23.

the Egyptians),[20] offered the duke six thousand pieces of gold, besides numerous gifts, if he would abandon the siege. When he found that Godfrey scorned his sordid gifts and could not be bribed, he turned his attention to other schemes. He dispatched messengers to the count of Toulouse, on whose zealous interest he counted, and offered him the same amount of money if he would extricate the city from the hands of the duke. It is said that the count secretly accepted the bribe. He then pretended that a vast horde of enemies was about to descend from the land of Persia to avenge the wrongs which their nation had suffered at Antioch under the leadership of Karbuqa. He alleged that they were preparing to renew that war with forces far larger than before. According to his story, he had received reliable and detailed information about these facts from messengers whose credibility could in no way be doubted.

He then sent a delegation headed by the venerable bishop of Albara to the duke and the count of Flanders with letters earnestly begging them to abandon the siege of Jabala and hasten, with brotherly sympathy, to avert the common peril. As soon as the leaders learned that their brethren were, to all appearance, threatened with such danger, they immediately raised the siege and set forth in simplicity of heart. At a rapid pace they passed through Valenia, a maritime city lying below the castle of Margat, and then through Maraclea, which is the first Phoenician city as one comes from the north. Next they arrived at Antarados, also called Tortosa, which belongs to the province named above and is similarly situated on the seashore. This place they found completely deserted. They looked with admiration at a neighboring island opposite the city on the west, where they found some of our ships lying in a convenient harbor. From Tortosa the Christians took advantage of the shortest routes and, in a few days, arrived with all the host before the walls of Arka. Tancred came out to meet them and give them the full history of the count's treachery.[21] After listen-

[20] Most of the seacoast towns had been recovered from the Turks by the Egyptians in 1089. The Turks, who had no navy, had, in fact, not been able to capture all of the seaports, even though they captured the mainland beyond Jerusalem (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 634–35).

[21] The inclusion of these facts, so uncomplimentary to Count Raymond, suggests that they were written before 1174 and that they were overlooked in William's later revisions. The harshness of this judgment is tempered in later references written after 1175. Whether he was led to modify his judgment as a result of greater experience in affairs of state or as a result of his friendship with Raymond III of Tripoli, which began late in 1174, is not clear.

ing to this report, the leaders placed their camp a little apart, at some distance from the tents of the forces which had preceded them.

The count soon perceived that the hearts of the other chiefs were estranged from him. Accordingly, he sent gifts and made a great effort to propitiate them. As a result, all the chiefs were shortly afterwards reconciled to him, with the exception of Tancred, who continued to bring grave charges against him. All the forces were now united as one body around Arka.

For many days before the duke's arrival, the count had put forth all his strength in vain before this city. Now, however, with the coming of the other leaders, he hoped that the city would be easily taken and the troublesome siege brought to the desired end. The result proved contrary to his hope, however, for neither before nor after the arrival of the troops was the favor of the Lord with the Christians in that undertaking. Again and again they assailed the city and invented new methods of injuring the besieged by breaching the wall or by fresh assaults, but just so often were they checked by new obstacles and all their efforts brought to naught. Their work was frustrated and rendered of no avail, and they were plainly given to understand that, as far as the siege of Arka was concerned, divine favor had been withdrawn from them. All in vain was it that the people were dying and illustrious noblemen sacrificing their lives to no purpose.

By an unlucky chance, two illustrious men of high rank met the same fate before the walls of Arka. Anselm de Ribemont,[22] a man indefatigable in the art of war and worthy of being remembered forever, and Pons de Balazune,[23] a nobleman of high rank and a friend of the count of Toulouse, both perished there from the blow of a stone missile.

Furthermore, the people were being detained at Arka against their will, for their one desire was to finish the pilgrimage on which they had started. They took no interest in the work and cared little for the result of the siege, especially after the arrival of the duke. Even the count's

[22] Anselm de Ribemont was a vassal of the archbishop of Rheims and leader of a considerable force from that region. Two of his letters to Archbishop Manasses about the progress of the crusade have been preserved (see *H. Ep.*, VIII and XV, translated in Krey, *The First Crusade*).

[23] Pons of Balazun or Vallon, a vassal of the bishop of Viviers, had agreed to collaborate with Raymond d'Aguilers in writing a history of the crusade. His name appears with that of Raymond at the head of the latter's book. How much, if any, part he took in the writing is not known (see C. Klein, *Raimund von Aguilers, passim*).

servitors and the intimate friends who had come in his retinue were kept there unwillingly and against the dictates of conscience by the count's strong will. They finally purposely withdrew in the hope that the count might be induced by sheer weariness to follow the other leaders on the way of the Lord.

18. *The subject of the Lance of the Lord again arises. Peter, the discoverer, walks through the raging flames but dies a few days later.*

At this time, the matter of the Lance which had been found at Antioch again came up. Was it in truth that which had drawn forth blood and water from the Lord's side, or was the whole thing a fraud? The people had grave doubts on the subject, and the leaders also were much perplexed. Some declared that this was the actual weapon which had pierced the side of the Lord when He hung on the Cross and that by divine purpose it had been revealed for the inspiration of the people. Others said that it was merely a proof of the count's cunning, a fraudulent trick devised for his own advantage. The chief author of this controversy was one Arnulf, the friend and chaplain of the count of Normandy. He was a learned man, but of immoral life, a man who delighted to stir up discord.[24] Of him much will be said in the following chapters.

For a long time the pilgrims discussed this matter, hesitating between different opinions. At length to convince the people and remove all doubt, Peter, the man who claimed that the revelation had been made to him, directed that a great fire be kindled. With the help of God, he would convince the incredulous through actual ordeal by fire that no trick or underhanded practice had been employed in the matter. He would prove, on the contrary, that by divine revelation the thing had been brought to light for the consolation of the people.

A huge fire was accordingly lighted, the heat from which was sufficient to terrify those standing around it. On the Friday before the Holy Easter of the Lord, on that day when, as we read, the Saviour of the world suffered for our salvation, the entire people assembled, from

[24] Arnulf de Choques had been a teacher of the liberal arts in Normandy, where Cecilia, oldest daughter of William the Conqueror and sister of Robert of Normandy, was one of his pupils. Another pupil was the knight Ralph of Caen, who wrote the panegyric of Tancred (for his early career see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose,* App. C).

the least even unto the greatest, that a complete test of that important question might be made. The man who, of his own accord, was about to undergo so dangerous an experiment was called Peter Bartholomew. He was a cleric, of slight education, and, as far as human observation goes, a simple and sincere man. He first addressed the legions assembled about him; then, carrying in his hand the Lance of the Lord, he passed through the fire, to all appearance uninjured.

This act of his, however, not only failed to remove doubt from the minds of the populace, but it raised a still more serious question, for within a few days Peter died. Since, before the ordeal, he had been apparently hale and hearty, some people declared that the trial by fire had caused his premature death, that, by lending his aid to the deception, he had brought about his own destruction. Others maintained that he had emerged from the fire untouched and uninjured, but that the crowds, in the fervor of their enthusiasm, had rushed upon him with such violence as to crush and seriously injure him. This they declared was the real cause of his death.

Thus the matter over which the controversy had arisen was not conclusively settled but, on the contrary, was left still more uncertain.[25]

19. *The envoys who had been sent to Egypt by our leaders return.*

About this time, our envoys who had been sent down into Egypt returned to the leaders. They had gone thither at the request of the Egyptian legates who came to the siege of Antioch by the orders of the caliph of Egypt, as related before. For a year these envoys had been forcibly detained in that country, both by violence and strategy. With them came envoys from the prince of the Egyptians bearing messages whose general import was far different from that of the former embassy.

At that time they had tried most earnestly to gain the good will and assistance of our leaders against the overweening arrogance of the

[25] Count Raymond clung to his belief in the Lance and took the relic along to Constantinople, where he gave it to Emperor Alexius. It was displayed there among the most highly prized relics, and King Amaury was to see it there later (see Book XX, note 41). No official ruling was made by the church regarding it. Raymond d'Aguilers, the count's chaplain, had taken a deep personal interest in Peter Bartholomew, with whom he had shared his tent after the discovery of the Lance at Antioch. The chronicle which he wrote was in a real sense a brief for the authenticity of the Lance and has helped to keep the matter an open question.

Turks and Persians. Now, however, their attitude was entirely changed. They seemed to imply that they were conferring a great favor on the Christians by allowing unarmed pilgrims to go to Jerusalem in groups of two or three hundred and return in safety after completing their prayers.

The leaders of the Christian forces regarded this message as an insult. They forced the envoys to return with the answer that the army would not consent to go thither in small detachments, according to the conditions proposed. On the contrary, it would march on Jerusalem as one united host and threaten the kingdom of their master.

The reason for this change of attitude on the part of the Egyptians rose out of conditions which developed after our victory at Antioch. At that time the affairs of the Turks were in a critical condition, their military power was shattered throughout the entire Orient, and their fame, which had been exalted to the skies, was utterly cast down to earth. Whenever they came into conflict with other nations they were uniformly defeated and had the worst of every engagement. Because of this situation the power of the king of Egypt was gradually becoming greater than that of the Turks. Then through the efforts of a certain Emireius [Al-Afdal],[26] commander in chief of the Egyptian army, they lost Jerusalem, the city which, thirty years before, they had, in their turn, wrested from the Egyptians.

The Egyptians perceived that the power of their enemies, which they had formerly dreaded as superior to their own, had been brought low by the work of the Christians and was now lying prostrate and broken in the depths. Hence it was that they scorned the aid of our people which formerly they had so earnestly sought.

20. *Envoys from the emperor arrive to complain of Bohemond. They announce the approach of the emperor. The leaders disagree. A battle is fought with the people of Tripoli. The enemy is defeated. The Christians return in triumph to the camp.*

ENVOYS from the emperor of Constantinople had also arrived. They were the bearers of serious complaints concerning the conduct of

[26] Al-Afdal, whose father was of Armenian birth, became vizier of the caliph in 1095. He captured Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098. The latter had held it since 1071, somewhat less than thirty years.

Bohemond. They claimed that, contrary to the terms of the agreement and the oath of fidelity which he had taken, he was presuming to retain possession of Antioch. Standing in the presence of the chiefs, they alleged that all who had passed through Constantinople had taken an oath of fealty to their lord and had promised, with hand on the holy scriptures, that they would not venture to retain any fort or city which had once belonged to the empire, not excepting Jerusalem itself, but that they would, on the contrary, at once surrender to the emperor's control all such places that they might take. Concerning the other provisions of the treaty they had no recollection whatever.

It is quite clear that an agreement of this nature was made between the emperor and the leaders at Constantinople. At the end of the treaty, however, the stipulation had been added that Alexius was to follow them without delay, with all his retinue and a large force of soldiers, and was to lend his assistance as their needs might demand. Accordingly, by unanimous consent, the leaders responded to the envoys' claim that the emperor had been the first to violate the terms agreed upon. Hence, it was only right that he should suffer the loss of whatever might be due him under the terms of the treaty, for it would be unfair that faith be kept with one who tried to act contrary to the pact. According to the agreement, the emperor was bound to assemble his armies and follow the leaders immediately. He was to arrange that constant opportunity be given the pilgrims to trade with vessels coming by sea and that an abundance of wares be offered for sale to them all along their line of march. Both these provisions he had fraudulently neglected to fulfil, although he could have done so without difficulty. They desired, therefore, that the action which they had taken concerning Antioch be considered permanent and inviolate, since it was apparent that they had acted within their rights. It was their will, moreover, that he to whom it had been conceded by the willing liberality of all should possess it by rightful inheritance forever.

The emperor's envoys made earnest efforts to persuade the army to wait till the arrival of their lord, which they declared would be about the first of July. They added that he would give ample gifts to each of the chiefs and would also furnish liberal wages to the people, which would enable them to support themselves with honor. A conference over this matter was held, in which the leaders differed radically from one another. The count of Toulouse thought it would be to their ad-

vantage to wait for the coming of this great prince. He advanced this opinion either because it was his actual belief or because, under that pretext, he was trying to detain the leaders and the people until he had conquered the city which he was then besieging. For he felt that it would reflect disgrace and ignominy upon him if he should fail in his enterprise and be unable to carry out his purpose.

Others held sentiments exactly the opposite of these. They contended that it would be far wiser to resume without delay the pilgrimage on which they had started and thus bring to a successful end the enterprise on behalf of which they had suffered so many hardships. The judgment of these latter was that it would be better to avoid the cunning tricks and subtle words of the emperor, which they had so often experienced, rather than to involve themselves anew in the labyrinth of his shrewd evasions, from which later they might find it difficult to extricate themselves.

Over this matter a disagreement arose among the leaders, and, as their wishes were totally diverse, it was impossible to bring them into harmony.

Some time before this the governor of Tripoli had offered an immense sum of money to induce the Christians to raise the siege and remove the troops from his land. Now, when he learned of the division that had occurred among the leaders of the army, he not only declined to give the money which he had promised but, on his own initiative, proposed to meet the Christians and try the fortune of war with them.

The result was that, by common consent, they decided to declare battle. The bishop of Albara and some of the other chief men prominent in the siege were left to guard the camp [at Arka]. The rest drew up their lines in proper battle array and led their troops toward Tripoli.

They found the governor with the entire body of citizens awaiting their coming. Both cavalry and infantry forces were drawn up intrepidly in battle formation before the city. For more than two successive months the count of Toulouse had been trying in vain to take Arka but had accomplished nothing. Hence the people of Tripoli were beginning to regard the Christians with contempt, and, as time went on, they feared them less and less. They believed that the famous valor for which these people had been so renowned had disappeared, for there was evidence of a falling away from the resolute courage which they had been wont to show.

When the Christians reached Tripoli and saw the enemy's forces ranged against them, they at once made a furious charge and, at the first attack, threw the opposing cohorts into disorder and put them to flight. Their bold persistence forced the citizens to flee for refuge into the city, whither they were closely pursued by the Christians. Seven hundred of the enemy were killed, but our forces lost only three or four men. There, on April 10, the army celebrated the feast of Easter.[27]

21. *The governor of Tripoli obtains a treaty from the Christians, at the cost of much money and many gifts. By the advice of the faithful living in those parts, the leaders choose the shore route.*

THIS victory won, they again returned to the camp. Here, however, the entire populace at once loudly demanded that the leaders abandon the ruinous siege and start on the road to Jerusalem, whither all so ardently desired to go. This obstinate persistence finally brought about the desired result. To satisfy the people, the duke, the counts of Flanders and Normandy, and Tancred decided to burn the camp and abandon the siege of Arka. The count of Toulouse was most reluctant to give up his purpose and strove with all his might against the decision. In spite of his protest, however, the march was directed toward Tripoli, that the pilgrimage might be resumed. Among those who were most active in bringing this about were some who had been with Raymond's camp from the beginning. Now, however, they left him and zealously followed the leaders just mentioned.[28]

When the count discovered this and realized that neither by promises nor by entreaties could they be recalled, he made a virtue of necessity and very unwillingly followed the others. After a march of about five miles, they reached Tripoli and established their camp before that city. The governor of the place, who had charge of the caliph's affairs in that region, now laid aside the haughty attitude which he had displayed a short time before, when he had tried to treat with our leaders on equal terms. He sent a delegation to undertake peace negotiations. He offered fifteen thousand pieces of gold besides gifts of horses and

[27] Hagenmeyer would date the battle somewhat later, about April 18, 1099, and place the arrival of the Egyptian envoys after, instead of before, this battle (see *H. Chron.*, nos. 366, 370).

[28] This statement is fully supported by Raymond d'Aguilers. The start of the final journey to Jerusalem is dated May 13, 1099.

mules, silks and precious vases, and also promised to restore all the Christian captives whom he was holding in his power. On these terms, the leaders consented to leave the province for which he was responsible. They furthermore agreed to spare on the march three cities which were under his rule, namely, Arka, Tripoli, and Biblos [Jubail] with their dependencies. In addition to the gifts already made, he sent the Christians flocks and herds and a bountiful supply of provisions, that they might not be driven, through lack of food, to despoil the outlying fields and harm the farmers who were cultivating the soil.

High up on the lofty range of Lebanon, whose towering summits rise far above those cities on the east which I have just mentioned, lived certain Syrian Christians.[29] These people had come down to offer their congratulations to the pilgrims and to pay them their tribute of brotherly affection. Since they were well acquainted with the country all about, the leaders called these people and consulted with them, as experienced men, about the safest and easiest road to Jerusalem. In all good faith the Syrians carefully considered the advantages and the length of the various routes leading thither and finally recommended the shore road as the most direct. By following this, the pilgrims would also be able to have the assistance of their ships, which would follow the army as it advanced.

The Christian fleet included not only the ships of Guinemer and his companions which had come from Flanders, Normandy, and England, as we have said, but also vessels from Genoa, Venice, and Greece. These often came from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other islands, laden with articles of commerce which were of great use to our legions.

In addition to the Syrian Christians just mentioned, the pilgrims took as guides for the march persons from the household of the governor of Tripoli. They proceeded along the seacoast, with the Lebanon range on their left, and after passing Jubail encamped on the bank of a river near a place called Maus. There they rested for a day, while waiting for the host of feeble followers and those who could not keep up with the pace of the rest.

[29] These were Maronite Christians whose later affiliation with the Roman church is told by William (see Book XXII, chap. viii).

22. *Again they resume the march and pass through the cities on the seacoast. They come to Lydda and Ramlah.*

On the third day they encamped before the city of Beirut on the bank of a river which flows past the town. The governor of the place offered them money and a bountiful supply of provisions, to induce them to spare the crops and trees, and there they rested for one night. The next day they reached Sidon, where they stretched their tents along the river bank in order to have the advantage of the water. For some reason unknown to me, the governor of this city showed our leaders no courtesy or favor but, overconfident and in entire reliance upon his own strength, began to harass the army, although the attempt was not very successful. At length, some of our people, provoked by the attempted attacks of the citizens, could endure it no longer. They charged upon the foe, killed a number, and forced the rest to retire into the city. The result was that the night was passed peacefully in camp without further molestation from the enemy. When morning came, it was decided to remain there for a short time, that the people might have a chance to recuperate somewhat. Some of the light-armed troops were thereupon dispatched to obtain the necessary food from the neighboring countryside. With one exception, all returned in safety and brought with them a large supply of foodstuffs, together with flocks and herds. Walter de Verra, however, did not come back with the rest, but went on farther in quest of still more plunder. What untoward fate befell him was never known, but he did not appear again, and the uncertainty surrounding his end caused his comrades much grief.

The first part of the route on the succeeding day was through a country generally hilly. At last, however, they came into more level land. They passed on the right the ancient city Sarepta of the Sidonians, the nurse of Elijah, the man of God.[30] They then crossed the intervening river and came to Tyre, the famous capital of that region and the ancient home of Agenor and Cadmus. At this place they established their camp near the famous fountain of the Gardens, a well of living waters, the wonder of the world.[31] There, in the extensive gardens, full of all kinds of agreeable conveniences, they remained that night.

On the morrow, they again girded themselves for the march and,

[30] I Ki. 17: 9–10.
[31] This fountain is more fully described later (see Book XIII, chap. 3).

after surmounting the difficulties of the narrow pass between the overhanging mountains and the sea, once more descended into the plain near the city of Acre. On the banks of a river flowing by the city they stretched their tents. The citizens and the governor of Acre offered them gifts and also provided them with a market under good conditions. The latter showed himself very friendly toward the leaders and entered into an agreement with them. If they should succeed in taking Jerusalem and could maintain themselves in the kingdom for the space of twenty days thereafter, or could defeat the Egyptian forces, he promised to resign the city of Acre to them without difficulty.

From Acre they marched along between Mt. Carmel and the sea, with Galilee on the left, until they came to Caesarea, the metropolis of Palestina Secunda, known of old as the Tower of Straton. Here they encamped by a river which has its source in the marshes near the city, and here, less than two miles from Caesarea, on May 28, they celebrated the holy day of Penecost.[32]

On the third day thereafter, the pilgrims resumed their tedious march. Leaving the coastal cities of Antipatris and Joppa [Jaffa] on the right, they traversed an extensive plain, crossed the Eleutheria, and came to Lydda, which is Diospolis. At Lydda is still shown the glorious tomb of the illustrious martyr George, whose mortal remains are believed to repose therein in the Lord. Here to honor the memory of this saint, that pious and orthodox prince of the Romans, the Emperor Justinian, whose name is ever held in remembrance, had, with zealous devotion, caused a church to be erected.[33] Shortly before the Christians arrived, however, the enemy, in anticipation of their coming, had razed this church to the ground, for they feared lest the pilgrims might convert the long beams used in its construction into machines and hurling engines for storming the city.

Not far from here, as our leaders learned, there was a noble city called Ramlah. They, accordingly, sent the count of Flanders with five hundred knights to ascertain what the attitude of the citizens of the place was and what proposals they intended to make. The reconnoiter-

[32] May 28–29, 1099.

[33] St. George, who is regarded as a native of Lydda, was martyred, according to legend, at Nicomedia April 23, 303. He is a patron saint of the region around Constantinople, where the strait was named in his honor the arm of St. George. He was also highly esteemed by the crusaders, and Robert of Flanders is said to have refused rich gifts from the emperor in favor of a relic of St. George, which he carried along in his tent.

ing party drew near to the city, and, as no one came out to meet them, they entered through the wide-open gates and discovered that the place was utterly deserted. The news that the Christians were at hand had preceded them, and, during the course of the previous night, the citizens had departed with their wives and children and all their households, so that the city was empty. The count at once dispatched a messenger to the legions with this news and advised them to hasten to the city without delay. Accordingly, as soon as their customary prayers had been made, the Christians marched on to Ramlah, where they remained three days, in the full enjoyment of corn, wine, and oil.

They established as bishop over the church at that place one Robert, a Norman by birth, from the bishopric of Rouen. To him they granted, as a possession forever, the cities of Lydda and Ramlah with their outlying dependencies, thus dedicating the first fruits of their labors with complete devotion to the illustrious martyr George.[34]

23. *The people of Jerusalem fortify that city with great care against the coming of the Christians. They place therein valiant men, arms, and provisions. Most of the Christian population is driven out of the city.*

MEANWHILE widespread reports had warned the inhabitants of Jerusalem of our approach. They knew full well that the great host which was said to be drawing near had but one aim in view, namely, to gain possession of Jerusalem. Accordingly, they applied themselves with the utmost diligence and zeal to fortifying the city. They vied with one another in collecting and bringing into the city the necessary food and all kinds of weapons, as well as wood, iron, and steel—everything, in short, that might be of use to those under siege.

During the course of that same year, the prince of Egypt had succeeded in wresting the sovereignty of Jerusalem from the Turks and had recovered the city. As soon as he learned that our army had left Antioch, he at once ordered that all the towers and walls of the Holy City be repaired. Moreover, in order to win the loyal good will of the citizens, he directed that generous payments be given them from his own treasury and remitted in perpetuity the tributes and customs. De-

[34] The memorial church to St. George was erected about midway between the adjacent towns of Ramlah and Lydda. Hence the bishop of this diocese was indiscriminately called the bishop of Ramlah, Lydda, or St. George. This was the first Latin bishop of the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

sirous of taking advantage of such privileges and eager at the same time to provide for their own safety and welfare, the people exerted themselves to obey the royal will. They called in the residents of neighboring cities and carefully strengthened the defenses of the city by reinforcements of many well-armed and gallant men.

All then assembled, as with one mind, in the vast and spacious hall of the Temple to consider how to anticipate and, if possible, prevent our advance. To this end they decided to slay all the Christian inhabitants and then to overthrow from its very foundations the church of the Resurrection of the Lord and utterly destroy the Sepulchre of the Lord contained therein. This action would, they hoped, keep away, in the future, the great concourse of pilgrims who flocked thither to visit these places for the sake of prayer. On further consideration, however, they feared that such a course would intensify the hatred of the Christians. It might even goad them to still more furious efforts for the destruction of the people of Jerusalem. Accordingly these plans were changed. They extorted all the money and goods in the possession of the Christian inhabitants and demanded as tribute fourteen thousand pieces of gold. This was to be paid by the patriarch who at that time presided over the city, by the Christian dwellers in Jerusalem, and by the monasteries in the vicinity.

The entire possessions of the Christians living in Jerusalem were not sufficient to pay this sum. It became necessary, therefore, for the venerable patriarch to make a voyage to Cyprus in order to obtain the means of satisying this exorbitant demand. Money was also needed to relieve, in some measure at least, his own needs and the poverty of the faithful. From the true believers in that island he intended to beg alms and pious gifts which he might send to keep alive that exhausted and famishing people of God who dwelt in Jerusalem and the borders thereof.[35]

Yet even these exactions did not seem to satisfy the infidels. After they had extorted from the faithful all they owned, by means of inquisitions and torture, they drove them out of the city with the exception of the old men, the sick, and the women and children. Up to the very time of our coming, these exiles were languishing away in the little villages near the city, in hourly anticipation of death. They dared not enter Jerusalem, but even outside there was no place of safety or refuge

[35] See Book I, chap. 11.

for them, surrounded as they were by their persecutors. Their every movement was viewed with suspicion by the inhabitants of the villages, who laid upon them the most degrading and intolerable tasks.

In the city beloved of God there was living at this time a certain man of consecrated life, renowned for his piety, Gerald by name. He was in charge of the hospital, mentioned above, where the poor were lodged who came to Jersualem for the sake of prayer and where they received refreshment suited to the conditions of time and place.[36]

The infidels believed that this man had a secret fund laid aside and feared that he might be able to injure them when our army arrived. They therefore beat him and cast him into prison. There he was subjected to torture so terrible that the joints of both his hands and feet were wrenched apart and his limbs became practically useless.

24. *The people of Bethlehem send envoys to the leaders. Tancred is dispatched to that city. He takes possession of the church and the place.*

THE army passed three days at Ramlah. They then appointed guards to protect the better fortified part of the city from the wiles of the foe and made ready to resume the march toward their objective. At dawn on the following day, under the guidance of experienced men who knew the country well, they arrived at Nicopolis.

Nicopolis is one of the cities of Palestine. It is mentioned in the holy books of the Evangels as the village of Emmaus. St. Luke the Evangelist says that it was threescore furlongs from Jerusalem.[37] In the sixth book of the *Historia tripartita*, Sozomenus speaks of this place as follows: "After the Romans had conquered Judea and laid waste Jerusalem, Emmaus was called Nicopolis in commemoration of that victory. Before the city, at the crossing of the roads where Christ is known to have walked with Cleopas after His resurrection as if on the way to another village, there is a spring of health-giving waters. Here the ills of men are washed away and the various diseases to which the lower animals are subject are likewise cured. In explanation of this belief, tradition says that on this same walk Christ appeared to His disciples at that spring and himself bathed their feet in its waters; hence from that time on it became a cure for all ailments." These are the

[36] See Book I, chap. 10.

[37] Lu. 24:13.

statements made by the historian mentioned above about the village of Emmaus.

The Christians passed that night peacefully in the enjoyment of abundant water and a goodly supply of the necessary food. About midnight envoys arrived from the faithful who lived at Bethlehem. They came to beg Duke Godfrey most earnestly that he would send part of his forces thither. For the enemy from all the towns and the countryside in the vicinity were repairing in haste to Jerusalem, not only to aid in the defense of the city, but also to find a place of safety for themselves. The faithful at Bethlehem were in terror, therefore, lest these infidels might invade their city and pull down the church which the Christians had repeatedly redeemed from destruction at the hand of these same enemies by the payment of large sums of money.

The requests of these faithful brethren were heard with loving piety. The duke ordered an hundred light-armed horsemen, picked men from his own following, to hasten at once to Bethlehem for the assistance of the Christians there. Tancred was to share in the expedition and act as the leader. Under the guidance of the envoys, the party arrived at their destination at daybreak. There they were received by the citizens with great honor, and, to the accompaniment of hymns and spiritual songs, they were escorted by the people and clergy to the church. With intense joy they looked upon the place of the blessed birth and the manger where once the Saviour lay. Then amid enthusiastic rejoicing, again to the accompaniment of psalms and votive hymns, the citizens raised Tancred's standard over the church in sign of victory.

Meanwhile, the hearts of those who remained behind were yearning to proceed on the way. The knowledge that they were close to the venerated places, love and reverence for which had enabled them to endure even unto this third year so many privations and dangers, prevented them from sleeping. Eagerly they longed for the coming of the dawn, that they might see the successful end of their journeyings and the happy consummation of their long pilgrimage. The watches of the night seemed prolonged beyond their usual length even to the extent of unduly encroaching on the morrow. To their yearning hearts, all delay was intolerable and perilous, for, as says the proverb, "To the longing heart, no haste seems sufficient"; and still another, "Desire increases with delay."

25. *The army proceeds on the march and arrives at Jerusalem. In the meantime, however, a skirmish occurs in which some of the enemy perish.*

When it became known in the camp that the duke had received messengers from the people of Bethlehem during the night and had sent troops from the army to their aid, the people rose in wrath and incited one another to rebellion. They waited for no permission to depart nor for a favorable time such as the dawn presents; but chiding further delay, they started out in the dead of night, in entire disregard of the opposition of their leaders.

They had gone but a short distance and the sky was already beginning to grow bright when a certain energetic nobleman, Gaston de Béziers, with a band of thirty light-armed knights, left the rest and began to hurry on toward Jerusalem. He hoped to find flocks and herds outside the walls which he might seize and drive back to the army. As he had expected, he found near the city some cattle guarded by a few shepherds who fled in terror to the city as soon as they caught sight of our men.

Meanwhile, Gaston, driving before him the cattle deserted by their keepers, was returning to the army. But the shouts of the shepherds had roused the citizens. They at once seized their weapons and vigorously pursued Gaston toward the camp, in the hope of recovering the booty thus violently seized.

In dismay at the numbers of his pursuers, the distinguished knight at once abandoned his spoils and fled for safety. With his followers he had taken a position on a certain hill to await the result of the affair, when suddenly Tancred with his hundred knights appeared from a valley near by. He was on his way back to the camp from Bethlehem. Gaston hurried toward him and related all the misfortunes that had befallen him. The two leaders at once joined forces and reversed their march in pursuit of the enemy, who were driving back their cattle. Before the latter could reach the city, our people fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and put the rest to flight. With the recovered booty, for a second time taken by force, the Christian leaders then returned with rejoicing to the camp.

When asked where they had seized their plunder, they replied that

it was from the fields in the vicinity of Jerusalem. As the word Jerusalem fell upon the ears of the pilgrims—Jerusalem the city for whose sake they had endured so many hardships—fervent devotion so overwhelmed them that they could not restrain their tears and sighs. Falling upon the ground, they adored and glorified God, who had granted His faithful people the privilege of serving Him worthily and commendably, the Lord who had mercifully deigned to hear the prayers of His people and had deemed them worthy, according to their hope, to reach the city so ardently desired.

As they approached still closer and could gaze upon the Holy City now so near at hand, the pilgrims, most of whom were walking barefooted, gave utterance to their spiritual joy with heartfelt tears and sighs. With ever-increasing fervor, they pressed on toward their goal and, in a short time, were standing before Jerusalem. There they placed their tents around the city in the order designated by the individual chiefs.

Here, indeed, the prophetic utterance of Isaiah seemed to be fulfilled and the word of the Lord to be made actual fact: "Lift up thine eyes unto Jerusalem and see the power of the Lord. Behold thy Redeemer cometh to release thee from thy bonds." [38] And likewise, "Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bonds of thy neck, O captive daughter of Sion." [39]

[38] Is. 51: 17 (the passage resembles this verse, but is William's own version).
[39] This is a contraction of Is. 51: 17 and 52: 2.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTH BOOK

THE EIGHTH BOOK BEGINS

END OF THE PILGRIMAGE: JERUSALEM CAPTURED

1. *A description of the situation of the Holy City, wherein are also mentioned the districts and the places which are included within its boundaries.*

It is a well-known fact that Jerusalem, the Holy City beloved of God, is situated on lofty hills, and ancient authorities say that it was located in the tribe of Benjamin. To the west lie the land of Simeon and the region of the Philistines. To the west likewise is the Mediterranean sea, which is twenty-four miles distant at the nearest point, hard by the ancient city of Jaffa. Between Jerusalem and the sea is the village of Emmaus, which, as has been said, was later called Nicopolis, the place where the Lord appeared to two of His disciples after the resurrection.

There also lies Modin, the happy stronghold of the holy Maccabees; there is Nobe, the sacred village where David and his servants, when ahungered, ate the bread of the Covenant, with the consent of Ahimelech the priest.[1] There is situated Diospolis also, which is Lydda, where Peter restored to health the paralytic who had lain on his bed from his eighth year.[2] There too is Jaffa, where the same Peter raised from the dead the disciple named Tabitha, full of good works and alms, and restored her alive to the saints and widows.[3] It was at Jaffa also that Peter, while lodging at the house of Simon the Tanner, received the messenger of Cornelius, as is contained in the Acts of the Apostles.[4]

On the east, about fourteen miles distant from the city, are the waters of the Jordan and the adjacent desert, once so well known to the sons of the prophets. There too is the wooded valley where now lies the sea of Salt, known also as the lake of Asphalt or the Dead sea. Before the Lord destroyed Sodom, all this region, as we read in Genesis, was watered like the garden of the Lord.[5]

On this side of Jordan lies the city of Jericho, which was conquered

[1] I Sa. 21: 1–6. [2] Ac. 9: 32–35. [3] Ac. 9: 36–43.
[4] Ac. 10. [5] Ge. 13:10.

by Joshua, Moses's successor, rather by prayer than by battle. Here it was that later the Lord, in passing, restored sight to the blind man.[6] Here also is Galgala, the place to which Elijah withdrew.

Beyond Jordan lie Gilead, Bashan, Ammon, and Moab, which afterward fell by lot to Reuben, Gad, and to the half of the tribe of Manassah.[7] All this region is known today by the general term of Arabia.

South of Jerusalem was the lot of Judah, where is Bethlehem, the usual abiding place of the Saviour and the happy place of the Lord's birth and cradle. Here is the city of Tekoah, the home of the prophets Habakkuk and Amos, and Hebron, also known by the name of Cariatharbe, where are the revered tombs of the holy patriarchs.

North of Jerusalem lies the city of Gibeon, famous for the victory of Joshua, the son of Nun, and the scene of the miracle when the sun stood still.[8] This is the land of the tribe of Ephraim, in which are found Shiloh, once the guardian of the tabernacle of the Lord; Sichar, land of the Samaritan woman who talked with the Lord; and Bethel, worshipper of the golden calf and witness of the sin of Jeroboam. Here also is Sebaste, where John the Baptist, Elijah, and Abdias are buried. This place was later called Samaria, from the hill Shemer on which it is built and where the capital of the kings of Israel once was. Hence, even today this entire region is known as Samaria. To the north also lies Neapolis [Nablus], which was formerly called Sichem, from the name of its founder. Here it was, according to the words of the book of Genesis,[9] that Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, in revenge for the disgrace brought upon their sister Dinah through the guilty passion of Sichem, son of Hemen, slew both Sichem and his sons with the sword and burned the city to the ground.

2. *Reviews the many names by which the ctiy has been called and relates how David made it the capital of his kingdom. How the Emperor Hadrian transferred it from the slope to the top of the mountain. And some further remarks on its situation.*

JERUSALEM, the capital city of Judea, is located in a spot entirely lacking in streams and springs, woods and pasture lands. According to the histories of olden times and to the traditions of Oriental peoples, this city was at first called Salem, and later Jebus. After David had ruled

[6] Mat. 20:29 ff. [7] Jos. 22. [8] Jos. 10. [9] Ge. 34:25 ff.

seven years in Hebron, he drove the Jebusite population from Salem, enlarged the city, and made it the seat of his kingdom, calling it Jerusalem. Of this one may read in I Chronicles [10] as follows: "Then David departed and all Israel with him to Jerusalem, that is Jebus; where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up, and was chief. And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David. And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about. And Joab repaired the rest of the city."

Still later, when David's son Solomon was ruling, this city was called Hierosolyma, that is, the Jerusalem of Solomon.

Egesippus and Josephus, illustrious and well-known writers of history, relate that, because of the sins of the people of Judah, Titus the son of Vespasian, that magnificent prince of the Romans, besieged Jerusalem in the forty-second year after the passion of the Lord and, having besieged it, took it and threw it down from its very foundations. Thus, in fulfillment of the word of the Lord, there remained not one stone upon another.[11]

Jerusalem was later restored by Aelius Hadrian, emperor of the Romans, the fourth in succession after Titus, whence it was called Aelia in honor of him, as may be read in the reports of the synod of Nicaea: "Let the bishops of Aelia be honored by all," etc.[12]

The original site of the city was on the steep slope of the hill. It faced both east and south and occupied the slope of both Mt. Sion and Mt. Moriah. Only the Temple and the citadel Antonia lay upon the heights. Hadrian moved the entire city to the top of the mountain, so that the place of the Lord's passion and resurrection, which formerly lay outside the city, was included within the circuit of the same when it was rebuilt.

Jerusalem is smaller than the largest cities and yet larger than the ordinary. In form it is an oblong quadrangle, one side being longer than the others. It is enclosed on three sides by deep ravines. On the east lies the valley of Jehoshaphat, which the prophet Joel mentions as follows: "when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jeru-

[10] I Chron. 11:4–8. [11] Mat. 24:2. [12] Canon VII, first council of Nicaea.

salem, I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel." [13]

At the bottom of this valley a noble church has been built in honor of the Mother of God. It is believed that she is buried there, and her glorious sepulchre is still shown to the throngs who flock to the place. Through this valley flows the brook Cedron, swelled in winter by torrential rains. St. John the Evangelist mentions this, saying, Jesus "went forth . . . over the brook Cedron, where there was a garden." [14]

Adjoining this valley on the south is another ravine called Hinnom. In the distribution of the land to the children of Israel, this was the limit of the lots assigned to Ben and Judah, as is written in Joshua: "And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same is Jerusalem; and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward." [15] Here is still shown the field which Judas, that most wicked of traders, bought with the money received as the price of betraying the Saviour to the Jews. This field, known as Acheldama, has been set aside as a burial place for pilgrims.

We read further about this valley, in the Chronicles, in connection with Ahaz: "he burnt incense in the valley of . . . Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel." [16]

Jerusalem is bounded on the west by a part of this same valley, in which there was an ancient pool, famous in the times of the kings of Judah. From this point the valley extends to the upper pool generally called the lake of the Patriarch, which is close to the ancient cemetery in the cave of the Lion.

The city is approached on the north by a level road. There is still shown the place where the Jews stoned Stephen, the first martyr—the spot where, even as he was breathing forth his spirit, he knelt and prayed for his persecutors.

[13] Joel 3: 1–2.
[14] Jno. 18: 1.
[15] Jos. 15: 8.
[16] II Chron. 28: 3.

3. *Explains what part of the two hills is contained within the circuit of the wall. Also the situation of the church of the Resurrection of the Lord and the Temple of the Lord on the heights. The form of both churches is described.*

JERUSALEM lies upon two hills, according to the words of David, who said: "His foundation is in the holy mountains." [17] The summits of these hills lie almost entirely inside the circuit of the walls and are separated from each other by a little valley which divides the city into two parts. The peak on the west is called Sion, whence the city also is frequently so designated, as, "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob." [18]

The other hill to the east is called Mt. Moriah. Mention of this is made in II Chronicles as follows: "And Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan, the Jebusite." [19]

On the west, almost on the very summit of the mount is the church which is called Sion; and, not very far from it, is the tower of David. This is of very massive construction. With its towers, walls, and the outworks attached to it, it rises high above the city below and forms the citadel.

On the same height, but on the slope facing the east, is situated the church of the Holy Resurrection, circular in shape. As this church lies on the slope of the hill just mentioned, which towers above in close proximity to it, the interior would have been very dark. Its roof, however, built of beams rising aloft and interwoven with most skilful workmanship into the form of a crown, is so constructed that it is always open to the sky, which arrangement provides the necessary light for the interior. Under this wide opening lies the sepulchre of the Saviour.

Before the coming of our Latin peoples, the place of the Lord's passion, which is called Calvary or Golgotha, was outside the limits of this church. It was here that the wood of the Vivifying Cross was said to have been found. Here also, according to tradition, the body of the Saviour when taken down from the Cross was annointed with ointment and wrapped with fragrant spices in a linen winding cloth, ac-

[17] Ps. 87: 1. [18] Ps. 87: 2. [19] II Chron. 3: 1.

cording to the burial customs of the Jews. At that time there was only a rather small chapel here, but after the Christians, assisted by divine mercy, had seized Jerusalem with a strong hand, this building seemed to them too small. Accordingly, they enlarged the original church and added to it a new building of massive and lofty construction, which enclosed the old church and in marvellous wise included within its precincts the holy places just described.

On Mt. Moriah to the east and on the southern slope lies the Temple of the Lord. It was built on the place where, according to the account in the second book of Samuel,[20] and II Chronicles,[21] David the king bought a field from Araunah, or Ornan, the Jebusite. It was there that he was commanded to build an altar to the Lord, on which he afterwards offered a burnt offering and peace offerings. There he called upon the Lord and heard Him in the fire from heaven upon the altar of burnt offering. In that same place also, Solomon, after his father's death, built the Temple at the Lord's command.

From ancient histories, we learn what the shape of this temple was, how it fell under Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and was rebuilt under Cyrus, king of Persia, by Zerubbabel and Jesu, the high priest; likewise, how that same temple and the entire city was later destroyed by Titus, the prince of the Romans.

It suffices merely to mention here who designed this building and to describe its form, for in the first chapter of this work we have already said that Omar, son of Khattab, the third in succession from the seducer Muhammad and the inheritor of his error and his power, was the builder of this temple. To the truth of this assertion ancient inscriptions upon the walls of the building both within and without give ample testimony.[22]

The description of the edifice is as follows. On a plateau as long and as wide as the distance to which an arrow can be shot is a quadrangle with equidistant sides, surrounded by a wall of moderate height. This quadrangle is entered on the west through two gates, one of which is called the Beautiful gate. It was here, according to the account in the Acts of the Apostles, that Peter raised the man, "lame from his moth-

[20] II Sa. 24:16 ff. [21] II Chron. 3:1.

[22] This cross reference, which William states correctly, suggests that he inserted this material—probably the first four chapters of this book—for the benefit of his reading audience after 1180. It would not have been required by Amaury, and it does interrupt the narrative.

er's womb," who sat there begging alms from the passers-by.[23] The exact name of the other gate we do not recall. There is one gate in the north wall and another in the east side, called now the Golden gate.

To the south is the royal palace, generally known as the Temple of Solomon. Above each of the gates leading to the city and at each corner of the quadrangle just mentioned rise lofty towers, to which, at stated hours, the priests of the Saracen superstition were wont to ascend to call the people to prayer. Some of these towers still remain, but others have disappeared through various mishaps. Within these precincts no one was allowed to live; in fact, no one could even enter here except with bare feet freshly washed. Guards were stationed at each door to insure strict obedience to this order. In the center of the area thus enclosed is another court somewhat higher, which is likewise a perfect square, the sides being equidistant at all points. On the west and south two stairways lead up to this court, but on the east there is only one approach. At each corner of this court was a little chapel. Some of these still remain, but others have been torn down to make room for more recent buildings.

In the center of this upper court rises the Temple, in form an octagon with equal sides. Both within and without, the walls are adorned with marble slabs and mosaic work. The roof is spherical and is very skilfully covered with lead. Both the upper and lower courts, with their porticoes, are paved with white marble. Thus the rain which in winter falls in great abundance from the Temple itself, as well as that which comes from elsewhere, descends pure and clear into the many cisterns which lie within the enclosure just described.

In the center of the Temple, within the inner row of columns, is a rock, not very high, which contains a grotto. Here it was, according to tradition, that the angel sat when he struck down the people by the Lord's command, in punishment for David's presumption in numbering them. Nor was the sword sheathed until the Lord again commanded that they be spared. David afterwards bought this field for six hundred shekels of gold, full weight, and erected an altar there, as we have related. Before the Latins came and, in fact, for fifteen years afterward, this place lay bare and exposed. Later, it was covered with white marble by those who held it. An altar and choir were built above it, and there a priest celebrates the sacred offices.

[23] Ac. 3: 1–8.

4. *Relates how the city is situated in an arid spot without water. Of the pool of Siloam also and of how the citizens, at the news of our approach, filled up the springs and cisterns.*

THE city of Jerusalem, worshipper of God, is situated in the land of Judea, which is also known as Palestina Prima. The name Judea, however, dates from the time when the ten tribes separated from Rehoboam, son of Solomon, to follow Jeroboam, son of Nabath. The two tribes of Ben and Judah alone adhered to Rehoboam, and hence the land belonging to these two peoples is called Judea from the name of Judah. As we read in the Evangels: "They returned into the land of Judah." Hence Rehoboam and his successors were called kings of Judah, but the rulers of the other ten tribes were known as the kings of Israel or Samaria.

Palestine is also called Philistia, a name derived from that of the Philistines. There are said to be three Palestines. The first of these is Judea properly so called, whose capital is Jerusalem. The second has as its chief city Caesarea Maritima. The capital of the third is Bethsan or Scythopolis, over which the church of Nazareth now holds control. Regardless of the name by which it may be called, Judea certainly formed part of the Land of Promise and of Syria, as is proved by the words of that treatise in which one reads as follows: "In Syria, and especially in the region of Palestine which is a part of Syria and the land where the Lord deigned to appear in the flesh, it is customary to make a free use of parables."

This region lies practically in the center of the Land of Promise, according to the description of the boundaries thereof, which reads as follows: "From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates . . . and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast." [24]

The city lies in arid surroundings, entirely lacking in water. Since there are no rills, springs, or rivers, the people depend upon rain water only. During the winter season it is their custom to collect this in cisterns, which are numerous throughout the city. Thus it is preserved for use during the year. Hence I am surprised at the statement of Solinus that Judea is famous for its waters. He says in the *Polyhistor:* "Judea

[24] Jos. 1:4.

is renowned for its waters, but the nature of these varies." [25] I cannot account for this discrepancy except by saying either that he did not tell the truth about the matter or that the face of the earth became changed later. It is indeed well known that Hezekiah, king of Judah, the friend of the Lord, stopped by the springs outside the city when he heard that the army of Sennacherib, the son of Salmanassar, was at hand. Concerning this we read as follows in the second book of Chronicles: "And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city. . . . So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?" [26]

The most important of these springs is the one called the fountain of Gihon, which is mentioned in the same book as follows: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." [27]

Gihon lies to the south in the midst of the valley of Hinnom, in Jerusalem, where now stands the church built in honor of the blessed martyr Procopius. It is here that Solomon is said to have been annointed king, according to the account in the first book of Kings: "Take with you the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon: and let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him there king over Israel and Judah; and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God save King Solomon." [28]

It is evident, however, that these events occurred before the time of Solinus, for a perusal of the *Polyhistor* clearly shows that this writer lived later than the reign of Titus, that prince of the Romans who destroyed Jerusalem, and prior to that of Aelius Hadrian, who repaired it. In the fortieth chapter of this work we read as follows: "Jerusalem

[25] Solinus *Polyhistor* xxxv. William's critical attitude here toward this postclassical writer is that of a modern scholar. In this chapter he tests his source, both by the observed facts of geography and by his knowledge of ancient history. The contrast between William's acceptance of so much legendary material in the previous book—probably written about 1171—and the more critical attitude displayed in this chapter—probably written in 1182—reflects his growth as an historian.

[26] II Chron. 32: 2–5. [27] II Chron. 32: 30. [28] I Ki. 1: 33–34.

was the capital of Judea, but it was destroyed. Jericho then became the capital, but it too ceased to be the head after it was conquered in the war with Artaxerxes."[29]

About two or three miles beyond the city there are some springs, but they are few in number and furnish only a small supply of water. About a mile from Jerusalem on the south, however, where the two valleys named above meet, is the famous pool of Siloam, whither the Lord sent the man who was blind from birth that he might bathe and receive his sight.[30] This is a small pool which springs up in the lowest part of the valley. Its waters are neither sweet nor constant, for the flow is intermittent and its waters are said to bubble forth only every other day.

As soon as the citizens learned that the Christian army was approaching, they stopped up the outlets of the springs and reservoirs round about the city as far as the fifth or sixth milestone, in the hope that the Christians would be compelled by thirst to abandon the siege of the city. This action caused our army infinite suffering during the siege which followed, as will be related in the following chapters.

Those shut up within the city, on the other hand, had a great abundance of water. In addition to the rain water which had been stored up, water was brought in from springs outside. This was carried by conduits into two immense pools just outside the temple precincts but within the city limits. One of these is still called the sheep pool, because it was used for washing the animals destined for sacrifice. The evangelist John mentions that this pool had five porches and says that from time to time an angel went down into it and troubled the waters; whoever first stepped into the pool after that was healed. Here it was that the Lord healed the paralytic and bade him take up his bed [and walk].[31]

5. *Names the time when the Christian army arrived before the city; gives the number of our forces and that of the foe; and explains the order in which the camp was arranged.*

On June 7, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1099, the legions of the Christian army encamped before Jerusalem.[32] The number of

[29] Solinus *Polyhistor* xxxv. [30] Jno. 9: 7. [31] Jno. 5: 2–12.

[32] This account of the siege and capture of Jerusalem is based upon those of the anonymous author of the *Gesta*, Raymond d'Aguilers, Albert of Aix, and Fulcher

pilgrims of both sexes and of every age and condition is said to have been about forty thousand, but in this great throng there could not have been more than twenty thousand foot soldiers and fifteen hundred knights. The rest of the multitude consisted of a helpless throng, sick and feeble.

Report said that within Jerusalem there were forty thousand brave warriors, splendidly equipped. For from the fortresses in the vicinity and also from the country near by great numbers had flocked to Jerusalem. They had fled before the face of the army, not only to seek safety for themselves, but to aid in the defense of the royal city against the danger which threatened. They brought with them reinforcements of armed men and supplies of food.

As the Christians approached the city, they held an earnest conference with people well acquainted with the locality in regard to the direction from which the place might be most easily and conveniently attacked. As the deep gorges referred to above prevented an assault from the east or south, the leaders decided to attack from the north. Accordingly, the camp was so arranged that it extended from the gate known today as the gate of St. Stephen, which faces north, to the gate which lies below the tower of David on the west side of the city and which, like the tower itself, is called by the name of that king.

The camp was laid out as follows: First in order came the camp of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and next to this the camp of Robert, count of Flanders. The third place was occupied by Robert, count of Normandy; the fourth by the troops of Tancred and some of the other nobles who established themselves about the tower on the corner, which was later named for Tancred. The count of Toulouse and those with him continued the blockade from this tower to the west gate. Later, however, Raymond found that this position offered but little prospect of success for attacking the city on that side. For his camp was dominated by the tower which rose above it and which served as a strong protection for the gate at its base. The close neighborhood of the valley which lay between his camp and the city also hindered his efforts. Accordingly, by the advice of certain shrewd men well acquainted with the vicinity, he transferred a part of his camp to the hill

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of Chartres, as well as upon William's own knowledge of the region and of local traditions. The reader may compare his account with that of the strictly contemporary accounts which are translated by Duncalf (F. Duncalf and A. C. Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History*, Problem 3).

on which Jerusalem is built. This position was between the city and the church of Sion which lies about a bowshot from Jerusalem to the north. The count left a part of his camp in its original position. This he is said to have done with two objects in view: he wished his men to have an easier approach to the city for the purpose of assault, and he intended also to protect the church of Sion from harm at the hand of the enemy. This is the place where the Saviour is believed to have supped with his disciples and where he washed their feet. Here the Holy Spirit is said to have descended upon the disciples in tongues of fire on the holy day of Pentecost. Furthermore, ancient tradition says that this is where Mary, the Holy Mother of God, died. Here, too, is shown the tomb of Stephen, the first martyr.

6. *On the third day after the establishment of the siege lines, the city is attacked. Guided by a certain faithful Christian, they go into the woods and cut down trees with which to construct engines.*

THIS, then, was the arrangement of the camp, as just described. Scarcely half of the city was, however, inclosed by the siege lines. From the north gate, generally called the gate of St. Stephen, to the corner tower which overlooks the valley of Jehoshaphat, and from that tower to the opposite angle of the city on the south above the slope of the same valley, and from there to the south gate, which is now called the gate of Mt. Sion, the city remained unblockaded.

On the fifth day after our army took up its position before the walls, public proclamation was made by the heralds that all from the least to the greatest, well armed and defended by their shields, should be ready to begin the attack. And so it was done. For all, rising as with one mind to the task, attacked the city vigorously at the various points besieged. With such valiant energy was the work carried on that the outer fortifications were soon demolished and the enemy compelled to retreat in consternation to the protection of the inner walls. In fact, the citizens now began to doubt whether further resistance would be possible. If the Christians had had scaling ladders or machines with which to seize the ramparts, they might without question have taken the city on this day when they attacked it with such enthusiasm. But after they had labored in vain from earliest dawn until about the seventh hour, they realized that without engines they could hope to

accomplish but little. Further operations were, therefore, deferred until engines could be built. With these they hoped, by the aid of God, to renew the attack with more success.

The chiefs now zealously turned their attention to the problem of obtaining material suitable for constructing siege engines. Nothing of the kind seemed to be afforded by the country near by. Fortunately, however, there happened to be in the camp at this time a native Syrian Christian. This man guided some of the leaders to a retired valley six or seven miles from Jerusalem where tall trees grew. Although these were not entirely suitable for the purpose, yet a sufficient number were found which could be used in the emergency. Workmen and carpenters were summoned in adequate numbers; the trees were cut down and transported by camels and wagons to the city. They then called together artisans and others who were skilled in that kind of work, and all applied themselves with unwearied zeal to the ax and other tools used in building operations. Thus, with great enthusiasm and diligence, they constructed, from the material at hand, towers and hurling machine called *mangons* or *petraries* and also battering rams and *scrophae* [sows] for the purpose of overthrowing the walls.[33] Workers who lacked sufficient independent means to give their labor without pay received wages from gifts offered by the devotion of the people. Not one of the chiefs, in fact, with the exception of the count of Toulouse, whose resources were always greater than those of the rest, had money enough to pay the wages of the builders. Without contributions from the people, the count paid from his private treasury the necessary wages to his own workers and, in addition, supplied money to many nobles whose means had become exhausted.

While the greater chiefs were thus engaged in these important matters, other nobles and distinguished men, with banners unfurled, led the people to places where low bushes and shrubs indigenous to the country were to be found. From these, pliant twigs and withes were cut and carried back to the camp on the backs of horses, asses, and all kinds of pack animals, there to be made into wickerwork coverings to supplement the more important work of the builders. There was great activity everywhere. All labored with untiring zeal; nor was there in that great company a single idle man or one who indulged in leisure,

[33] See Book III, note 8; Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, I, 135–37.

but everyone without distinction did the work best suited to his condition. Whatever might be of use, that it was esteemed honorable to do. Rich and poor alike applied themselves to the task together, nor was any difference of rank even thought of where the zeal of all was equal and a like enthusiasm prevailed. The man of higher position because of his services showed himself all the more eager to assist, while the man of lesser degree was also admitted to his share of attention. All felt that whatever had been accomplished on the pilgrimage would be as nothing unless they were permitted to obtain the fruit of their labors and to enter the city—the end for which they had endured so many adversities. They regarded as of little consequence whatever demand was made of them, if only it might contribute to that one thing and they themselves be deemed worthy to see the fulfillment of their vows.

7. *The people faint from lack of water. Again and again, while seeking that and the other necessities of life at a distance, they fall by the hand of the foe.*

The army now began to suffer terribly from thirst, for, as has been stated, Jerusalem lies in an arid land entirely without water. There are no streams or springs or even wells of fresh water except at a distance. Moreover, as soon as the infidels heard that the Christians were near, they stopped up these sources also. They caused dirt and all sorts of refuse to be thrown into them, that the place might be rendered unfit for a long-continued siege. The cisterns and reservoirs for rain water were so injured that they would not hold water or were maliciously concealed that they might not furnish refreshment to the thirsting pilgrims in their desperate need. Still the people of Bethlehem and the faithful who dwelt at Tekoah, city of the prophets, frequently visited the army, and, under the guidance of these people, the pilgrims went out to springs four or five miles distant from the place of siege. There, under difficult conditions, they jostled and pushed and tried to prevent one another from drawing water. After long delays caused by their own quarrelsome conduct, they conveyed the muddy water, one draught of which would afford a thirsty man but slight refreshment, back to camp in skins, where they sold it for a large price in small portions.

The fountain of Siloam near the city, already described, did not afford a sufficient supply for the suffering people, for its waters, insipid as they were, did not bubble forth at regular intervals. The oppressive

weather and the intense heat of June redoubled the anguish of the pilgrims by increasing the importunate demands of thirst. The nature of their work, also, and the dust raised thereby brought on a dryness of the mouth and chest. So they used to go out in separate parties and scatter over the land in diligent search for water. When, sometimes, these small bands thought they had found the long-sought waters, suddenly they came upon a great throng bent on the same quest. Consequently, even when the springs were found, quarrels often arose; and, since each party tried to hinder the other, frequently a fight would result. Those who were on foot were able to relieve their sufferings in some measure by making a sparing use of the water when found, but those who had many horses were beset by much difficulty, for they had to lead the thirsty animals four or five miles to water.

Through the fields, with slow step and failing strength, wandered neglected animals for which their masters were unable to provide. Horses, mules, and asses, as well as flocks and herds, wasted away with parching thirst and died by inches. As a result, the very air in the camp was tainted by the pestilential stench which rose from their decaying bodies.

During this siege, merciless thirst afflicted the people not less than had the lack of food before Antioch. Regardless of caution, they recklessly scattered over the surrounding country and roamed about in search of food and the necessary fodder for the horses. The enemy, well aware of this habit of foraging, often stealthily issued forth from the unguarded parts of the city and attacked these bands. Thus many were slain, and their horses carried off. Others were luckier and succeeded in escaping by flight, albeit not without wounds.

Each day our ranks grew less than on the previous day. Almost daily many perished by the various accidents to which mankind is subject. Nor did fresh recruits come from elsewhere to take the places and assume the duties of those who had succumbed.

The enemy's forces, on the other hand, were ever increasing, and their numbers multiplied, for through the unblockaded portions their allies had free access to the city. Thither they hastened and joined the forces of the citizens for our destruction.

8. *The citizens build machines and prepare to resist. They impose many forced services on the faithful who dwell with them in the city.*

During this time our forces were exerting themselves to the utmost. They built engines, wove wickerwork frames, and spliced ladders together with the greatest care. The besieged, likewise, were ever on the alert to meet wile with wile and made good use of every device for resistance. There was in the city an adequate supply of beams cut from tall trees, which, before the Christians arrived, had been brought in with wise forethought for the defense of Jerusalem. In emulation of our example, they built from these, inside the walls, machines equal to ours in height, but of better material. This they did with the greatest enthusiasm, that their engines might not be inferior to ours either in construction or in material. Guards were maintained constantly on the walls and towers, who watched intently all that was done in our army, especially in regard to devices which pertained to engines of war. Every detail observed was at once reported to the chief men of Jerusalem, who strove with emulous skill to imitate the work of the Christians, that they might meet all our efforts with equal ingenuity. This was comparatively easy, for the people of Jerusalem had at their command many more skilled workmen and building tools, as well as larger supplies of iron, copper, ropes, and everything else necessary, than had our people. All citizens were compelled by a general edict to assist in the work. But on the faithful who dwelt in the city under the yoke of bondage extra heavy duties were laid. They were forced to render all sorts of unusual services. Heavy payments of money were extorted from them by violence, and they were dragged off to prison in chains, for the infidels feared that their good will toward the Christians might lead them to disclose secret conditions in the city. None of the faithful dared to ascend the walls or even appear in public unless he was laden with some burden which he was dragging along like a pack horse. They were compelled to carry heavy loads, and those who were skilled in any trade were forced to exercise it. At the slightest accusation of any chance informer, they were hurried off to punishment. They were obliged to receive into their homes refugees from the surrounding castles and villages who had fled to Jerusalem and to supply them with the necessaries of life. Although their means were

insufficient to provide even a meager and wretched living for their own households and dependents, yet they had to share their substance with strangers, while they themselves were the first to do without. If anything was needed for the public work, the first act of the infidels was to break into the homes of the faithful. There they took by force from the owner whatever they needed. At any place and at any hour of night or day, the Christians were liable to be summoned. If, for any reason, they did not respond at the first call, without a moment's delay they were ignominiously seized by the hair or beard and dragged off in such a piteous condition that even an enemy might have been moved to tears.

To the crushing burden of their sufferings and hardships there seemed to be neither limit nor end. Wearied beyond endurance, they had reached the point of utter desperation where they desired rather to die in the Lord than to continue their life on earth. In fact, their miserable existence was not far from being a living death, since not even once a day were they granted time to take refreshment or a little respite for necessary sleep.

Any unlucky accident was attributed entirely to them. They could not go in or out of their own houses freely without rousing suspicion. They were subject to insults at the hand of anyone, and every opportunity was given to bring false accusations against them.

9. *A fleet from Genoa arrives at Jaffa. Guides are sent from the army to conduct these people to the place of siege. On the way, the escort falls into an ambush laid by the enemy.*

WHILE these things were happening at the siege before Jerusalem, a messenger arrived with the information that ships from Genoa had arrived at the port of Jaffa.[34] The newcomers requested the leaders to send an escort from the army under whose protection and guidance they might safely proceed to Jerusalem.

Jaffa is a city on the seacoast, concerning which Solinus speaks as follows in the thirty-ninth chapter of his work, *De memorabilibus mundi:* "Jaffa is the oldest city in the whole world, for it was founded before the flood. One may see there a rock which still bears traces of the chains which bound Andromeda, who was exposed at that place to the sea monster, according to an authentic story. Marcus Scaurus, in

[34] This fleet arrived June 17, 1099.

fact, during his aedileship exhibited the bones of that beast at Rome together with other marvellous things. The fact is noted in the annals, and the actual measurements of the beast given. The ribs were more than forty feet long, and the height of the monster was greater than that of the elephants of India. The vertebrae were more than half a foot in width."[35]

In his epitaph on St. Paula, Jerome also testifies to the same thing in these words: "She saw Jaffa also, the port to which Jonas fled; the same city, to borrow from the tales of the poets, which witnessed Andromeda bound to the rock."[36]

In response to this request, the count of Toulouse, who had more abundant resources than the rest, with the consent of all sent thither one of the nobles of his suite, Geldemar, surnamed Carpinel, in command of a company of thirty knights and fifty foot soldiers. After the party had started, however, the leaders began to realize that this force was not sufficient for so difficult a task. They therefore begged the count to send additional troops. He acquiesced and dispatched fifty additional knights to reinforce the first party, under the command of two able and distinguished men, Raymond Pilet and William de Sabran.

Geldemar, who had already started ahead of this party, marched down into the plain around Lydda and Ramlah and there encountered a company of the enemy, six hundred strong. They at once attacked him and killed four of his knights and many more foot soldiers. Although few in number, the Christians resisted as well as they could. They were cheering one another on to the fight, when, fortunately, the two leaders who were following them arrived before the engagement was over and threw themselves into the fray. With united forces they fell upon the foe, and, by the help of divine mercy, killed two hundred and compelled the rest to flee. In this skirmish, however, the Christians lost two nobles, Gilbert de Trèves and Aicard de Montmerle. The news of their fate caused no little sorrow to the army.

After this victory had been vouchsafed from on high, the detachments proceeded on their way to Jaffa according to their intention and reached there in safety. The sailors greeted them with rejoicing, and all shared in the refreshment which comes from mutual affection and pleasant converse.

[35] Solinus *Polyhistor* XXXIV.

[36] Jerome *Ep.* XXVII.

At Jaffa they remained for a while until those who had come by ship could arrange their baggage and prepare for the march. Suddenly, the Egyptian fleet appeared one night before the city. It had been lying near Ascalon, waiting for an opportunity to injure the Christians. At these tidings the people hurried down to the shore. At first they tried to protect the ships from the schemes of the foe. They soon perceived, however, that their force was too small to resist so many. They therefore dismantled the vessels and carried away the sails, ropes, and all the rest of the equipment, and, laden with these things, they then withdrew to the citadel.

One ship, however, was absent on a predatory expedition. When it returned, laden with spoils, the enemy's fleet was in possession of the port of Jaffa. It therefore continued on its course and, borne by favoring breezes, arrived in safety at Laodicea.

Jaffa was at this time an utter wilderness entirely without inhabitants. The citizens had but little confidence in the city's fortifications, and shortly before the Christians arrived they had abandoned the place. Our troops occupied the citadel only. When all was ready for departure, the newcomers set out for Jerusalem with all their possessions, under the military escort which had been sent to guide them. They were received with much joy by the legions encamped before Jerusalem, to whom their presence brought promise of much assistance. For they were experienced men, skilled in the art of building, as sailors usually are. They were expert at felling trees, smoothing and fitting beams, and erecting machines in the least possible time. Moreover, they brought with them a great variety of things which proved of much help to the expeditionary forces. By the aid of these people the pilgrims easily accomplished works which before their arrival had seemed difficult and well-nigh impossible.

10. *Those who had come by sea proceed to the army. They lend able assistance in constructing the engines. The count of Toulouse and Tancred are reconciled to each other.*

Those who had remained behind at the place of siege continued faithfully to press on the work of building machines and had already completed the greater part of that task. The duke and the counts of Flanders and Normandy had entrusted the general oversight of the work to Gaston de Béarn, an able and magnificent man, and had begged

him to exercise a careful watch over the workmen that they might not neglect their tasks. The chiefs themselves often led the people out in large companies to cut timber, which was then brought back to camp for the various building operations. Some cut and piled up shrubs and bushes and branches of saplings to be used in making wickerwork coverings for the outside of engines. Others stripped off the hides of animals, clean and unclean alike, which had either died of thirst or had been killed. These skins were to be hung over the wickerwork to protect it from harm in case the enemy should throw fire from above to destroy the machines.

The zealous interest of the duke and the two counts just mentioned inspired great activity in the troops along the section on the north side of the wall. The same enthusiasm also prevailed along that part of the fortifications which extended from the tower on the corner to the west gate beneath the tower of David. Here the forces of Lord Tancred and the other nobles whose camps were in that section carried on the same work with no less diligence.

On the south the army of the count of Toulouse and his entire following were working with indefatigable zeal and diligence. Even greater enthusiasm prevailed at this point, for Raymond possessed more ample means than the other leaders and had also recently obtained fresh reinforcements of men and supplies. All who had come from the ships had joined his camp. They had brought with them many supplies, such as ropes, hammers, and other iron tools most necessary for the work of building machines. Among their number were excellent workmen, accustomed to building and setting up machines, as we have said—experienced men who were able to suggest many devices for bringing the work to a speedy conclusion. The noble William Embriacus, who commanded the Genoese, also gave much time and effort to the task of constructing the machines.

For four weeks the entire army toiled with all its strength, and at last after great effort the task was completed. The leaders then conferred together and fixed a day for making the attack on the city.

During this time, however, a serious disagreement had arisen between the count of Toulouse and Lord Tancred, and there was discord also among some of the other nobles for various reasons. It seemed necessary, therefore, to the chiefs, as well as to the bishops, the clergy, and, in fact, to the entire people, that full and loving harmony should

first of all be restored to their ranks. Then, with sincere hearts, they would be able to implore divine aid.

11. *A fast is proclaimed. The entire company of pilgrims goes up to the Mount of Olives.*

A FAST was accordingly proclaimed to the people by public decree for a certain day. Clad in their sacerdotal robes and with bare feet, the bishops and clergy led their people with the utmost reverence to the Mount of Olives. In their hands they bore crosses and relics of the saints. There the venerable Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, a learned man, a friend of the count of Normandy, preached to the people. With eloquent words they besought all to show a spirit of forbearance toward one another.

The Mount of Olives lies about a mile distant over against the city on the east, beyond the valley of Jehoshaphat. Hence St. Luke speaks of it as a sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem.[37] It was from this mount that, forty days after His resurrection, our Saviour ascended into heaven before the eyes of His disciples and a cloud received Him from their sight.

When the faithful reached this place, they implored aid from on high with deep humility and contrition, amid heartfelt sobs and sighs. The leaders became reconciled to one another, and all the people again entered into a state of mutual love. Then they went down from the mount and once more ascended to the church of Mt. Sion which, as has been said, was situated near the city on the south, at the top of the mount.

Meanwhile the citizens were filled with wonder as to the meaning of this procession round the city. From the walls and towers, with bows and ballistae, they kept hurling missiles on the crowded ranks of the Christians, whence some of our people who did not exercise due caution received wounds. To show their scorn and contempt for the Christians, the infidels had set up crosses on the walls, and on these they vented all kinds of shameful insults. They even spit upon them and in other ways indulged their feelings with filthy abuse. With brazen insolence they kept pouring forth blasphemous words and taunts against our Lord Jesus Christ and His doctrine of salvation. Although filled with wrath such as sacrilege alone can awaken, the Chris-

[37] Ac. 1:12.

tians proceeded to carry out their vows in entire devotion and at length arrived at the church, their destination.

After prayers had once more been completed there, the day was appointed on which, as with one accord, they were to attack the city. Then, after the procession around the city had been completed, the army returned to camp.[38] Commands were given that if anything was lacking for the successful completion of the task, it should be supplied immediately, that there might be no delay from lack of attention to detail, when the moment for the attack arrived.

12. *During the night, the duke and the two illustrious counts move their camp. The engines are set up in position round the city.*

THE day set for attacking the city approached. On the night before, the duke and the two illustrious counts moved their camp. For they perceived that the section of the wall which they had been blockading was particularly well defended by machines, weapons, and valiant warriors. Well aware that there was more to be feared from that side, the infidels had fortified it all the more strongly. In view of these defenses, the leaders saw that they could not hope to accomplish much on the following day. It appeared to them, and rightly, that the other side of Jerusalem, which had not been invested, was being guarded with less care. Accordingly, that night, with remarkable foresight and great labor, they transferred their machines and the siege tower, piece by piece, before the parts were put together, to that part of the city which lies between the gate of St. Stephen and the tower at the corner on the north, overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat. The camp also was moved thither. Strenuous work throughout the entire night enabled them to transport and assemble the engines and to locate them in their proper places before the sun rose. The movable tower was applied to the fortifications at a place where the wall was somewhat lower and the approach more level and more easily accessible. It was so placed that the defenders in their towers and the fighters in this siege engine might almost seem to be contending in a hand-to-hand struggle. The task thus accomplished was not slight, for ere sunrise the engines had been moved half a mile from the former location of the

[38] This procession occurred July 8, 1099.

camp, the parts assembled, and the machines set up in their new positions.

At dawn the citizens hurried to the walls to see what the Christians were doing outside. To their amazement they found that a part of the camp which for the last two days had stood there had disappeared with all its martial equipment. They scanned the vicinity and the circuit of the wall carefully and discovered that the duke's camp had been moved and the engines set up in the place just described.

Throughout that same night, in other parts of the city, in the same way that they had placed their camps in the order related, the other chiefs also had continued their work. They too had kept vigilant watch and had set up their engines. Practically simultaneously, the count of Toulouse attached the tower which he had had made with such care to the ramparts between the church of Mt. Sion and the city, and the other chiefs who occupied the position around the tower at the corner, now known as the tower of Tancred, also moved up to the wall, with equal care and effort, a wooden tower, which in height and solid construction almost matched the others.

The appearance and workmanship of the three machines was very similar. They were square structures, and the side facing the city was protected by a double covering. By a skilful device the outer one of the two could be let down in such a manner as to form a bridge between the tower and the wall. This furnished the soldiers a means of access to the city. This maneuver did not leave the side of the machine exposed, however, for when the outer covering was let down, the second layer beneath it afforded quite as much protection as that of the other sides.

13. *The city is stormed. The battle is fought with intense fury on both sides, but the appearance of night puts an end to the engagement.*

At daybreak, according to arrangement, the entire Christian army stood before the city, fully armed and ready for the attack. One single purpose fired the hearts of all—either to restore Jerusalem to the enjoyment of Christian liberty or to give up their lives for Christ's sake. There was not one person in that great throng, whether aged or sick or even very young, who did not fervently and zealously long for

battle. Even women, regardless of sex and natural weakness, dared to assume arms and fought manfully far beyond their strength. Thus the Christians advanced with one accord to battle. All tried to push the newly constructed engines closer to the wall so that they might more easily attack those who were putting up a strenuous resistance on the ramparts and the towers.

The citizens, determined for their part to withstand their enemies to the utmost, sent forth showers of arrows and missiles. Stones, hurled both by hand and from the machines, fell with fearful force, as the infidels tried by every device to keep our people from approaching the wall. But the Christians, protected by their shields and the wicker-work screens which they held out before them, showed no less activity. Showers of darts rained from their bows and ballistae, and volleys of stone missiles poured forth from the engines as the pilgrims, undismayed, strove to approach closer to the fortifications. They were seeking to weaken the courage of their foes and granted them not a moment's respite. Some, stationed inside the movable tower, kept trying to push it forward by means of poles; others at the engines sent huge rocks crashing against the walls, in the hope that the constant collision and continual blows might weaken them so that they would fall. Still others, armed with smaller weapons called *mangons*, threw stones of lesser size and toiled zealously to prevent the defenders on the ramparts from harming our fighters.

Yet those who were trying to push forward the engine were not as successful as they desired, for a wide and deep ditch before the bulwarks greatly hindered the progress of the machine; nor did those who were attempting to make a breach in the walls meet with satisfactory results. For from the outer walls the citizens had hung sacks filled with straw and chaff, together with ropes and tapestries, huge beams, and mattresses stuffed with silk. The soft and yielding character of these buffers rendered the blows of the missiles ineffective and defeated all the efforts of the assailants. Moreover, the enemy had likewise set up engines within the city which much exceeded ours in number. From these, arrows and stones were continually hurled to hinder the work of the Christians. Thus, as both sides were exerting themselves to the utmost and fighting with bitter hatred, the conflict continued from morning to night. It was persistent and terrible beyond belief; spears and arrows fell like hail upon both armies, and

stone missiles, hurled from the opposing hosts, collided in the very air and brought death in many a varied form to the fighters.

Equal labor and equal danger fell to the lot of all, whether they were fighting under the banner of the duke or under those of the count of Toulouse and the other leaders, for, as has been mentioned, the attack was being made simultaneously in three places with equal fervor and enthusiasm. The work of the Christians was much increased, however, by the fact that it was necessary to fill up the moat with rubbish, stones, and earth before a road could be made along which to move the machines.

Equally arduous and more trying, however, was the task of the defenders as they endeavored to hinder the besieging forces. They continued to put up a valiant resistance against the equally strenuous efforts of the besiegers. In their desperate efforts to burn the engines of the Christians they hurled down burning brands, darts laden with burning sulphur, pitch, *pasta*, oil, or anything that would furnish fuel to the flames. Moreover, so skilfully were the blows of the huge engines which had been built within the city directed against those of the Christians outside that the supports of the latter soon began to weaken and the sides became perforated. The fighters who had ascended to the upper stories of the tower to attack the city from that height were greatly alarmed and barely escaped being thrown to the ground. At length, however, by pouring on quantities of water from above, the Christians succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the fire throwers, and the fury of the flames was checked.

14. *Both besiegers and defenders pass the night in a state of extreme anxiety.*

THE approach of night put an end to this conflict so courageously waged in the midst of extreme danger, yet even then the result was indecisive. During the watches of the night, the fighters obtained some measure of bodily rest, yet the never-ceasing turmoil of spirit prevented sleep and caused them to labor no less. Their hearts, harassed by biting cares, surged within them as, ever mindful of their purpose, they eagerly waited for the dawn, when they might again return to the combat. Ardently they longed to try once more the fortune of battle, for they had faith in the Lord that they were about to draw a better lot and win the palm of victory.

Nevertheless, their anxiety was great lest the enemy, by some means, might furtively set fire to the engines. Hence they maintained a continual watch over them and passed a sleepless night.

The besieged were tortured by no less biting fear. Their especial dread was that the foe, whose intrepid attack they had witnessed on the day just passed, might seize the opportunity afforded by the silence of midnight to gain entrance to the city, either by making a breach in the wall or by scaling the fortifications. Throughout the entire night, therefore, they too with zealous care patrolled the circuit of the fortifications with the watchful diligence of those to whom it was a matter of life and death. In each tower were stationed officers of the night watch.

Meanwhile, the elders and those upon whom rested the chief responsibility for the city kept making the rounds of the streets. They admonished others also to keep a diligent watch for the sake of their wives and children, their own property, and the public weal. Carefully they scrutinized the gates and ways, that no opportunity might be given for the wiles of the enemy.

Thus both armies were afflicted with similar anxieties, nor did their watchful solicitude grant them any time for repose. The incessant mental turmoil, which kept their hearts and minds in agitation, was far more trying for both sides than the actual conflict on the field of battle which they had endured the day before.

15. *On the following day the conflict is resumed. The city is assailed more furiously than before. Sorceresses perish, who had been brought for the purpose of bewitching our machines.*

THE night was drawing to a close, and the first rays of light were already beginning to announce the approach of the longed-for day. The people, animated with the most intense zeal, were again summoned to the conflict. Each man returned at once to the post of duty which had been assigned him on the previous day. Some, at the hurling machines, kept throwing immense stones of great weight against the walls. Others, from lower positions in the siege engine, exerted all their skill and strength in pushing it forward. Still others, stationed on the top story of the same machine, harried the foe in the opposite towers with showers of missiles from their bows and ballistae or with any other weapons at hand. So persistent and effective was this bom-

bardment that the defenders dared not raise a hand and were forced to remain within the ramparts. When the moat had been filled and the forewalls breached, some of the besiegers worked with all their might to push the tower nearer. Meanwhile a still larger force kept up a constant hail of stones and arrows to drive back the defenders from the ramparts, so that they might not hinder those who were pushing the engine forward.

But as the citizens saw the efforts of the Christians increase, they too endeavored the more diligently to meet every stratagem with a like stratagem and to repel force by force. They too kept hurling back darts and stone missiles in retaliation against the besiegers and against those who were trying to advance the tower, and displayed an admirable energy which successfully hindered their progress. And in the hope of putting an end to our effort once for all, they hurled down fire upon the machines in fragile jars and in every other possible way. They also threw down sulphur and pitch, grease and fat, wax, dry wood and stubble—anything, in fact, that might help to feed the flame by acting as fuel. As a result, in both armies frightful havoc was wrought, and many, both knights and foot soldiers, perished by various mishaps and unforeseen accidents. Some were crushed to atoms by missiles hurled from the engines; others collapsed suddenly, pierced through both breastplate and shield by the showers of arrows and spears. Some died immediately, struck by sharp rocks hurled either by hand or from the machines. Others lived on with shattered limbs disabled for many days or, perchance, forever. Nevertheless, these many perils could not deter the contestants from their undertaking nor lessen their fervent determination to fight. Nor was it easy to judge which people contended with the greater enthusiasm.

It does not seem right, however, to pass over in silence a notable event which is said to have happened that day. Among their other machines outside the walls, the Christians had one which caused dreadful slaughter among the defenders by the violent impetus with which it hurled forth rocks of immense weight. When the infidels perceived that no skill of theirs could prevail against this, they brought two sorceresses to bewitch it and by their magic incantations render it powerless. These women were engaged in their magic rites and divinations on the wall when suddenly a huge millstone from that very engine struck them. They, together with three girls who attended them, were

crushed to death and their lifeless bodies dashed from the wall. At this sight great applause rose from the ranks of the Christian army and exultation filled the hearts of all in our camp. On the other hand, deep sorrow fell upon the people of Jerusalem because of that disaster.

16. *A sign from heaven appears on the Mount of Olives. Those who but a short time before had retired exhausted return eagerly to the fight.*

Although the conflict had endured unto the seventh hour of the day, the result was still doubtful without definite victory for either side. The Christians, wearied beyond their strength, were now beginning in despair to relax their strenuous efforts. The tower was almost completely wrecked by the continual battering to which it had been subjected, and the other machines were smoking from contact with the firebrands which had been hurled upon them. It seemed best under the circumstances to draw them back a little and defer continuing the combat until the morrow. The people were now beginning to feel doubtful of success, their courage was giving way, and gradually they were falling out of the ranks. The enemy, on the contrary, waxed ever more insulting and flung out the challenge to battle with more boldness than usual. At this crisis, divine aid came to the relief of the faithful and, in their desperate need, brought them aid according to their wish. For on the Mount of Olives appeared a warrior who never was seen thereafter. Waving a splendid gleaming shield, he gave the legions the signal to return and renew the combat.

Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustace had stationed themselves in the upper story of the movable tower, that they might take part in the attack and also see that the siege engine was properly protected. When the duke caught sight of this wondrous vision he was filled with joy and at once began with loud shouts to call back the people and the more important leaders. Thereupon, led by the mercy of God, the entire people returned in exaltation of spirit to the fray. So enthusiastic were they that it seemed as if they were beginning the battle anew with fresh strength. Even those who had lately withdrawn, suffering under the burden of wounds or fainting from exhaustion, now returned voluntarily and advanced to the attack with redoubled strength and increased ardor. The leaders and those distinguished men who formed the support of the army led the way and, by their example, inspired

the rest with courage. The women also, that they might have their share in the work, cheered the fighters to renewed courage by their words and brought them water in small vessels that they might not faint upon the field of battle.

Joy reigned in the camp as if victory were already assured. Within an hour the moat had been filled, the outer wall broken down, and the siege engine applied by force to the walls.

It has been already stated that the citizens had hung from the ramparts immensely heavy beams of great length to deaden the blows of the machines. Our fighters in the siege tower succeeded in cutting the ropes which held two of these buffers. They fell to the ground, where they were caught by men below although not without great risk. They were immediately carried inside the machine and used to reinforce the bridge which, as will be explained later, was thrown across from the movable tower to the wall. For the timbers which formed the bridge were weak and would not have supported the weight of the people who were to cross it, had it not been strengthened by these solid beams which were placed beneath it.

17. *The count of Toulouse and his forces attack the city with equal vigor on the south.*

WHILE the assault on the northern side of the city was being carried on with such vigor, the count of Toulouse and those who were with him were attacking from the south with equal fervor. For three successive days they had worked without respite to fill up the moat. When this was finished, they applied a siege engine to the wall by force, in such a position that the defenders in the towers and the Christians in the siege engines could almost have wounded one another with their lances. The enthusiasm of the fighters everywhere was equal and their perseverance the same. They pressed on the work with more than usual energy because a certain servant of Christ, who dwelt on the Mount of Olives, had promised them confidently that on this day Jerusalem would be taken. The sign of the waving shield from the Mount of Olives, which they too had seen, had likewise kindled their ardor greatly and made them still more sure that victory would be theirs. The work of both these Christian hosts seemed to progress with equal pace. It seemed, indeed, as if it were directed with equal care by the same great Leader, who had determined to repay the devotion of

His servants with a fitting reward. It was indeed time that the fruit of such mighty efforts and the recompense for military service so faithfully rendered should be received.

18. *The duke and his comrades lower the bridge from the wooden tower to the wall and introduce their troops. The city is taken, the gate is opened, and our troops enter Jerusalem.*

THE legions of the duke and the two counts, who, as we have stated, were attacking the city on the north, had, by the aid of God, succeeded in shattering the outworks and filling up the moat. The enemy, now utterly exhausted, could resist no longer. Accordingly, the Christian troops were able to approach the wall without danger, for only here and there were found adversaries bold enough to try to attack them through the loopholes.

At the duke's command, the fighters in the siege engines had set on fire sacks of straw and cushions stuffed with cotton. Fanned into a blaze by the north wind, these poured forth such dense smoke into the city that those who were trying to defend the wall could scarcely open their mouths or eyes. Bewildered and dazed by the torrent of black smoke, they abandoned the defense of the ramparts. As soon as this situation became apparent, the duke ordered the beams which had been rescued from the enemy to be brought aloft at once and so placed that one end rested on the machine and the other on the wall. He then caused the movable side of the siege tower to be lowerd. This, supported by the heavy beams which had been placed beneath it, formed a bridge of sufficient strength. Thus material which the enemy had brought in for their own benefit was turned to their injury.

When the bridge had been adjusted in this manner, the noble and illustrious Duke Godfrey, accompanied by his brother Eustace, led the way into the city and encouraged the rest to follow.[39] They were fol-

[39] Later writers in the West attached much more importance to the distinction of being first to enter Jerusalem than did those who were actually present. The crusaders doubtless crowded into the city so rapidly, once started, that it must have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to determine who was first. The chroniclers actually present agree that Godfrey's army was the first to gain entrance, that of Raymond last. The anonymous author of the *Gesta* mentions a "Letholdus" as the first in Godfrey's army. This is doubtless the same person as the "Litholf" of Albert and the "Ludolf" of William, and Albert may be right in giving Tournai as his birthplace and saying that he was accompanied by a brother, "Engelbert," whom William calls

lowed immediately by the two noble brothers Ludolf and Gislebert, natives of the city of Tournai, who well deserve to be remembered forever. Then a host of cavalry and infantry crossed, so many in number that neither the engine nor the bridge could support more. When the enemy perceived that the Christians were in possession of the wall and that the duke had already raised his standard, they abandoned the ramparts and towers and betook themselves to the narrow streets.

As soon as our people observed that the duke and a majority of the leaders had seized the towers, they did not wait to ascend the machine, but vied with one another in raising to the walls the scaling ladders with which they were well supplied. For, in obedience to a public proclamation, each pair of knights had prepared a ladder to be used in common. By means of these, without waiting for the duke's command, they now joined the others on the wall.

Immediately following Godfrey came the count of Flanders, the duke of Normandy, and the gallant Tancred, a warrior praiseworthy in every respect. With these also mounted Hugh the Elder, count of St. Pol; Baldwin du Bourg; Gaston de Béarn; Gaston de Béziers; Gerard de Roussillon; Thomas de La Fère; Conan the Breton; Count Rainbald from the city of Orange; Ludovic de Moncons; Conon de Montague, and Lambert his son; as well as many others whose names and number I do not recall.

As soon as the duke saw that all these knights had entered safely, he sent some of their number with an honorable escort to open the north gate, now the gate of St. Stephen, that the people who were waiting outside might enter. This was unbarred without delay, and the entire army rushed in pell-mell without order or discipline.

It was a Friday at the ninth hour. Verily, it seemed divinely ordained that the faithful who were fighting for the glory of the Saviour should have obtained the consummation of their desires at the same hour and on the very day on which the Lord had suffered in that city for the salvation of the world. It was on that day, as we read, that the

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"Giselbert." Later Western writers naturally sought a local hero for the honor and usually joined him to Lethold as sharer in the honor. Thus Ralph of Caen, whom Archer and Kingsford cite, had the Norman, Bernard de St. Valéry, join Lethold. Hagenmeyer, after examining the various claims, concluded that the probable basis for selection in most cases was the fact that they were the first of their respective armies to enter the city (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, p. 466, note 18).

first man was created and the second was delivered over to death for the salvation of the first. It was fitting, therefore, that, at that very hour, those who were members of His body and imitators of Him should triumph in His name over His enemies.

19. *The duke rides hither and thither through the city with his followers and works havoc beyond description. The count of Toulouse forces an entrance on the south side and introduces his men. Some of the citizens retreat to the citadel.*

THE duke and those who were with him then united their forces and, protected by their shields and helmets, swept hither and thither through the streets and squares of the city with drawn swords. Regardless of age and condition, they laid low, without distinction, every enemy encountered. Everywhere was frightful carnage, everywhere lay heaps of severed heads, so that soon it was impossible to pass or to go from one place to another except over the bodies of the slain. Already the leaders had forced their way by various routes almost to the center of the city and wrought unspeakable slaughter as they advanced. A host of people followed in their train, athirst for the blood of the enemy and wholly intent upon destruction.

Meanwhile, the count of Toulouse and the leaders who were fighting with him in the vicinity of Mt. Sion were entirely ignorant that the city had been taken and that the victory was ours. But the loud shouts of the Christians as they entered Jerusalem and the fearful cries which arose as the massacre of the infidels proceeded brought consternation to the defenders in that section of the city. They were at a loss to account for the unusual clamor and the ominous uproar. All too soon they discovered that the city had been entered by force and the legions of the Christians introduced. Without delay they abandoned the towers and fortifications and fled in different directions, intent on safety alone. The majority took refuge in the citadel, because that was close at hand.

The army let down the bridge unopposed, raised their ladders to the walls, and entered the city without the slightest hindrance on the part of the enemy. As soon as they themselves were admitted, they threw open the south gate which was the nearest to them and let in the rest of the people. It was here that the illustrious and valiant count of Toulouse entered, accompanied by Isoard, count of Die, Raymond Pilet, William de Sabran, the bishop of Albara, and many other nobles

whose names and number no history has preserved for us.[40] In one united body these forces, armed to the teeth, swarmed everywhere through the midst of the city, and, with a common purpose, wrought fearful havoc. For when those who had escaped the ravages of the duke and his people fled to other parts of the city and believed that in some way they had avoided death, they encountered this company. Thus, while they were trying to avoid Scylla, they fell into the more serious peril of Charybdis. So frightful was the massacre throughout the city, so terrible the shedding of blood, that even the victors experienced sensations of horror and loathing.

20. *The citizens take refuge in the court of the Temple. Tancred pursues them thither. A frightful massacre results, and a vast amount of blood is shed there.*

THE greater part of the people had taken refuge in the court of the Temple because it lay in a retired part of the city and was very strongly defended by a wall, towers, and gates. But their flight thither did not save them, for Tancred immediately followed with the largest portion of the whole army. He forced his way into the Temple and, after terrible carnage, carried off with him, according to report, a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels. It is believed, however, that later, after the tumult had quieted down, he restored these treasures untouched.

After the other leaders had slain all whom they encountered in the various parts of the city, they learned that many had fled for refuge to the sacred precincts of the Temple. Thereupon as with one accord they hurried thither. A crowd of knights and foot soldiers was introduced, who massacred all those who had taken refuge there. No mercy was shown to anyone, and the whole place was flooded with the blood of the victims.

It was indeed the righteous judgment of God which ordained that those who had profaned the sanctuary of the Lord by their superstitious rites and had caused it to be an alien place to His faithful people

[40] William, who was much more conscious of the honor than were the contemporary chroniclers, included all who were mentioned by any of them as among the first to enter and added a number of others who doubtless were or might have been in the group. His mention of Godfrey and Eustace as first is pardonable, since nearly all the writers mentioned them, and Albert, who made a special point of the two brothers from Tournai, said that Godfrey and Eustace were in the same tower.

should expiate their sin by death and, by pouring out their own blood, purify the sacred precincts.

It was impossible to look upon the vast numbers of the slain without horror; everywhere lay fragments of human bodies, and the very ground was covered with the blood of the slain. It was not alone the spectacle of headless bodies and mutilated limbs strewn in all directions that roused horror in all who looked upon them. Still more dreadful was it to gaze upon the victors themselves, dripping with blood from head to foot, an ominous sight which brought terror to all who met them. It is reported that within the Temple enclosure alone about ten thousand infidels perished, in addition to those who lay slain everywhere throughout the city in the streets and squares, the number of whom was estimated as no less.

The rest of the soldiers roved through the city in search of wretched survivors who might be hiding in the narrow portals and byways to escape death. These were dragged out into public view and slain like sheep. Some formed into bands and broke into houses where they laid violent hands on the heads of families, on their wives, children, and their entire households. These victims were either put to the sword or dashed headlong to the ground from some elevated place so that they perished miserably. Each marauder claimed as his own in perpetuity the particular house which he had entered, together with all it contained. For before the capture of the city the pilgrims had agreed that, after it had been taken by force, whatever each man might win for himself should be his forever by right of possession, without molestation. Consequently the pilgrims searched the city most carefully and boldly killed the citizens. They penetrated into the most retired and out-of-the-way places and broke open the most private apartments of the foe. At the entrance of each house, as it was taken, the victor hung up his shield and his arms, as a sign to all who approached not to pause there but to pass by that place as already in possession of another.[41]

[41] This is an early instance of the use of coats of arms as a means of identification and the establishment of claims. Doubtless the shields already bore markings of individual ownership, which were later to be elaborated in the heraldic markings still treasured by genealogists.

21. *The city becomes quiet, the tumult subsides, and weapons are laid aside for prayer. The Christians go about Jerusalem to visit the holy places. The day is passed in solemn rites.*

When the city had been entirely conquered and the infidels killed, when the tumult had somewhat died down, the leaders met to confer with one another. For the sake of better protection, they directed that, before arms were laid down, guards should be assigned to each tower and responsible men stationed as doorkeepers at each city gate. This guard was to be maintained until, by common agreement and the public decree of the leaders, someone should be placed over Jerusalem who would be able to undertake entire responsibility for it and to administer all things according to his will. They rightly feared the trickery of the enemy who surrounded them and, with wise foresight, dreaded sudden attacks.

When at last the city had been set in order in this way, arms were laid aside. Then, clad in fresh garments, with clean hands and bare feet, in humility and contrition, they began to make the rounds of the venerable places which the Saviour had deigned to sanctify and make glorious with His bodily presence. With tearful sighs and heartfelt emotion they pressed kisses upon these revered spots. With especial veneration they approached the church of the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord. Here the leaders were met by the clergy and the faithful citizens of Jerusalem. These Christians who for so many years had borne the heavy yoke of undeserved bondage were eager to show their gratitude to the Redeemer for their restoration to liberty. Bearing in their hands crosses and relics of the saints, they led the way into the church to the accompaniment of hymns and sacred songs.

It was a pleasant sight and a source of spiritual joy to witness the pious devotion and deep fervor with which the pilgrims drew near to the holy places, the exultation of heart and happiness of spirit with which they kissed the memorials of the Lord's sojourn upon earth. On all sides were tears, everywhere sighs, not such as grief and anxiety are wont to cause, but such as fervent devotion and the satisfaction of spiritual joy produce as an offering to the Lord. Not alone in the church but throughout all Jerusalem arose the voice of a people giving thanks unto the Lord until it seemed as if the sound must be borne to

the very heavens. Verily, of them might it well be said, "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous." [42]

Works of mercy, inspired by pious devotion, were carried on actively throughout the whole city. Many tearfully confessed to the Lord crimes which they had committed and bound themselves by vows never again to be guilty of such sins. Others with lavish generosity poured forth all their means upon the old, the sick, and the needy. They regarded it as the supreme blessing and all-sufficient wealth that they had been divinely permitted to witness that day. Still others went about to the venerable places on their bare knees and with sobs of deep emotion bedewed everything with their tears, as they directed their words to the Lord, "Rivers of waters run down mine eyes." [43]

Why should I say more? It would be difficult to express in words the intense and holy devotion of that faithful people. Deeply grateful for the divine favor which had deigned to reward their great labors, they eagerly vied with each other in works of charity. Ever present before them was the thought of the mercy which had been vouchsafed them from on high. For what man was so iron-hearted, so adamantine, that his spirit did not melt within him when he was permitted to partake of the worthy fruit of that great pilgrimage and receive the reward for the warfare he had waged? To those of deeper spiritual nature, this privilege seemed to have been granted as a pledge of that future recompense which the Lord has promised to bestow upon His saints, that through the gifts received in this present life they might have a sure hope of reward hereafter. This pilgrimage to Jerusalem which they were now making on earth seemed to promise a definite assurance that they would also take part at last in that future one in the life hereafter.[44]

Then the bishops and priests celebrated mass in the churches, offered prayer for the people, and gave thanks to the Lord for the mercies conferred upon them.

22. *The bishop of Puy and others who had fallen asleep in the Lord during the pilgrimage are seen in the city and appear to many.*

On that same day, Adhemar, bishop of Puy, that man of noble character and immortal memory who departed from this life at Antioch,

[42] Ps. 117:15. [43] Ps. 118:136. [44] Ps. 121:3.

as has been related, was seen in the Holy City by many witnesses. In fact, not a few venerable men worthy of entire confidence steadfastly assert that with their own eyes they saw him ascend the walls as the first and encourage the rest to follow. During the course of the same day, he appeared again and again to numerous people as they were going about to the venerable places. Many others of the dead also who, subject to divine obedience, had entered into the sleep of the just in Christ during the course of the pilgrimage were seen by many witnesses visiting the holy places with the rest. Through this fact it became evident that those who had been called from this temporal life to the enjoyment of eternal blessedness were not deprived of their heart's desire, but accomplished to the full that which they had sought with such fervent devotion. Thus there was afforded us a substantial proof of the future resurrection.[45]

Just as at the resurrection of the Lord many saints who had fallen asleep also rose in the body and appeared to many in the Holy City, so it was fitting that the former miracle should be renewed for the benefit of the faithful as they cleansed the place of the holy resurrection from the superstitions of the Gentiles. Furthermore, it was well that those who had surrendered themselves in such pious obedience to the risen Lord should be believed to have risen again in the spirit.

These and many other signs of similar nature were manifested abundantly to the people of God, through divine grace, as miracles rather than as wonders. Hence, such joy of both heart and mind and such spiritual exultation prevailed among the people that they forgot the countless hardships which they had endured and counted themselves blessed because they had been permitted to see that divine favor.

There went up from the Holy City a shout of spiritual rejoicing to the Lord, and, as if by direct command from Him, solemn rites were celebrated again and again; so that these words of the prophet seemed to be literally fulfilled: "Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her."[46]

[45] This vision of Adhemar was reported by Raymond d'Aguilers. William's use of it to prove immortality is particularly interesting in view of his conversation with King Amaury on the subject (see Book XIX, chap. 3).

[46] Is. 66: 10.

23. *The faithful dwelling at Jerusalem give heartfelt thanks to Peter the Hermit, to whom they had intrusted their message; they show him well-deserved honor.*

THERE were Christians living in Jerusalem who had seen the venerable Peter the Hermit in that city four or five years earlier. At that time the lord patriarch and the other leading men of both clergy and people had given him letters which they hoped would rouse the princes of the kingdoms of the West in their behalf. As these people again recognized him, they paid him humble reverence on bended knees, for they recalled with gratitude his first coming and the friendship which he had deigned to conclude with them. Heartily they thanked him that, moved by piety alone, he had so faithfully and indefatigably accomplished the mission which they had laid upon him. Above all they praised the Lord, who is glorified through His servants, that He had directed the paths of this man far beyond the hope of mortals. For it was indeed the Lord who had rendered Peter's speech so effective that both peoples and kingdoms were induced to undergo great hardships without murmuring for the name of Christ. In very truth the words of this man seemed to have proceeded from the Lord, who said, "So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." [47]

Accordingly, individually and as a whole, the people vied with one another in showing him honors of all kinds. To him alone, after the Lord, they ascribed their release from the hard servitude which they had endured for so many years and the restoration of the Holy City to its original state of liberty.[48]

As we have already said, the patriarch had sailed for Cyprus to obtain means at a great cost for the relief of the city and the welfare of its citizens. His mission was to beg alms from the faithful in that land with which to pay the tribute and extra taxes which had been imposed

[47] Is. 55:11.

[48] This story of the tribute paid to Peter the Hermit by the grateful Christians of Jerusalem does greater honor to William's literary sense than to his historical acumen. None of the contemporary or eyewitness accounts mentions it. Not even Albert of Aix, the first to promote the legend of Peter, thought to include it. William's literary sense, however, evidently impelled him to round out his account of the First Crusade, which he had begun originally with Peter's vision in Jerusalem, by this conclusion. With the mention of Patriarch Simeon, who likewise figured in that earlier scene, the original dramatis personae are dismissed, and with the description of the cleansing of the city the first part of the history is brought to a proper literary ending.

upon the Christians of Jerusalem far beyond their ability to pay. If these obligations were not met, there was reason to dread that the extortioners might tear down the churches or slay the people as they had done repeatedly in the past. The venerable man, therefore, was entirely ignorant of all that had occurred in the city and was dreading a return to the same critical conditions.[49] But, in the meantime, the Lord had brought about a condition of peaceful quiet in that place, far beyond anything which could have been anticipated.

24. *The city is cleansed of the corpses of the slain. The fugitives in the citadel surrender to the count of Toulouse. The day is set aside as memorable forever.*

When their prayers had been completed and the venerable places visited in a spirit of sincere devotion, the chiefs deemed it necessary, before all else, to cleanse the city and especially the temple precincts, lest pestilence should arise from the air tainted by the stench from the corpses of the slain. This task was imposed upon those captured citizens who, though cast into prison, had by chance escaped death. But since their number was not sufficient to accomplish so great a work without aid, the poor of the army were offered a daily wage to give assistance in cleaning up the city without delay.

When this matter had been attended to, each leader repaired to the house where he had taken up his abode. These had been made ready for them during the interval by the household servants. The city was found to be full to overflowing with goods of all kinds, so that all, from the least to the greatest, had an abundance of everything. In the houses which had been seized were discovered vast treasures of gold and silver, besides gems and valuable raiment. There were stores of grain, wine, and oil, as well as a plentiful supply of water, the lack of which had caused great suffering among the Christians during the siege. Consequently those who had appropriated the residences were able to supply their needy brethren in all affection. On the second day after the occupation of Jerusalem and again on the third, a public market of goods for sale was held under the best conditions. Even the common people had all that they needed in abundance. The days passed in joyous celebration, as the pilgrims refreshed themselves to some extent with the rest and food which all so greatly needed. The lavish abundance of the gifts granted them from heaven was a source of continual

[49] See Book I, note 53.

amazement and served as a constant reminder of the goodness which the Lord had deigned to shower so freely upon them.

In order that the memory of this great event might be better preserved, a general decree was issued which met with universal approval and sanction. It was ordained that this day be held sacred and set apart from all others as the time when, for the glory and praise of the Christian name, there should be recounted all that had been foretold by the prophets concerning this event. On this day intercession should always be made to the Lord for the souls of those by whose laudable and successful labors the city beloved of God had been restored to the pristine freedom of the Christian faith.

Meanwhile, the infidels who had fled to the citadel of David to escape the vengeance of the sword perceived that the Christians had now gained entire possession of the city. They realized that they could no longer sustain the siege. They accordingly sought the count of Toulouse, who lodged in the vicinity of the tower, and from him obtained the promise that they, with their wives and children, should have free exit from the city and safe conduct to Ascalon. Furthermore, they were to be allowed to take with them all the goods which they had carried away with them into the tower. On these terms they surrendered the citadel to the count.

Those who had undertaken to cleanse the city showed great diligence and zeal in the work. Some of the bodies were burned and others buried, according as the exigency of the time permitted. Quickly, within a few days, all was finished and the city restored to its usual state of cleanliness. The people then flocked with greater confidence to the venerated places and were able to meet more fully and enjoy pleasant converse with one another in the city streets and squares.

Jerusalem was taken in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1099 on Friday, July 15, about the ninth hour of the day. It was the third year from the one in which the faithful people had assumed the burden of this great pilgrimage. Pope Urban II was presiding over the Holy Roman Church, and Henry IV was administering the empire of the Romans. King Philip was reigning in France, and Alexius was wielding the scepter over the Greeks. Guiding and directing all was the merciful hand of the Lord, to whom be honor and glory for ever and ever.

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTH BOOK

THE NINTH BOOK BEGINS

GODFREY, DEFENDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE: PRECARIOUS TENURE OF JERUSALEM AND ANTIOCH

1. *On the eighth day after the capture of Jerusalem, the chief men meet for the purpose of electing one of their number to preside over the city and the neighboring districts. The clergy as a whole endeavor to prevent this action.*

THUS through the superabundant grace of God the Holy City had been restored to the Christian people and matters had been reduced to some degree of order. Seven days glided by in much rejoicing, tempered, indeed, by the fear of the Lord and spiritual gladness. On the eighth day the leaders assembled for consultation. It was their purpose, after invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, to choose someone from among their own number to rule over the region and to bear the royal responsibility for that province.

But while they were deliberating over the matter, some of the clergy, puffed up with the spirit of pride and intent on their own interests rather than on those of Jesus Christ, also gathered. They sent a message to the chiefs saying that they had certain private matters which they wished to bring before those who were now sitting in council. On being admitted, they said, "It has been reported to the clergy that you have met for the purpose of choosing one of your number as king. This purpose of yours seems to us holy and well advised and, if it were reached in its proper order, worthy of being carried out with all care. It is undoubtedly true that spiritual matters are of higher importance than temporal and ought therefore to be considered first. In our opinion, the order should be reversed, and, before election to a secular office is thought of, some person of religious life, pleasing to God, ought to be chosen who will be capable of presiding over the church of God for its advancement and benefit. If it pleases you to proceed in this order, it will be most agreeable to us, and we are with you in body and spirit. But if not, we shall pronounce whatever you decree without our approval invalid and without force."

Although this proposition of the clergy seemed on the surface to be reasonable and honorable, yet in reality there was underlying it much malevolence, as results will show.[1] The prime leader of this faction was a certain bishop of Calabria, from Martirano [Matera],[2] an intimate friend of that Arnulf of whom quite enough has already been said in the foregoing pages. The bishop was scheming to place in the patriarchal chair this very Arnulf, a man who, though in holy orders, was notorious for his loose conduct and who was, moreover, the son of a priest.[3] During the entire expedition his reputation had been the subject of common talk among the people, and the wanton singers of the chorus had made him the butt of their lascivious songs. Such was the man whom the bishop, contrary to the sacred canons and against the will of all honorable men, was endeavoring to raise to the office of patriarch. The bishop himself was a man of perverse mind, who had no regard for honor. Hence he could easily reach an agreement with Arnulf, for, as says the ancient proverb: "As is the true nature of a man,

[1] Raymond d'Aguilers, from whom William draws this account of the election, is somewhat vague in his description of the factions among the clergy. The bishop of Albara is mentioned as the head of one, the bishop of Matera of the other. Which of the two objected to the election of a secular ruler before an ecclesiastical head was chosen is especially obscure. Hagenmeyer regards William's statement as a correct interpretation of Raymond's account (H. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, p. 479, note 12). On the other hand, Raymond names the bishop of Albara immediately after the protest and further refers to him as "not conducting himself humbly" at this time. Furthermore, the protest reflected an attitude of independence, even of superiority, toward the secular authorities which is out of accord with the conduct of Arnulf before or after the election. William might have been led to blame Arnulf because the act itself was blamed at the time. It seems probable that both William and Hagenmeyer are wrong in their identification.

[2] The status of this bishop, Arnulf of Matera, is somewhat uncertain. He is believed to have been Tancred's chaplain. It would be natural, in view of the consistent practice of the crusaders thus far, to place someone from the army which captured a place in charge of the church there. No collusion would have been necessary, since Tancred had taken Bethlehem. The more remarkable feature of this incident is that the crusaders evidently regarded Bethlehem as a proper bishopric. It had previously been a parish in the diocese of Ascalon, a fact of which they were apparently unaware.

[3] Though the law of the church had condemned the marriage of priests ever since the time of Gregory the Great, that canon, like many others, had suffered neglect in the five centuries of disorder which followed. Even up to the end of the eleventh century there were many communities, especially in Western and Northern Europe, where the marriage of priests was regarded as proper. The vigorous campaign of Gregory VII and his successors against the practice, however, changed the public attitude of Europe on the matter. Arnulf's life fell in the period of this change. The circumstance of his birth, which had placed no obstacle to his earlier career, was to be held against him in his later years. This and the numerous other charges against Arnulf were to be brought before the pope for final adjudication (see Book XI, chap. 26).

so does he delight in the companionship of those of the same mind, for like to like is easily joined."

This same man had seized upon the church at Bethlehem, for he had made a bargain with Arnulf that, if the latter through the bishop's exertions should be raised to the patriarchate, the said church without question or difficulty should belong to the bishop in perpetuity. Death, however, soon put an end to all these schemes of his, as will be related in the following pages.

Among the clergy pure religion and all sense of honor had fallen from its high estate. Everywhere decadent, it had been flowing at hazard through forbidden channels from the time when Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the legate of the apostolic see, of pious memory in the Lord, had succumbed to death. After the passing of this holy man, William, bishop of Orange, a religious and God-fearing man, assumed the responsibility of that charge and, as long as he lived, faithfully administered it. Only a short time elapsed, however, before he too rested in the Lord at Maara. After the death of these two holy men, it happened as says the prophet: "Like people, like priest." [4] Only the bishop of Albara and a few others who had the fear of the Lord before their eyes continued in the strait way.[5]

2. *The leaders disregard the opposition of the clergy and make choice of the lord duke. After his election, he is escorted to the Sepulchre of the Lord amid the joyful sound of hymns and spiritual songs.*

THE princes regarded the objections of the clergy stated in the preceding chapter as frivolous and of no importance. Though intent on carrying out their plan, yet they took the proposal under consideration. Some accounts say that, in order that the election might be conducted in accordance with the will of God and that the merits of the candi-

[4] Ho. 4:9.

[5] The hardships of the crusade had fallen heavily upon the older clergy. Almost all of the higher clergy who had started in 1096 were already dead. Even the hisbop of Albara had been only a priest when he started and was elevated after the capture of Antioch. Virtually none of the clergy who were now prominent could be regarded as having been directly or even indirectly acquainted with Pope Urban's plans. The small group of clergy in Raymond's band with which Bishop Adhemar had been associated doubtless considered themselves somewhat nearer to the official views of the church. Their influence, however, had been weakened by the unpopularity of Count Raymond. The immediate task of organizing the Latin church had to be performed by younger men but little acquainted with the plans and policies of the church as a whole.

dates might receive due consideration, individuals from the households of those proposed for the honor were secretly interviewed. Each man was forced to take an oath that, when questioned concerning the life and character of his lord, he would speak the truth without deviating from the facts. This course was adopted so that the electors might obtain full and accurate information as to the worth of the several candidates. When later these people were asked searching questions by the electors, they were bound by the oath which they had taken to acknowledge under seal of secrecy many faults as well as virtues in their masters. By this means it was hoped that an unbiased judgment of the character and personality of each candidate might be formed. When, among others, members of Godfrey's staff were examined they declared that of all the doings of the lord duke, the following seemed to them the most trying: namely, that when he once entered a church he could not be induced to leave, even after the celebration of the divine office was concluded. He continued to question the priests and others cognizant of such matters as to the meaning of each image and picture until his companions, whose interests were different, were excessively bored. Moreover, because of this habit of his, the viands which had been prepared for a fixed and suitable hour were, when finally eaten, overdone and tasteless as the result of the long delay.[6]

On hearing this complaint, the electors exclaimed, "Happy the man who possesses these characteristics, to whom that is ascribed as a fault which others would boast of as a virtue!" After carefully considering all aspects of the matter, the electors unanimously agreed upon the duke as their choice. Godfrey was elected and escorted with great devotion to the Sepulchre of the Lord, attended by the singing of chants and hymns.

It is said, however, that the majority of the electors had agreed upon Raymond, count of Toulouse, as their choice.[7] They knew, however,

[6] By William's time Godfrey had become established not only as a national hero, but also as the hero of Latin Christendom and, as such, the natural object of legendary attributes. When William was writing, the stories of King Arthur's knights were receiving their final form. Knights seeking Jerusalem and knights seeking the Holy Grail were readily confused. This picturesque legend of Godfrey's piety is not fully supported by the historical records, though there are numerous instances of pious acts in his later life.

[7] This story rests upon the authority of Raymond d'Aguilers. Doubtless each of the leaders was the first choice of his own more pious followers for that honor, and his compatriots later were disposed to believe that he could have had it. Similar legends grew up about Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders. (See C. W. David,

that if he did not obtain the kingdom he intended to return home at once. Hence, drawn by an intense longing for the soil of their beloved native land, they had invented many reasons, even against the dictates of conscience, why the count should be considered unfit for the office. In spite of all this, Raymond spurned the call of his fatherland and, devotedly following Christ, did not return home. On the contrary, he continued on the pilgrimage which he had once and for all undertaken and voluntarily followed poverty even to the end. For he knew that "he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved"; [8] and also that "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." [9]

3. *The duke, on his elevation to power, demands from the count of Toulouse the tower of David which Raymond had taken from the enemy. A disagreement arises between the leaders, but finally Godfrey gains possession of the tower according to his demand.*

At the time when, by unanimous consent, the lord duke received the supreme power of the realm, the count of St. Gilles was still in possession of the city's citadel, namely, the tower of David. This, as we have said, the enemy had surrendered to him in the beginning. The structure, built of mighty hewn stone, was situated in the highest part of the city, facing the west, and from its lofty elevation the whole city could be seen below.

When the duke found that this last stronghold of the entire city was still outside his control, he felt that without it his overlordship was incomplete. In the assembly of the leaders, therefore, he demanded that the count surrender it to him. But Raymond replied that, since the enemy had given it into his hands, he wished to retain it until the Eastertide, when he intended to make the crossing and return home. Possession of the citadel would give his position more importance while he was tarrying in the kingdom with his men. The duke responded that unless the tower were resigned to him he would surrender the rule entirely. It would be ignominious, he declared, that, after

Robert Curthose, pp. 119–21; 198–200.) The political divisions which had formed in the army, however, afford no basis for assuming that Count Raymond could have received any votes outside his own army. In fact, his chaplain makes it quite clear that not all of his own followers would support him.

[8] Mat. 24:13. [9] Lu. 9:62.

he himself had been named overlord, the city's stronghold should be in the power of another whom he must regard as his equal or superior.

The counts of Normandy and Flanders took the side of the duke, and even the friends of the count of St. Gilles aided the faction opposing him, for they hoped that, in this way at least, they might afford their lord an excuse for leaving.[10] The result was that until it could be legally decided to whom the tower should be given, it was placed by general consent in charge of the bishop of Albara as trustee. The latter, however, without waiting for the decision, is said to have handed over the tower to the duke before the suit came on. When this charge was made against him later by certain individuals, he asserted publicly that he had been compelled to do so by force.

The count was full of wrath and greatly exasperated, because he felt that he had been deprived of the tower in so ignominious a manner. Moreover, it seemed to him that the attitude of the other chiefs toward him was not so friendly as it should have been and that they had too little remembrance of the many favors which he had repeatedly conferred upon them during the pilgrimage. Accordingly, he went down to the Jordan and, after bathing in its waters, made preparations to return to his own land to satisfy the wishes of his friends.

4. *The bishop of Matera, wicked and subtle, tries to raise to the patriarchate Arnulf, a man of his own caliber, but fails. The Cross of the Lord is found.*

DURING all this time, the wicked and crafty bishop of Matera continued to incite the ignorant people against the pious chiefs. He insinuated that, influenced by envy, the leaders did not wish to provide the church with a shepherd, for while it lacked a head they could dominate it more fully. Supported by his partisans of the same way of thinking, against the opposition of the rest, he chose the aforesaid Arnulf and seated him in the patriarchal chair. In this procedure he relied upon the aid of the count of Normandy,[11] whose friend and companion Ar-

[10] This party division is probably a reflection of the fixed lines of partisanship which had been formed—Raymond, not fully supported by his own men, on one side, and Godfrey, Tancred, Robert of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy on the other. Raymond's willingness to retain the tower of David is perhaps the clearest refutation of the claim that he had refused election as ruler of Jerusalem (see note 7).

[11] It is altogether probable that Robert of Normandy supported his chaplain for the office. It is not altogether inconceivable that he may have cast his vote for Godfrey on the understanding that Arnulf was to be supported for the patriarchate.

nulf was and had been during the whole expedition, and upon the votes of the foolish people which they gave with ill-advised readiness.[12] But neither of the two enjoyed the result of this scheming very long. Arnulf was soon forced to lay aside the office which he had so rashly assumed, and the shameless patron of his infamous conduct also before long reaped the fitting harvest of his ways.

Just at this time there was discovered in a secluded corner of the church of the Holy Sepulchre a part of the Cross of the Lord. For greater security, the faithful who dwelt in fear under the yoke of the Gentiles had long ago hidden this, admitting only a few to the secret. Through the zealous efforts of a certain Syrian who had witnessed its hiding, the precious treasure was discovered concealed within a silver case. Accompanied by the singing of hymns and spiritual songs, it was borne away, first to the Sepulchre of the Lord and then to the Temple. The clergy and people followed in a body. Among the Christians there was a general feeling that this gift had been sent them from heaven as a consolation and a fitting reward for all their hardships and sufferings.[13]

5. *Who Duke Godfrey was—whence he came and of what ancestors he was sprung—is herein set forth.*

This Duke Godfrey, whose name occurs so often in this chronicle, was, by the grace of God, confirmed as the supreme head of the realm, and all quarrels, if perchance any had arisen, were settled. Then the kingdom began to grow strong, and during the days of his reign it became well established. Nevertheless, Godfrey reigned only one year.[14] For

[12] Arnulf's popularity must have rested on more substantial grounds. It seems scarcely probable that a group of men so deeply moved by piety as were the crusaders at this time should have consented to his election as patriarch, had that not been the case. Both Albert and Ralph of Caen reveal him as one of the real heroes of the expedition.

[13] According to the more contemporary accounts it was the initiative of Arnulf which led to the recovery of this sacred relic. William's animosity towards him, however, would not permit him to associate this most important symbol of the Lord's favor with Arnulf's name.

[14] Godfrey's actual title, which William does not mention, was "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre," and he was usually referred to as "duke" or sometimes "prince." The great piety which the crusaders felt in taking over the Holy City led at the time to the opinion that it was wrong to wear the kingly crown where the Savior had worn the crown of thorns. Opinion had changed greatly by William's time so that he felt it a slight upon Godfrey's name not to call him king (see Prologue; also J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 4, and *H.G.*, pp. 478–80).

the sins of men forbade that through the longer ministrations of this great prince the tender plant of Christian dominion should be refreshed and comforted in the face of the tribulations which menaced it. He was snatched away from the midst of men, lest his heart be changed by wickedness for, as it is written, "The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart." [15]

Godfrey derived his origin from the kingdom of the Franks. He was born in the province of Rheims, in the city of Boulogne, on the English sea. He sprang from a line of illustrious and God-fearing ancestors. His father, Lord Eustace the Elder, was a distinguished and magnificent count of that same land. Many were the notable deeds he wrought, and his memory as a religious and God-fearing man is still held in reverence and pious recollection by the great men of the neighboring lands. His mother, Ida, was of high lineage, distinguished among the noble matrons of the West alike for her lofty character and exalted rank. She was a sister of the excellent Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, who was surnamed Struma. The duke, being without children, adopted as his own son his nephew of the same name and made him heir to his entire patrimony. On the death of his uncle, Godfrey succeeded to the duchy.[16]

The younger Godfrey had three brothers, all worthy, by dignity of character and eminent valor, to be the brothers of so great a lord. Of these, Baldwin, count of Edessa, later followed Godfrey as ruler of Jerusalem, and Eustace, count of Boulogne, who was named for his father, succeeded to the paternal estates and ruled the county after his sire's death. The daughter of this Eustace, Matilda, married Stephen, the illustrious and magnificent king of the Angles.[17]

When Baldwin died without children, his brother Eustace was summoned by the leading men of the East to succeed to the kingdom. He was unwilling to go, however, for he feared that his elevation to the throne could not be brought about without strife.[18]

[15] Is. 57:1.

[16] Nearly six years passed after the death of Godfrey the Hunchback before Henry IV invested Godfrey with the duchy. Godfrey had fought faithfully in Henry's service during that time, even assisting Henry in the Italian campaign against Gregory VII. He became duke of Lower Lorraine in 1082.

[17] Stephen, king of England 1135–1154, was the third son of Stephen Henry of Blois and grandson of Stephen, the crusader of blemished record, and Adèle, daughter of William the Conqueror. The high regard here accorded him by William is in marked contrast to the low opinion of him held by later ages—so low, in fact, that his name, like that of John, has not appeared in the list of English kings since that time.

[18] See Book XII, chaps. 1 and 2.

Godfrey's third brother, William, was an illustrious man who did not fall short of the energetic and lofty character which distinguished his father and brothers. The two brothers first mentioned followed their lord and brother upon the expedition, while William, the third, remained at home.[19]

Godfrey, the oldest according to the flesh, was distinguished by nobility of character also, as far as the qualities of the inner man were concerned, and to him rightly the precedence belonged. He was a man of deep religious character, devout and God-fearing, merciful and just. Serious and steadfast in word, he shunned all evil ways. He scorned the vanity of the world, a trait rare at his time of life, and especially in one belonging to the military profession. He was constant in prayer, assiduous in good works, and noted for his liberality. Gracious and affable, kind and forbearing, he showed himself in all his ways commendable and pleasing to God.

He was tall of stature, not extremely so, but still taller than the average man. He was strong beyond compare, with solidly built limbs and stalwart chest. His features were pleasing, his beard and hair of a medium blond. In the use of arms and in the practice of military tactics he was, in the judgment of all, without a peer.

6. *The prediction of his mother about the future status of her sons.*

THE mother of these great princes was a woman of devout life, religious and pleasing to God. While they were still of tender years, she, filled with the divine spirit, foresaw future events and the state which was ordained for her sons when grown, as if it had been predicted by an oracle. On one occasion, while they were playing together around her, as is the custom of children, striking at one another, and often flying for refuge to their mother's lap, the venerable Count Eustace, their father, happened to come in. Hidden beneath the folds of her mantle, the children were challenging each other with lively movements of hands and feet. The count noticed the agitation under the cloak and asked what was stirring so actively there. She is said to have replied as follows: "Three great princes, the first of whom will be a duke, the second a king, and the third a count." This prophecy,

[19] This brother, William, is not mentioned by other writers and does not appear in the genealogical tables of the family (see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, App.). It has been commonly assumed that Eustace was the oldest and Baldwin the youngest of the three brothers.

by the kind dispensation of divine mercy, was later fulfilled, and the subsequent events verified the mother's predictions. For on his uncle's death, the first son, Godfrey, as has been said, succeeded to the duchy. Later, by the unanimous choice of the chiefs, he became the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin, the next in age, followed him on this throne; while Eustace, the third brother, after his father's death, succeeded as sole heir to the whole of the ancestral patrimony, as has already been related.

I purposely omit the story of the swan whence, legend declares, these brothers derived their origin, because, although many writers give that as true, yet it seems to be without foundation.[20]

Passing over these stories, therefore, let us return to the history of the duke, which we began to relate. Among other marvellous feats which he wrought, according to his custom, legend records one so well worth remembering that we feel it should be inserted in the present narrative.

7. *The memorable achievement of Godfrey in a certain single combat is recounted.*

One memorable feat of this distinguished man stands forth prominently as worthy to be related here. Much against his wish, he was obliged to engage in a single combat, which, according to the custom of the land, could not be declined without loss of reputation. At the court of the emperor he suffered a wrong from one of the noblemen attached thereto, who is said to have been his own kinsman. The matter in question involved certain great estates and a patrimony of vast extent. A day was set for the trial, and at the appointed time both the plaintiff and the defendant appeared in the court of the emperor. The matter in dispute was introduced and the aforesaid nobleman presented his claim. The duke defended himself as well as he could, but, according to the laws of the land, trial by single combat between the litigants was adjudged. The great lords of the empire tried in vain to prevent these distinguished men from offering a spectacle so unworthy of themselves to the people, for in such a combat the honor and reputation of one or the other must necessarily suffer, and to no purpose. The im-

[20] The legend of the swan ancestor is told by Albert. William, whose willingness to accept legends about Godfrey is very generous, could not stretch his credulity quite so far.

perial sentence was, however, ordered carried into execution. The nobles took their places around, according to custom, and the common people crowded about as the contestants entered the field appointed for the trial to test the doubtful outcome of ordeal by single combat.

Now while these illustrious and magnificent men were fighting gallantly with all their force, the duke's sword struck against the shield of his adversary and broke. Barely half a foot beyond the hilt remained in his hand. The attendant nobles, perceiving that the duke's situation thereby had become very critical, had a truce declared and went to the emperor, humbly begging that they might be permitted to bring about a compromise between the two great nobles. They were discussing the matter carefully when the duke declared positively that he declined to take advantage of the efforts of the would-be peacemakers, and with determined obstinacy returned to the field to renew the combat.

The adversary's sword was still intact, and he now seemed to have gained the upper hand. He pressed the duke hard and refused him any respite. Finally, however, Godfrey regained his usual skill, for which he was so famous. Urged on by anger, he rushed forward with the hilt of his broken sword in his hand and dealt his adversary such a mighty blow on the left temple that he was thrown half dead to the ground; indeed, to all appearance he seemed to be wholly lifeless.

Godfrey threw the fragments of his own sword from him and, holding in his hand the sword of his prostrate enemy, summoned the lords who shortly before had talked to him about a compromise. He begged them to arrange conditions of peace, and to rescue from such an ignominious death the distinguished man who had been vanquished.

Amazed at the extraordinary valor of the duke and his incomparable mercy, they arranged a peace. Thus the controversy was brought to an honorable end, yet in such a way that the duke remained the victor and was universally deemed worthy of immortal glory.[21]

8. *The matchless deed of this same Godfrey in the matter of the victory of the Emperor Henry against Rudolph, the pseudo-king of Saxony.*

ANOTHER deed of no less glory which abides ever in the memory of men we deem worthy of inserting in this present writing. The Saxons, the fiercest of all the German peoples, had refused to endure the yoke

[21] There is no known basis for this story in German history.

of the Roman Empire. Desiring to roam about freely without restraint, they had shaken off the rules of discipline which bound them and revolted from Emperor Henry. To such an extent was this determined audacity carried that they established as king over themselves, in opposition to the emperor, a certain count named Rudolph, a nobleman of their own people.[22]

Roused by this injury, the emperor caused all the princes of the empire to be summoned. When they were gathered in his presence, he set before them the wrongs so well known to all and called on them for revenge. Zealous for the glory of the empire and angry at the monstrous conduct of the Saxons, all offered their services and promised troops. Such a wrong against the Roman Empire must not be left unnoticed, they declared, but must be expiated by death, and the crime of *lèse majesté* wiped out by the avenging sword.

At the command of the emperor, therefore, they assembled, as arranged, at the appointed place on the day set, leading with them countless thousands. From all the lands of the empire they came, both ecclesiastical and secular princes, determined to invade the land of the Saxons by force and take vengeance for so monstrous a crime.

The day set for the engagement approached. The legions of both armies were drawn up in battle array ready for action. Then the emperor summoned his principal men and inquired to whom of their number he might with safety commit the imperial standard and make commander in chief of the vast host. The response was immediate and unanimous that Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, was by far the most capable and best fitted for that responsibility. To him, therefore, as the one chosen by so many thousands and, in the opinion of all, a man of unsurpassed excellence, the emperor confided the eagle, albeit Godfrey himself very reluctantly and unwillingly accepted the honor.

On that day, while the armies on both sides were fighting gallantly and pressing each other hard with their swords, it happened that the duke, who was leading the emperor's forces with the eagle, moved against the lines led by the pseudo-king Rudolph, and thus directed

[22] Rudolph was the duke of Swabia who was chosen antiking at Forchheim in 1077. This action was an incident in the Investiture Struggle following the penance of Henry IV at Canossa. The disaffected German nobles who had hoped for papal support proceeded to elect an antiking despite Henry's reconciliation with the church. Rudolph's support, therefore, was greatly weakened, though the Saxons continued the fight even after Rudolph's defeat and death in 1080.

the forces under the emperor's command thither. When Godfrey reached the king's lines, they broke up in utter confusion, and, before the very eyes of the emperor and some of his nobles, the duke plunged the standard which he was bearing into the heart of the king. Then throwing the lifeless body on the ground, Godfrey again raised aloft the imperial standard, all stained with the blood of the king.

When the Saxons saw that their king had fallen, they also gave way and surrendered to the emperor. Reparation was imposed upon them in proportion to the nature of their offense, and, after giving up hostages and their arms as a pledge that they would never again make a similar attempt, they were restored to favor.

We have recorded these deeds, that it may be known how great among the mightiest princes of the world was the prestige of this distinguished man whom we are now discussing. For no one can doubt that one who was unanimously singled out as the best by famous princes who are said to be unequalled in the world was a very great man. Especially is this the case because he himself confirmed their judgment by such a remarkable deed and showed them by actual proof that their estimation of him was correct.

Many other splendid deeds, well worthy of admiration, were done by this distinguished man—works which even today are still told as familiar stories. Among others is the following. When Godfrey resolved to go upon the pilgrimage, he gave to the church of Liége, with pious generosity, the well-known castle of Bouillon, from which he took his name. This castle was renowned for its lands, for its site and fortifications, and for all the advantages arising from vast territories extending over a wide area.[23]

But since we have undertaken to describe only those deeds which he did among us, let us return to the story.

9. *The pious liberality of the duke toward the churches of Jerusalem. And how, because of his humility, he refused to be crowned with the royal diadem.*

Godfrey was a devout man, whose heart was filled with pious care for all that pertained to the honor of the house of God. A few days after

[23] Godfrey and Baldwin both disposed of much of their property to neighboring bishops and abbots before setting out on the crusade. Some of these transfers were doubtless in the nature of mortgages to obtain money for the journey; others, however,

he was elected head of the kingdom, he began to offer the first fruits of his responsibility to the Lord. He established canons in the church of the Lord's Sepulchre and in the Temple of the Lord; and upon them he bestowed ample benefices known as prebends. At the same time also he gave them noble houses in the vicinity of these same churches beloved of God. He preserved the rule and regulations observed by the great and wealthy churches founded by pious princes beyond the mountains, and he would have conferred still greater gifts, had not death prevented.

When about to start out on his pilgrimage, this man beloved of God led with him in his train monks from well-regulated cloisters, religious men notable for their holy lives. During the entire pilgrimage, at the regular hours, night and day, these monks celebrated the divine offices for him after the custom of the church. After he acquired the royal power, he located them at their own request in the valley of Jehoshaphat and conferred upon them there, as a reward for their services, lands of wide extent.[24]

It would take far too long to recount what and how great gifts he bestowed with pious generosity on the churches of God. Yet, from the contents of privileges granted to the churches it may be seen how many and how valuable are the donations which this man, filled with the spirit of God, gave to the venerable places for the healing of his soul. Nevertheless, after his elevation to power, because of his humility of spirit, he refused to be invested with a crown of gold in the Holy City, as is the fashion of kings. For he was content with, and showed reverence toward, that crown of thorns which, in that same city, the Saviour of the human race, for our salvation, wore even to the passion of the cross. Hence, some people, not appreciating Godfrey's services, hesitate to place his name in the catalogue of the kings; such regard those outward acts which are done in the body as of greater value than those of a faithful spirit pleasing to God. To us he seems not merely a king, but the best of kings, a light and a mirror to others. Truly, it ought

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were gifts reflecting genuine piety (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, p. 60, note 4).

[24] This monastery of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat soon became one of the most popular and wealthy of the Latin monasteries in the Holy Land. The abbot of this original group of monks, Baldwin, was made first Latin archbishop of Caesarea. Gifts of land in various parts of Europe were made to support it (C. Kohler, "Chartes de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte, 1108–1291," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VII [1900] 108–222).

not to be thought that this faithful prince disdained the gift of consecration and the sacraments of the church but, rather, that he scorned the pomp and vanity of the world to which every creature is prone. It was in a spirit of humility that he declined the crown which would perish, in the hope of attaining hereafter one that would never fade.[25]

10. *The prince of Egypt summons his military forces of every description and marches into Syria against the Christians.*

THE city had but recently been taken, and the leaders who had won it for the service of God had not yet separated, when a rumor began to circulate which proved to be true. It was reported that the prince of Egypt, a most powerful lord among the oriental peoples, had summoned military forces from all the lands under his sway and had assembled an immense host. For he was angry that a barbarous people from the remotest regions of the world had invaded his kingdom and taken by force a province that had been subject to him. He called before him Al-Afdal, the commander in chief of his armies, also known as Emireius, and ordered him to muster the entire flower of Egypt and the whole strength of the empire as well. With this host he was to march to Syria, there to wipe from the face of the earth that presumptuous people, so that their very name should perish.

Al-Afdal was an Armenian, born of Christian parents. But, led astray by immense riches, he had renounced his Maker and despised the faith by which alone the righteous live.[26] This man had rewon Jerusalem for his master from the power of the Turks; but in the same year the Christians besieged that city under the protecting power of the Lord and restored it to the faith. Scarcely eleven months had he held peaceful possession of it when the Christian army, by the grace of God, delivered it from the bondage of undeserved slavery. He had enjoyed the fruits of his victory for so brief a time that it seemed but

[25] William here expresses his own personal conviction. It is not certain whether these last two paragraphs are part of his first writing or were added during a later revision. But the conviction grew upon him during the years, for he asserts it more positively at the very end of his writing (see Prologue, p. 57).

[26] William may here be confusing father and son. Al-Afdal's father, Badr al-Jamali, was born of Armenian parents. He grew up as a slave in the household of the caliph. He rose to power through sheer ability and at the end was the real ruler, the caliph being a puppet in his hands. On the way he had, of course, become a Muslim. His son grew up in the faith and like his father became vizier of the caliph. Like his father, too, he managed to obtain the real rule. Egypt was exceptionally well governed under their rule.

a moment. Moreover, it was through his efforts that his master had gained possession of the city. Consequently Al-Afdal gladly undertook the task assigned to him.[27]

He hoped that it would be an easy matter to triumph over those who had dimmed the glory of his prowess. Accordingly, in a spirit of violent and haughty arrogance he went up into Syria at the head of the entire army and all the forces that the land of Egypt, then at its best, could furnish. He intended to destroy the Christians utterly so that not even the remembrance of them should remain. But the Lord, who "is terrible in his doing toward the children of men," [28] ruled otherwise.

With this mighty host and a magnificent army of cavalry, therefore, he advanced into Syria and encamped before Ascalon. Immense forces from all over Arabia and the land of Damascus also joined his expedition. Heretofore, the Turks and Egyptians had not been on very friendly terms, since each power distrusted the military strength of the other and each in turn strove to extend its own kingdom at the expense of its rival. Now, however, fear of the Christians, not regard for each other, drew them together, and they joined forces to undertake some plan for overthrowing the Christians, who had so recently come. Far better would it be, they thought, to endure the arrogance of their rivals, even to the extent of bearing their yoke, than to experience the harsh and cruel swords of the barbarians.

It was with this purpose in view, therefore, that innumerable forces of Egyptians, Arabs, and Turks had been assembled and were now encamped on the plains before Ascalon. From there they were to march on Jerusalem, for it seemed incredible that our army would venture to risk an encounter with such a vast host.

11. *The duke, having completed his prayers and devotions at Jerusalem, musters his forces at Ramlah, where the leaders had already gathered.*

On the arrival of these tidings, the entire body of Christians—leaders, bishops, clergy, and common people—assembled, armed with the

[27] Al-Afdal was responsible for Egyptian policy at this time. His troops had recaptured Jerusalem from the Turks after a siege of forty days, July and August, 1098. He miscalculated the strength of the crusaders and arrived too late to save Jerusalem from their hands in 1099.

[28] Ps. 66:5.

weapons of the spirit. Prostrate before the Sepulchre of the Lord, they poured forth their petitions amid groans and tears. With humble and contrite hearts, they besought the Lord that He would mercifully free His people from the impending danger, that He, who had preserved them even unto the present day triumphant for Himself and had willed that the place of His sanctification should be purified, would not, for the sake of His own glory, suffer it to be further contaminated.

Then, in the same fervor of rapt devotion, to the sound of hymns and spiritual songs, they hastened with bare feet to the Temple of the Lord. There once more they poured out their hearts in prayer to God, saying, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach." [29]

When their prayers had been made according to custom, the bishop gave them his benediction. The duke then appointed wise and experienced men to guard and govern the city. He himself, accompanied by the count of Flanders, went down into the plains of Ramlah. The other chiefs remained at Jerusalem.

The illustrious Eustace, the duke's brother, and Tancred were at Nablus. They had gone there at the duke's command, in response to the call of the citizens, who had sent word that they would surrender the city without making any trouble. They were still lingering there, not only on account of the great riches of the place, but also for the purpose of appointing a suitable garrison to guard it. Consequently they were ignorant of what had happened at Jerusalem. They returned immediately, however, at the summons of the duke and joined the other chiefs.

At Ramlah, the duke and the count of Flanders received positive and reliable information that Al-Afdal had encamped with his forces before Ascalon. A messenger was therefore sent in haste to summon the other leaders, who had remained at Jerusalem to await confirmation of the rumor.

12. *A battle is fought. Victory is granted us from on high, together with countless wealth.*

THE message of the duke brought the information that the enemy had arrived in vast numbers and were encamped near at hand. Without delay, the count of Toulouse and the other chiefs devoted to God, after

[29] Joel 2: 17.

invoking aid from on high, mustered all the forces available at the time and place and marched down into the land of the Philistines to the place which is now called Ibelin, where they knew the duke to be. They led with them a force of twelve hundred cavalry and about nine thousand foot soldiers. Our army had been at Ibelin a day when, about the eleventh hour, a large force appeared in the plain afar off. Supposing that it was the enemy's host, they sent on ahead two hundred light-armed cavaliers to ascertain the number and condition of these troops. Meanwhile, they themselves prepared for battle.

When the reconnoitering force drew nearer, however, they discovered that the host consisted of great troops of cattle, horses, and camels. Some mounted knights kept watch over the animals and were responsible for them like shepherds. As our detachment approached, however, both the herdsmen and the cavaliers on guard fled. Thus, without waiting to encounter the Christians they deserted their flocks and herds and left them without protection.

Some prisoners were captured, however, from whom full information about the situation and plans of the enemy was obtained. It was learned that the infidel prince had located his camp quite near them, about seven miles away. After two days, he intended to advance and annihilate the Christian army.

The leaders, now certain that battle was inevitable, drew up their forces in nine divisions. Of these, three formed the vanguard, three occupied the center, and the remaining three were ordered to bring up the rear. Thus, at whatever point the enemy might attack, a triple array of troops to oppose them would be found. In regard to the numbers of the enemy, no definite information could be obtained, for their host was beyond counting and additional reinforcements were received daily.

The booty which the Christians had won without opposition, as just described, was inestimable. They passed the night in that place with great rejoicing. Yet, like wise men experienced in warfare, they placed the necessary guards around the camp and kept vigilant watch.

On the following day, the herald's voice gave the call to battle. With ranks drawn up in regular formation, the Christians advanced as with one accord against the foe, commending the result to God. For in Him, who can easily vanquish many with a few, all hope of victory lay.

The determined and vigorous attitude of their enemies caused the

Egyptians and those who had joined them from the land of Syria to distrust their own strength. Far wiser than formerly, they now felt less and less confident hope in their vast numbers, for they supposed that the entire host advancing against them consisted of soldiers.

Our numbers were, in fact, small. But it happened that the flocks and herds which had been seized as booty followed along with our army of their own accord. When the troops halted, the animals halted also; and when the host moved on again, straightway the herds followed, although without a leader. Consequently, the enemy, convinced that our number was infinite and our strength incomparable, took to flight, though no man pursued. Even in flight, however, they felt but little hope of safety.

Through some unknown mishap, the bishop of Matera, instigator of quarrels and author of sedition, disappeared that day. No one knew what his fate was. Nevertheless, in some way he was removed from human affairs and was never seen again. He had been sent by the duke to summon the chiefs who had remained at Jerusalem, and it is said that, on his return, he was taken by the enemy and either killed or condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Then after victory had been granted them from on high, the army repaired to the enemy's camp. There such a vast supply of goods of all kinds was found that the pilgrims became satiated to the point of loathing, so that they disdained even cakes and honey. In fact, the most lowly and insignificant among them was able to say, "Abundance has made me helpless."

The flight of the enemy gave the victory to the Christians without effort on their part. With heartfelt thanks to the Lord, leaders and people went back to Jerusalem, laden with spoils and bringing along with them immense booty. Exulting and rejoicing they returned, like victors who are dividing the treasures which they have taken.

13. *The leaders separate; the counts of Normandy and Flanders go back to their own lands; the count of Toulouse returns to Constantinople. Tancred is given command of Tiberias.*

When this campaign was ended, the counts of Normandy and Flanders, leaders beloved of God and devoted to His service, decided to return home, since the pilgrimage which they had undertaken had been brought to a successful end. Accordingly, they set forth upon

their journey and went by ship to Constantinople. Here they were graciously received by the emperor and dismissed with honorable gifts. Finally, by the will of God, each arrived safe and sound in his own land.

The count of Normandy, on his return, found affairs in a very different condition from that in which he had left them when he set out on the pilgrimage. It was, in fact, far from his liking. For while he was fighting for the Lord on the expedition, his elder brother William, surnamed Rufus, the king of the Angles, had died childless. By right of primogeniture, succession to the kingdom belonged to the count, but his younger brother Henry had persuaded the princes of the realm that Robert had been made king of Jerusalem and had no intention of returning. By this fraud he had obtained the throne.[30]

As soon as the count returned, he at once demanded the kingdom as belonging to him by right. Since Henry absolutely refused to resign it, the count raised troops, made ready a fleet, and invaded England with an armed force. His brother advanced against him with the full strength of the kingdom. They were about to engage in battle, when mediators intervened and a compromise was effected between them on condition that the king should pay a fixed sum yearly to his elder brother under the name of taxes. Pacified by this arrangement, the duke returned to his own country. Afterwards, however, the duke demanded from his brother certain castles in Normandy which Henry had owned even before his elevation to the throne. On the king's refusal to give them up, Robert besieged them and took them by force.

As soon as the king heard of this, he sailed across to Normandy with large forces. He fought with his brother, took him prisoner, and had him cast into prison for life. There he died, and the king, his brother, succeeded to his entire possessions.[31]

[30] Here, too, William reveals an attitude not shared in later English history. His partiality toward Robert Curthose and his dislike for Henry I are pardonable in a native of Latin Jerusalem, which Robert had helped to found. He is, of course, wrong in his inference that William Rufus was the older brother because he had been made king. There were Englishmen who were ready to support Robert for the crown when William Rufus was killed in the New Forest in 1100, but Robert was lingering in southern Italy on his way home from Jerusalem at the time. Henry, his younger brother, who was as enterprising as Robert was lackadaisical, was close at hand and seized the opportunity to make himself king. (David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 119–21; 198–200.)

[31] Robert died in 1134, a prisoner in Cardiff Castle in Wales. The account of his later career is here greatly abbreviated (David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 120–89).

The count of St. Gilles returned to Laodicea in Syria. There he left his wife, intending to join her soon, and again set out for Constantinople to the lord emperor with an honorable retinue. The emperor gave him a magnificent welcome, treated him very kindly, and sent him away with many splendid gifts. After an absence of two years, he returned in safety to Syria, to his wife and household, as will be recounted later.[32]

The duke retained with him the noble and distinguished Tancred, together with the Count Garnier de Grey and certain other nobles. He continued to administer with wisdom and vigor the kingdom committed to him by God. With his usual generosity, he bestowed upon Tancred as a hereditary right forever the city of Tiberias on Lake Gennesaret, together with the entire principality of Galilee. At the same time he also granted to him Cayphas [Haifa], which is called *Porphyrion,* a coast city, with all its appurtenances.[33]

In the management of this principality Tancred conducted himself so quietly and acceptably to God that even to this day his memory is held in benediction by the people of that land.[34] He also devoted much attention to establishing churches in that diocese, namely, at Nazareth, Tiberias, and on Mt. Tabor. These he endowed with ample patrimonies and to them also he gave ecclesiastical furnishings and decorations. A large part of these gifts was unfortunately lost to the venerable places later through the frauds and intrigues of the princes who succeeded Tancred. Yet from what was left to them, the churches are still able to supply themselves with what is needful. Never do they forget to offer prayers for the soul of him who displayed toward the churches of God such pious liberality and deep affection.

And because he was faithful in small things, God set him over much; he entered into the joy of the father of a family and received for all he had given an hundredfold. For, two years later, as a reward for his services, he was called to the principality of Antioch. That church also, which has ever increased in glory and fame since the time of the apos-

32 See Book X, chap. 12.

33 Tiberias was the first great fief of Jerusalem. The grant of Haifa is doubtful. Tancred aided in its capture after Godfrey's death, which may be the basis of William's statement, but Geldemar Carpinel claimed it as having been promised to him by Godfrey (see Book X, chap. 10).

34 Doubtless William is here speaking from personal knowledge. He had visited this region frequently and for a few months held the office of archdeacon of Nazareth (see R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani,* no. 518).

tles, he honored with munificent gifts. Moreover, he extended the limits of the principality greatly by subjugating cities and taking fortresses far and wide, as will be related in the following pages.

14. *Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Baldwin, count of Edessa, go to Jerusalem to celebrate there the Lord's Nativity.*

WHILE matters were progressing thus in the kingdom, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Baldwin, count of Edessa, the duke's brother, determined to go to Jerusalem. From many reports which reached them, they had learned that the rest of their brethren and comrades on this great pilgrimage, attended by divine favor, had succeeded in taking the Holy City, thus happily accomplishing the object of their journey. Stirred by this news, they set a day when, after all necessary preparations for the journey had been made, they should set out for the Holy City, under the guidance of God. Their purpose was to complete the object of their labors by paying their vows to the Lord and furthermore to lend the comfort of their brotherly presence to the duke as well as to Tancred and the other chiefs. For these two illustrious noblemen had remained behind, Bohemond at Antioch to care for the principality and Baldwin at Edessa to protect that country from the attacks of the enemy.

From the very beginning, as soon as Antioch was taken, it had been determined that, for the general welfare, these leaders should not abandon the cities, worshippers of God, which had been entrusted to them from on high, but should devote vigilant care to their defense. For it might well happen that the enemy would return with fresh strength to begin war anew, and so all that the Christians had accomplished would be of no avail.

Although each ruler was fully occupied with the affairs of his own kingdom, yet both were determined to finish the pilgrimage. So on the day appointed they started on the way.

Bohemond took with him a large force of both foot and horse. He was also accompanied by many who were animated by a strong desire to accomplish the same pilgrimage. He arrived at the maritime city Valenia, which lies at the foot of the castle Margat, where he established his camp, much against the wishes of the citizens. There he was joined by Baldwin, who was following him closely. The two lead-

ers united their forces and proceeded together on the journey which they had undertaken.

Just about this time a band of pilgrims from Italy had landed at Laodicea of Syria. Among their number was Daimbert, archbishop of the Pisans, a wise and learned man of great piety, and a friend to all that was noble.[35] The bishop of Ariano in Apulia was also in that company.[36] These people attached themselves to the camp of the leaders spoken of above, whereby the forces of the latter were greatly increased. The throng of men and women, on horesback and on foot, is said to have been about twenty-five thousand.

On resuming their march, the pilgrims followed along the coast, but found only cities belonging to the enemy. It was with the greatest difficulty, therefore, and at the cost of much suffering from lack of food, that they finally succeeded in reaching their goal. For since they had had no opportunity to trade and found nothing to buy, the provisions which they carried in their packs had given out. Moreover, the extreme cold and violent rain had reduced many to the last extremity of suffering, for it was winter, in the month of December. During the entire course of this long journey the people of Tripoli and Caesarea were the only ones who offered the wayfarers the opportunity to buy provisions as they passed through the country. Yet, notwithstanding the scarcity of food and the straits of hunger resulting therefrom, the pilgrims pressed on their way, regardless of the fact that they had not even pack animals to carry the baggage.

Under the protection of divine mercy, however, they finally arrived at Jerusalem, where they were most cordially received by the duke, the clergy, and the people. Then with contrite hearts, in a deep spirit of humility, they visited the holy places and learned, by the evidence of their own eyes, the actuality of that which hitherto they had known by report and teaching only. At the holy city of Bethlehem they celebrated the day of the Lord's nativity. There they gazed upon the man-

[35] Daimbert or Dagobert had become the first archbishop of Pisa when that city was elevated from a bishopric by the addition of Corsica, which the Pisans had captured from the Muslims. He was instrumental in raising a fleet to take part in the crusade and was virtually its commander. Pope Urban may have designated him as papal legate and vicar to succeed Adhemar, who had died at Antioch August 1, 1098.

[36] Apparently William thought that the bishop of Ariano had come with the Pisan fleet, but there is some reason for believing that he had been with Bohemond ever since 1096 (see R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 38; also H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 327, note 24).

ger and the wondrous cave wherein the tender Mother of God, the doorway of salvation, once wrapped the Saviour of the world in swaddling clothes and stilled His wailing at her breast.

15. *Daimbert, archbishop of the church at Pisa, becomes patriarch of Jerusalem.*

For about five months prior to this time the church at Jerusalem had been without a head, lacking its own high priest. In view of this situation, the princes who were then in the city assembled to provide for the church of God in that place. After much mature deliberation, the venerable Daimbert was, by general consent, placed in the patriarchal chair. For the former election of Arnulf, which we recorded, had been as quickly and easily made null and void as it had been rashly and inadvisedly brought about.[37]

[37] William's intense animosity toward Arnulf led him to give a very distorted account of this change. The account which is contained in the supposed letter of Daimbert to Bohemond (Book X, chap. 4) is much nearer the truth.

Bohemond's hold on Antioch was precarious, for the emperor claimed it under the agreement which the crusading leaders had made with him at Constantinople. He was very much in need of moral sanction for his continued hold upon it, and the arrival of Daimbert as papal legate offered him an opportunity. He lost no time in cultivating the legate's friendship and even persuaded him to lend the aid of the Pisan fleet to capture Laodicea, which was still held by the Greeks. This capture was prevented by the arrival of the crusading leaders who were returning from Jerusalem. Robert of Normandy, Raymond of Toulouse, and others threatened to take up arms against Bohemond if he did not raise the siege, which was in violation of their agreement with the Greeks. The siege was abandoned, but the friendship between Daimbert and Bohemond continued nevertheless. Bohemond was in a commanding position when he arrived at Jerusalem, for Godfrey's garrison was pitifully small, and even with the addition of Baldwin's force was no match for Bohemond, Tancred, and Daimbert. Furthermore, Godfrey was very much in need of a fleet to obtain a seaport. Bohemond was therefore in a position to dictate his wishes. These included the election of Daimbert as patriarch and the submission of their respective principalities to Daimbert as papal vicar and patriarch, to be received back from him as fiefs.

The matter was arranged through negotiation. Arnulf, who lacked independent strength and papal approval for his office, was in no position to insist upon his rights. He was granted the second place in the church as archdeacon of the Holy Sepulchre, together with a generous allotment of income. Had the charges of Arnulf's enemies been taken seriously, they would have disqualified him as much for the one position as for the other. The next step was the submission of their principalities to the new patriarch by Bohemond and Godfrey, to be received back as fiefs from him. How willingly Godfrey submitted to this step may be questioned, for he was almost as helpless as Arnulf. The arrangement was bound to be embarrassing to him in the future. There was no question of Bohemond's willingness, even eagerness. He had everything to gain and nothing to lose. His father had obtained sanction for his seizure of land in southern Italy by a similar arrangement with Pope Leo IX, whose nominal vassal he became. Bohemond hoped likewise to commit the church to his hold upon

As soon as Daimbert, the man of God, had been installed in the patriarchal chair, both Duke Godfrey and Prince Bohemond humbly received from his hand, the former the investiture of the kingdom, and the latter that of the principality, thus showing honor to Him whose vicegerent on earth they believed the patriarch to be.[38]

This ceremony over, revenues were assigned to the lord patriarch, from which his establishment might be honorably supported, as was due to his office. Into his hands were given not only those possessions which had belonged to the Greek patriarch from the days of the Greeks in the time of the Gentiles, but new ones as well.

When all these matters had been duly attended to, Bohemond and Baldwin took leave of the duke to return to their own lands and descended to the river Jordan. Thence following along the bank of that river, through the famous valley, they crossed to Scythopolis, and finally arrived at Tiberias. Here they provided themselves with the necessary food for the journey and again resumed their way along the sea of Galilee to Phoenicia Libani, passing Paneas [Banyas], which is Caesarea Philippi, on the right. Then they entered Ituria and came to the place called Heliopolis and also known as Malbec [Baalbec]. Here they again returned to the seashore and finally, led by the mercy of God, arrived at Antioch safe and sound.

16. *Through the intrigues of evil men, a serious dispute amounting to strife arises between the duke and the patriarch over the possession of the tower of David and a fourth part of the city.*

In the meantime, a question had arisen at Jerusalem between the patriarch and the duke. The trouble was increased by the busy meddling of certain trouble makers who begrudge the tranquillity of others and ever delight to sow the seeds of dissension. The patriarch demanded that the duke give over to him the Holy City of God with its citadel and likewise the city of Jaffa with its appurtenances. For some time the question was under vigorous discussion. Finally, on the day of the purification of the blessed Mary, in the presence of the clergy and all

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Antioch by this step. Godfrey and Arnulf had to pay a heavy price for this improvement in Bohemond's status.

[38] This statement may well represent William's conception of the ideal relationship between patriarch and king, church and state, in Jerusalem. It is not derived from any of the earlier chronicles.

the people, the duke, a man of humble and gentle nature, who stood in fear of the rebuke of the Lord, resigned the fourth part of the city of Jaffa to the church of the Holy Resurrection.[39]

Later, on the holy day of the following Easter, again in the presence of the clergy and people who had assembled for the feast day, he gave into the hand of the patriarch the city of Jerusalem with the tower of David and all that pertained to it. The following condition was attached to the gift, however—that he himself should enjoy and have the use of the aforesaid city, with its territories, until the Lord should permit him to take one or two other cities and thus enlarge the kingdom. But if, in the meantime, he should die without legitimate heir, all the aforesaid possessions should pass without difficulty or contradiction into the jurisdiction of the lord patriarch.[40]

We have inserted all these details in the present narrative, although they are well known from the accounts of others and have, in fact, been committed to writing by the efforts of various individuals.[41] Yet we wonder what the influences were that led the patriarch to raise this question against the duke. For nowhere have we read or even heard from trustworthy sources that the kingdom was committed to the duke by the victorious leaders on such terms that he should have to feel himself bound to give pledges, either annual or perpetual, to any person whatsoever.

Nor should this be thought stupidity or gross ignorance on our part, for we have diligently investigated the truth of these matters, more fully than any other mortal, for the express purpose of recording the facts in this narrative, an intention which we have long had in mind.[42]

[39] February 2, 1100.

[40] Easter, April 1, 1100. It is difficult to believe that Godfrey, despite his genuine piety, would have made this grant at this time except under pressure, such as the need of the fleet which Daimbert controlled.

[41] This is a clear allusion to the use of written sources, in contrast to the statement in the Prologue. Albert of Aix dealt most fully with these affairs. William's statements here indicate a later revision. He decided not to change what he had written but to add to it the two following chapters. His interest in the problem grew as the possibility that he himself might become patriarch increased. The investigation to which he refers was probably made during the years 1175–1178, when he was constantly at court. Doubtless he also inserted the next two chapters during those years, for his outlook upon the patriarchate was very different after 1180.

[42] This somewhat immodest statement is probably correct. He had to investigate Greek and Arabic as well as Latin sources to arrive at these conclusions. It reveals his training in law as well as his professional interest in the church hierarchy.

17. *Explains why a quarter of the city was given into the power and jurisdiction of the lord patriarch.*

It is a fact, however, that from the time the Latins entered Jerusalem, and, indeed, for many years before, the patriarch had held as his own a fourth part of the city. How this came about, together with the origin and reason for his so holding it, may be briefly stated. After carefully investigating this matter and making repeated inquiries, we have at last arrived at the facts underlying the affair.

Ancient traditions say that during the time this city was held by the infidels it never enjoyed continuous peace, even for a short time. On the contrary, it was harried by repeated wars and endured many sieges because the neighboring princes desired to win it for themselves. As a consequence, through age and the havoc wrought by siege, its walls and towers had fallen into ruins, and the place lay exposed to the machinations of enemies from every direction.

At this period, the kingdom of the Egyptians surpassed all other kingdoms of the East and South, not alone in strength and riches, but also in worldly wisdom. Desiring to enlarge the limits of his empire and expand his sovereignty far and wide, the caliph of Egypt sent out his armies and seized by force the whole of Syria even to Laodicea, a city which lies next to Antioch and is the boundary of Coelesyria. He appointed governors over all the cities, both maritime and inland; he established taxes and made the whole region tributary to him. Moreover, he ordered each city to rebuild its walls and raise strong towers round about. In accordance with this general edict, the procurator in charge of Jerusalem compelled the inhabitants of that place to obey the common orders and to restore the wall and towers to their former condition.

In the distribution of this work it happened, rather by malice aforethought than by a just parcelling out, that a fourth part of this reconstruction work was assigned to the wretched Christians who were living at Jerusalem. These faithful people, however, were already so ground down by corvees and extra corvees, by tributes and taxes, and by the rendering of various ignominious services that the wealth of their entire community was scarcely sufficient to enable them to restore even one or two of these towers. Perceiving, therefore, that their enemies

were seeking occasion against them and having no other resort, they betook themselves to the governor. Humbly they prayed him with tears that he would impose upon them a task in proportion to their strength, for they were utterly unable to accomplish that which had been assigned to them. But the governor ordered them to be sent forth from his presence under heavy threats, saying, "To violate the edict of the supreme prince is sacrilege. Therefore, you must either finish the work assigned to you or succumb to the avenging sword as guilty of *lèse-majesté*." [43]

Through the intervention of many mediators and the free use of gifts, they finally succeeded in obtaining a stay of sentence from the governor until envoys could be sent to the emperor at Constantinople to implore alms from him for the accomplishment of their task.

18. *The same subject is continued. Herein is also explained what revered places are contained within the part of the city so often mentioned.*

Envoys were at once sent to the emperor. On arriving they explained to the best of their ability the appalling condition of the Christians, their groans and their tears. The recital evoked the compassion of all who listened. The envoys described in detail the sufferings of the Christians, the insulting blows and spitting, the shackles and incarcerations to which they were exposed for the name of Christ. They told how the wretched people constantly suffered the loss of their goods by confiscation—nay more, how they were subject to crucifixion and all kinds of torture. They went on to explain the pretexts by which their enemies were seeking to destroy that pitiful people.

At that time, Constantine, surnamed Monomachus,[44] a wise and splendid man, was wielding the scepter and administering with vigorous energy the empire of Constantinople. He gave a ready assent to the pitiful petitions of Christ's faithful ones and promised them money with which to accomplish the task laid upon them, for he felt full and loving sympathy with their continued troubles and afflictions. He added this condition, however: the money should be given if they could obtain a promise from the lord of the land that none but Christians should be permitted to dwell within the circuit of the wall which

[43] The language here reflects acquaintance with Roman law.
[44] Constantine X, who reigned from 1059 to 1067.

they proposed to erect by means of the imperial donation. Forthwith, the emperor wrote to Cyprus, directing the people of that island, in the event of the Christians obtaining the necessary concession at Jerusalem, to supply them, from taxes and money due to the treasury, with a sum sufficient to pay for the said work.

On receiving this promise, the envoys returned home and told the lord patriarch and the people of God in detail all that they had done. The proposition was embraced with joy, and faithful and zealous efforts were made to bring about the concession required by the emperor. Messengers were immediately dispatched to their great and supreme lord, the caliph of Egypt. Divine favor attended these envoys, for they succeeded in their mission and obtained a document confirmed by the caliph's signature and his seal.

Having at last brought the matter to a successful end, the deputies returned home, and the Christians, by the help of God, completed the portion of wall allotted to them. This was in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1063, in the thirty-sixth year before the liberation of the city, under the reign of the Egyptian Caliph Mustansir (Bomensor Elmostensab).[45]

Up to that time the Saracens and Christians had dwelt together indifferently. Thenceforward, by the order of the prince, the Saracens were forced to remove to other parts of Jerusalem, leaving the quarter named to the faithful without dispute. By this change, the condition of the servants of Christ was materially improved. Because of their enforced association with the men of Belial, quarrels had often arisen, which greatly increased their troubles. When at last they were able to dwell by themselves, without the disturbance of discord, their lives flowed more tranquilly. Any disagreements which arose were referred to the church, and the controversy was settled by the decision of the patriarch then ruling as sole mediator.

From that day, then, and in the manner just described, this quarter of the city had had no other judge or lord than the patriarch, and the church therefore laid claim to that section as its own in perpetuity.

This quarter is described as follows: the outer boundary is formed by the wall which extends from the west gate, or the gate of David, past the corner tower which is known as the tower of Tancred as far as the north gate which is called by the name of the first martyr Stephen.

[45] Mustansir was caliph 1035–1094.

The inner boundary is formed by the public street which runs from the gate of Stephen straight to the tables of the money-changers, and thence again back to the west gate. Within these boundaries are contained the sacred places of the Lord's passion and resurrection, the house of the Hospital, and two monasteries, one of monks and the other of holy women. Both these cloisters are known as the monasteries of the Latins. The house of the patriarch and the cloister of the canons of the Holy Sepuchre with their appurtenances also lie within its limits.[46]

19. *The condition of the kingdom at this time. Also how the duke besieged Arsuf, a city on the seacoast, and why he raised that siege.*

By this time nearly all the leaders who had taken part in the expedition had returned to their own lands. There remained only the duke, to whom the care of the kingdom had been committed, and Tancred, whom Godfrey had kept with him as a wise man, energetic and successful, to share in the responsibility. The resources and military strength of the Christians were very small at that time. When all had been called together with the utmost diligence, barely three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers could be found.

The cities which had come under our power were but few, and these were so situated in the midst of the enemy that the Christians could not pass from one to another, when necessity required, without great danger. The entire country surrounding their possessions was inhabited by infidel Saracens, who were most cruel enemies of our people. These were all the more dangerous because they were close at hand, for no pest can more effectively do harm than an enemy at one's very doors. Any Christian who walked along the highway without taking due precaution was liable to be killed by the Saracens, or seized and handed over as a slave to the enemy. Moreover, they refused to cultivate the

[46] The intimate knowledge of Jerusalem may reflect his boyhood wanderings through its streets. Such extraterritorial jurisdiction was not unknown to the Muslims, who, like the Greeks at Constantinople, granted quarters to foreign merchants, notably at Alexandria. It is another matter, however, to transform such a grant made to protect a minority into a claim for special privilege when that minority becomes a majority. Elsewhere (Book XVIII, chap. 4), William has indicated that this grant likewise was made at the request of merchants in behalf of pilgrims from the West as well as for themselves.

fields, in order that our people might suffer from hunger. In fact, they preferred to endure famine themselves rather than furnish anything to the Christians, whom they looked upon as enemies.

Nor was it on the highways alone that danger was feared. Even within the city walls, in the very houses, there was scarcely a place where one could rest in security. For the inhabitants were few and scattered, and the ruinous state of the walls left every place exposed to the enemy. Thieves made stealthy inroads by night. They broke into the deserted cities, whose few inhabitants were scattered far apart, and overpowered many in their own houses. The result was that some stealthily, and many quite openly, abandoned the holdings which they had won and began to return to their own land. For they feared that those who were making great efforts to protect their country would one day be overpowered by the enemy and there would be no one to rescue them from the impending massacre. This condition gave rise to an edict providing that an annual accounting should be held, favoring the interests of those who had persevered in the midst of tribulation and had held their tenure peacefully and without question for a year and a day. This law was introduced, as we have said, through resentment toward those who, because of cowardice, had left their possessions, that they might not be able to return after the lapse of a year and renew their claim.[47]

Although the kingdom was struggling with such poverty, yet Godfrey, fearing God and beloved of God, endeavored under divine guidance to extend the domains of the realm. He assembled military auxiliaries, together with the people of the land, and laid siege to a maritime city near Jaffa, which was formerly called Antipatris but is now generally known as Arsuf. That city, however, was well defended by brave men, valiant in the use of arms, and was abundantly supplied with food and other things necessary for their support. Meanwhile, the duke outside was suffering serious need, especially because he had no ships with which he might prevent the besieged from going in and out. Forced by necessity, therefore, he raised the siege in the hope that in the future a more favorable opportunity for accomplishing his end

[47] This law implies the presence of a number of accountants in Jerusalem and suggests that almost from the outset Jerusalem and other Latin states in the East were conducted on a much more businesslike basis than was true of feudal principalities in the West.

would be afforded him from on high. But his premature death prevented him from carrying out this intention, and his desire was never realized.

20. *A circumstance worthy of remembrance which happened to this illustrious man during that siege.*

WE have thought it well to insert in this narrative an incident worthy of remembrance which happened during the course of this same siege. From the mountains of Samaria where the city of Nablus is situated, certain petty chiefs from the surrounding country came down to the siege, bringing with them gifts of bread and wine, figs and raisins. The purpose of their coming was, I suppose, rather to investigate our strength and numbers and to obtain more accurate information about our condition than to bring presents to the duke. When these men arrived at the Christian camp, they at once demanded to be led before the duke. Being introduced into his presence, they presented the gifts which they had brought with them. Now the duke was a humble-minded man, who utterly declined the pomp of this world. He was sitting on a straw-filled sack which had been placed on the ground, awaiting the return of his men whom he had sent on a foraging quest. At sight of him sitting thus, the chiefs were struck dumb with amazement. "Why," they inquired, "did so great a prince and so admirable a lord, who, coming out of the West, had shaken the entire Orient and seized a mighty kingdom with a strong hand, sit thus ingloriously? Why was he not surrounded by tapestries and silken stuffs and attended by a throng of armed satellites, so as to present a formidable appearance to those who approached him?"

As they were inquiring thus, the duke asked what they were saying. When the reply was given, he answered that the ground might well suffice for a temporary seat to mortal man, since after death it was destined to be his abode forever. Filled with admiration at the man's answer, as well as at his humility and wisdom, those who had come to test him departed, saying, "Verily this is a man who ought to take all lands by storm, to whom, because of the merit of his life, rightly it has been given to rule over peoples and nations."

The inhabitants of the neighboring lands marvelled and at the same time were terrified at the courage and success of the pilgrim people. And this fear and wonder became all the greater because they learned

these facts from the lips of their own friends, in whose story they must needs place confidence. Consequently this marvellous report was circulated widely even to the remotest parts of the Orient.[48]

21. *Bohemond, prince of Antioch, is taken prisoner at the city of Malatia.*

WHILE these events were transpiring in the kingdom of Jerusalem, it happened that a certain Armenian, Gabriel by name, was ruling over the city of Malatia which lies in Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates. This man, fearing an incursion of the Persians,[49] whose violence he knew he could not resist, sent envoys to Bohemond, prince of Antioch, begging him to come at once to take immediate possession of the city under certain definite conditions. On receiving the message, the valiant Bohemond hastened to respond to the call. Attended by his usual following, he crossed the Euphrates and entered Mesopotamia. He had almost reached his destination when his company was suddenly attacked by a powerful Turkish satrap named Danishmand. This leader had received advance information of their march and, swooping down upon them with a sudden onslaught, caught them unawares. Some fell by the sword, and the rest, unable to make a stand against such a host, took flight. Lord Bohemond himself, because of his sins, was captured by the enemy and thrown into chains.[50] Elated by this success and presuming on the great numbers of the army which he was leading, the satrap laid siege to Malatia. He hoped to take it immediately, but the fugitives who had escaped succeeded in reaching Edessa, where they gave the count a full recital of the mishap that had befallen the prince and themselves.

When the valiant ruler heard their story, he sympathized with the prince as with an own brother. Deeply moved by the untoward disaster so fraught with perilous consequences, he hastily summoned his mili-

[48] By the time of William such legends about Godfrey and other early Christian heroes were circulating among the Muslims. This one is so distinctly oriental in flavor that it may well have originated among the Arabs. The very first chronicle of the crusade recounted several legends about Bohemond and Tancred said to have originated in the East.

[49] These "Persians" were the people under the rule of Gumushtigin ibn Danishmand, of Turkish origin, who ruled a semi-independent state from his capital at Siwas. The dynasty of Danishmand remained important through most of the twelfth century.

[50] This occurred about August 15, 1100. Bohemond was carried off to Niksar, the Neocaesarea of the Romans.

tary reserves, took the necessary supplies for the march, and set forth with all speed.

Malatia is said to be distant a journey of three days from Edessa. This ground the count covered with great rapidity. He was already very near the city when Danishmand heard of his approach and raised the siege. With his prisoner Bohemond, whom he was holding in chains, he withdrew to the remotest part of the kingdom to avoid a battle.

On learning that Danishmand, alarmed at his coming, had abandoned the siege, the count pursued him for three days. Finally, however, he perceived that nothing could be gained in this fashion and returned to Malatia. Gabriel gave him a royal welcome and treated him with great honor. He then handed over the city to Baldwin on the same terms which he had offered to Bohemond.[51] After this had been accomplished, the count returned to his own land.

22. *A feat worthy of remembrance which the duke wrought in the land of Arabia.*

MEANWHILE the illustrious duke and those who had remained with him at Jerusalem to protect the realm after the departure of the other leaders were laboring under conditions of extreme need. So dire was their poverty that it can hardly be expressed in words.

It so happened that at this time a report was brought by scouts worthy of confidence that in the parts of Arabia across the Jordan in the land of the Ammonites there were certain Arab tribes who were living without adequate defenses. If a sudden attack were made upon them, immense spoils would undoubtedly be captured. The valiant Godfrey was easily persuaded to undertake this project. He quietly summoned such forces as the young kingdom afforded, both cavalry and infantry, crossed the Jordan, and entered the land of the enemy.

The raid was successfully accomplished. Godfrey was returning with immense spoils of flocks and herds as well as many prisoners, when he was met by a certain Arab nobleman, a famous and valiant prince among his own people and an ardent lover of the art of war. Through messengers he had obtained peace, and now, attended by an honorable retinue of Arab nobles, he had come himself to visit the duke. Nu-

[51] Gabriel continued to rule, presumably as the vassal of Edessa.

merous reports had reached him of the strength and fame of this people, who, coming from out of the West, had traversed such vast distances and finally, after enduring numerous hardships, had at length subdued the entire Orient. Above all, he had heard of the matchless valor of the duke and his indefatigable prowess, and with all his heart he longed to see him.

When he stood in the presence of the duke and had greeted him with all due reverence, the Arab chief earnestly begged Godfrey that he would deign to smite with his own sword an immense camel which had been brought for this purpose. He wished to be able to testify to others of the duke's strength as seen with his own eyes. Since the chief had come from a long distance to see him, Godfrey consented. Unsheathing his sword, he cut off the animal's head as easily as if it had been some fragile object. The Arab was amazed at the evidence of such great strength, but, in his own heart, he attributed the feat largely to the sharpness of the sword. Accordingly, begging leave to speak freely, he asked Godfrey whether he could accomplish a similar feat with the sword of another. The duke, smiling a little, requested that the Arab's own sword be brought him. Taking it, he commanded another animal of the same kind to be brought before him. This done, he raised the sword and without difficulty struck off its head also at one blow.

The Arab chief now for the first time began to marvel and was almost dumb with amazement. He recognized that the force of the blow proceeded, not from the keenness of the weapon, but from the strength of the man himself and was convinced that the stories he had heard about Godfrey's valor were true. He immediately offered gifts of gold, silver, and horses and thereby won the favor of the duke. On his return to his own land, he acted as a herald and proclaimed to all whom he met the prowess of the duke, which he himself had witnessed.[52]

The duke himself returned to Jerusalem with his prisoners and spoils.

23. *The death and burial of the duke.*

In that same month of July, Godfrey, the illustrious ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was stricken by a violent and incurable disease and

[52] Another legend of Godfrey's swordsmanship and strength. It is difficult to find time in Godfrey's activities of this year for the occurrence here described.

began to be sick unto death. The virulence of the disease continued to increase, and no remedy could be found, though sought far and wide. At length, after receiving the Eucharist, this true confessor of Christ, devoutly penitent, went the way of all flesh to receive an hundredfold reward and possess eternal life with the spirits of the blest. He died on the eighteenth of July, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1100. He was buried in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord in the place Calvary, where the Lord suffered. There a place has been set aside also for his successors even unto this day.[53]

[53] This burial place in the chapel of Golgotha in the church of the Holy Sepulchre was used for the rulers of Jerusalem up to its capture by Saladin in 1187. It appears to have been respected by him and his successors but was ravished by the wilder Mongols in 1244.

HERE ENDS THE NINTH BOOK

THE TENTH BOOK BEGINS

KING BALDWIN I: EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM

1. *On the death of his brother Godfrey, Baldwin, count of Edessa, succeeds to the kingdom.*

THE illustrious Duke Godfrey, of pious memory in the Lord, was the first Latin ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. When he departed from this world to attain a better life beyond, the throne remained vacant three months. Finally, either out of deference to the last wishes of the duke or by the common consent of the leaders, whose numbers were now reduced to a few, Lord Baldwin, count of Edessa, own brother of the duke by both parents, was summoned to succeed his brother in the care of the kingdom due him by hereditary right.[1]

In his youth, Baldwin was well nurtured in the liberal studies. He became a cleric, it is said, and, because of his illustrious lineage, held benefices commonly called prebends in the churches of Rheims, Cambrai, and Liége. Later, however, for reasons unknown to us, he laid aside the clerical habit, assumed military arms, and became a soldier. In the course of time he married an illustrious lady of high rank from England named Godehilde.[2] Accompanied by his wife, he followed his brothers, Godfrey and Eustace, those men of lofty virtues and immortal memory, upon the first expedition, a pilgrimage which was successful and prosperous in all respects.[3]

Before the army of the faithful arrived at Antioch, however, Godehilde, worn out by long suffering, died peacefully at Marash and was there buried, as we have already related. Baldwin was later summoned by the duke of Edessa and by him adopted as his son. After the duke's death, Baldwin succeeded to that county with all that pertained to it, as has also been related in detail.[4] He then married the daughter of

[1] The story of the succession as it occurred at the time is told in Chapter 3 and following chapters. These first two chapters were probably inserted by William when he made his final revision of the work.

[2] See Book II, note 6; Book III, note 20.

[3] William has forgotten his earlier statement about Eustace as the companion of Robert of Normandy (see Book II, note 30).

[4] See Book IV, notes 6 and 7.

a noble and distinguished Armenian prince, Tafroc [Thoros] by name,[5] who, with his brother Constantine, had impregnable fortresses in the vicinity of Mt. Taurus and large forces of brave men. Because of their wealth and immense power, these lords were regarded as the kings of this people.

It is not necessary, at this time, to state again at length Baldwin's origin according to the flesh, his splendid ancestry, and the place of his birth, for while we were writing of the deeds of the lord duke, enough was said about the exalted lineage which was common to both.

2. *Concerning the physical characteristics and moral qualities of Lord Baldwin.*

He is said to have been very tall and much larger than his brother, so that, as it is written concerning Saul, "he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward." [6] He was of rather light complexion, with dark-brown hair and beard. His nose was aquiline and his upper lip somewhat prominent. The lower jaw slightly receded, although not so much that it could be considered a defect. He was dignified in carriage and serious in dress and speech. He always wore a mantle hanging from his shoulders. Because of his gravity both in word and habit, he appeared to those who did not know him more like a bishop than a layman. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that he was a descendant of Adam and an heir of the original curse, for he is said to have struggled in vain against the lustful sins of the flesh. Yet so circumspectly did he conduct himself in the indulgence of these vices that he was a stumbling block to no one. Neither did he inflict violence or great injury on anyone; in fact, a thing rare in such cases, only a few of his personal attendants were aware of his licentious habits. If, like all sinners, his partisans try to find excuses for him, it seems possible that some may be found acceptable, if not with the strict Judge, at least among men, as will be related in the following pages.

Baldwin was neither stout nor unduly thin, but rather of a medium

[5] This was Arda, daughter of Thoros I (not Tafroc) of the Rupenian dynasty of Armenia, whom Baldwin married, probably in 1098. Thoros was the son of Constantine, the former ruler of that Armenian state. He had a brother, Leo, who did rule after him 1123–1135 (see Galust T. Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, p. 59, n. 215).

[6] I Sa. 10: 23.

habit of body. Expert in the use of arms, agile on horseback, he was active and diligent whenever the affairs of the realm called him.

It seems unnecessary to speak in commendatory terms of his magnanimity and courage, his experience in the art of war, and of all the other excellent characteristics of a well-balanced mind. These traits had been transmitted to himself and his brothers as a perpetual inheritance from their forefathers. Above all, Baldwin avowedly emulated the duke so closely that he considered it a sin in himself to depart in the least detail from the example set by his brother. He was, however, on rather too intimate terms with one Arnulf, a wicked and malicious man, who was archdeacon at Jerusalem. He was ruled far too much by the advice of this man, and for this he was criticized. This is the Arnulf whom I have already mentioned as having usurped the patriarchal chair. His reputation was that of a man who, both in thought and deed, inclined toward evil.[7]

3. *On the death of the duke, Count Garnier seizes the tower. He sends secret messengers to summon Baldwin.*

But when the duke was dead and consigned to the tomb, as we have related, those to whom he had committed the execution of the wishes expressed in his last testament abandoned the will of the dead man, preferring their own wishes to the judgment of their lord.[8] They did not surrender the tower of David to the Patriarch Daimbert, neither did they resign the city into his power, as was contained in the provisions of the testament, which agreement on the holy day of the previous Easter the duke of pious remembrance in the Lord had entered into with the patriarch in the church of the Lord's Resurrection in presence of the clergy and people.

[7] Perhaps William seeks to spare Baldwin by ascribing his activities in dealing with the patriarchate to the undue influence of Arnulf. Baldwin's record, however, affords little basis for the charge that he was under any man's influence. These acts, which seemed so wicked to William, doubtless arose from the fact that Baldwin, like Arnulf, believed that in its existing condition Jerusalem must be governed by a warrior and that all its resources must be under his control. This view was, of course, the opposite of that held by Daimbert and shared by William. From the point of view of Baldwin and Arnulf, the conduct of Daimbert seemed as wicked as their conduct does to William. Their views are more accurately revealed by Albert of Aix ("Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, Vol. IV, chap. vii, *passim*) and Ralph of Caen.

[8] They may have been acting more nearly in accord with the real views of Godfrey than William is able to recognize, if Albert is to be credited.

The leader of this troublesome faction was a certain Count Garnier, surnamed de Grey, a valiant and intrepid warrior and a kinsman of the duke and the count. As soon as the duke died, the count seized the tower and fortified it strongly.[9] Then, without the knowledge of the others, he secretly dispatched messengers to Count Baldwin, bidding him come as speedily as possible and that without delay. The patriarch repeatedly called upon him to carry out the last wishes of the duke by giving way to the rights of the church, but Garnier kept inventing excuses and making delay and in every way sought to gain time so that the count, whom he had summoned, might find his rights still unimpaired when he arrived. This he did in the hope of acquiring great favor with Baldwin for the loyalty thus shown him. Garnier was deceived in this hope, however, far beyond the expectation of all. For within five days he died. This was regarded by all as a miracle, and it was ascribed to the merits of the patriarch that the enemy and persecutor of the church had met such a sudden death.

The condition of the church was not improved by Garnier's death, however, for those who were in possession of the citadel paid but little attention to what had happened and continued to remain there until the count of Edessa arrived.

The patriarch was well aware that the count had been summoned and dreaded his arrival. Wishing to hinder his advancement in every way possible, he sent a letter containing full details of the affair to Bohemond, prince of Antioch. In order that there may be conclusive evidence on this matter we have deemed it wise to insert a copy of that document in the present history.[10]

[9] These precautions were necessary in view of Daimbert's attitude. Daimbert was with Tancred at this time at the siege of Haifa. According to Albert, Daimbert and Tancred actually appeared in force and demanded Jerusalem (see Albertus Aquensis, *R.H.C. Oc.*, Vol. IV, chap. vii, 35).

[10] This is not regarded as genuine by many scholars, including Prutz, because the language is obviously that of William. Hagenmeyer, however, feels that, despite this, its contents so fully fit the facts and contain so much that is at variance with William's previous statements as to suggest that it rests upon a substantial basis. According to Albert of Aix (*R.H.C. Oc.*, Vol. IV, chap. vii, 27) the bearer of this letter, a certain Morellus, Daimbert's secretary, fell into the hands of Raymond of Toulouse (or of his men) at Laodicea. They prevented him from delivering the message. It is possible that the letter or the tradition of its contents remained in the possession of Raymond's people. If so, William might have learned about it from followers of Raymond III of Tripoli with whom he became intimately acquainted during Raymond's regency (1174–1176). Certain expressions in this letter, however, suggest that if there was such substantial basis, William was elaborating it with ideas of his own (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 447).

4. *The letter of Daimbert to the prince of Antioch.*

"You will know, my dearest son, that you chose me as rector and patriarch, reluctant and ignorant as I was, yet filled with good and holy aspirations toward her who is the one and only mother of all churches and the queen of nations. With the assent of the clergy, the leaders, and the people alike, you brought about my election and, under the direction of God, placed me, albeit unworthy, in the seat of highest dignity. On this exalted pinnacle I have been harassed by a thousand injuries. How many hardships and persecutions, what great dangers I have suffered are known only to my own soul and Christ, who sees all things. For it was with the greatest difficulty that Duke Godfrey, while he was still living, led astray not so much by his own wishes as by the persuasion of wicked men, was induced to relinquish to the church the things which ought to be held by her, possessions which, during the time of the Turks, the patriarch then ruling had held. Holy church, also, at the very time when she should have been more highly honored and exalted, experienced untold tribulation and reproach. At length, through the mercy of God, the duke came to his senses, abandoned his sacrilegious intention, and on the day of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary gave to the church of the Holy Sepulchre a fourth part of the city of Jaffa. Still later, on the day of the celebration of Easter, touched with compunction through the workings of the divine will, he nobly scorned to enjoy longer or trust worldly pomp, but restored freely everything which by right belonged to the church. He became the man of the Holy Sepulchre and of us and promised thenceforward to fight loyally for God and for us. He restored to our power the tower of David with the entire city of Jerusalem and its appurtenances, as well as his own possessions in Jaffa. Since his temporal means were insufficient, however, with our consent he inserted the condition that he should retain all these possessions until such time as God might increase his resources by permitting him to take Babylon [11] and other cities. Should he die without male issue, all these properties were to

[11] Here means Cairo as the capital of Egypt. It is a question whether the prospective conquest could have been contemplated at this time when there were so many more immediate territories to be conquered. That conquest did not really become imminent until William's own time, when Amaury was conducting his campaigns into the region. Perhaps this suggestion is an elaboration by William.

be restored to the church without contest. Although he had promised all these things on the solemn day of Easter before the Most Holy Sepulchre, in the presence of all the clergy and people, yet, while he lay upon the bed of his last illness, he confirmed them in the presence of many well-approved witnesses.

"After Godfrey's death, Count Garnier arose as an enemy against the church of God. He fortified the tower of David in our despite, esteeming as nothing the faithful promise and righteous agreement which had been made. He dispatched his own messengers to summon Baldwin, telling him that he would despoil the church of God by seizing her property and holding it by force until the count himself should arrive. But Garnier was overtaken by the judgment of God and died on the fourth day after the duke's death. Even after this happened, however, some baseborn men [12] of the common people took over the tower and the entire city. They are still holding it, awaiting the coming of Baldwin to bring about the downfall of the church and the destruction of Christianity itself.

"But I, dearest son, am left entirely to the mercy of God and to your affection. Beset as I am by the numerous trials and calumnies arising from the intrigues of wicked men, in you alone, after God, do I trust; in the steadfastness of your affection I place the sole anchor of my hope. To you alone, with tearful words and anxious heart, I confide the miseries which I am suffering—nay, rather, which the church is suffering.

"Therefore, if you have any loyal compassion for me and if you would not fall below the glorious reputation of your father (who rescued the apostle Gregory from the city of Rome when the holy man was imprisoned by the tyrannical cruelty of wicked men and who should be remembered for that deed forever), lay aside all excuses and come to me at once. Wisely commit the care of your kingdom and lands to some of your reliable warriors and mercifully come to the help of holy church in her pitiful struggles. For you know well that you promised me your aid and counsel and voluntarily made yourself subject to holy church and to me.

"Write a letter, then, to Baldwin, forbidding him against our will

[12] Such social distinctions were not, as a rule, made during the period of the First Crusade. Bohemond's lineage was none too noble itself. This attitude was more characteristic of William's own time.

and express injunction to come to Jerusalem to devastate holy church and in any way to lay hand on her possessions. For he too joined with you in choosing me as patriarch and rector of the church at Jerusalem. Point out to him that it is contrary to reason to have undergone so many hardships and perils for the sake of freeing the church if now that same church, reduced to a mean and abject condition, is compelled to serve those over whom she should dominate and rule with the right of a mother. But if he resists justice and refuses to listen to reason, I call upon you by that obedience which you owe to St. Peter to hinder Baldwin's coming by whatsoever means you can, if necessary, even by violence.

"Let me know, dearest son, through this same messenger whom I am sending to you, what you intend to do in regard to those things which I have enjoined upon you and send me assistance in all haste."

5. *Baldwin, hastening on his way to Jerusalem, finds that the enemy have set an ambush near Dog river.*

We are confident that this letter never reached Bohemond, for in the same month, either slightly before or just after the duke of happy memory was released from the flesh and passed over to the Lord, the prince was taken by the enemy, as has been fully described.[13]

At this time, Baldwin, count of Edessa, was enjoying prosperity and good fortune. Malatia, that splendid metropolis of the Medes,[14] had been surrendered to him, and he had subdued the enemies round about him. Thus, through the favor of God, he had succeeded in obtaining some degree of peace for himself and his people. Suddenly a messenger arrived posthaste from Jerusalem to announce that the lord duke had died. He was also informed that the friends and loyal adherents of his dead brother were urgently inviting him to come with all speed to succeed to the throne. Accordingly, he at once gathered an escort of two hundred knights and eight hundred foot soldiers and on the second of October started on the journey to Jerusalem. It was a matter of surprise to many that he proposed to make so long a journey through enemy country with so small a following. He left his

[13] See Book IX, chap. 21.

[14] The use of the ancient terminology must be regarded as a literary device. Malatia was one of the chief cities of the Armenians at this time.

land in the care of one of his own kinsmen, Baldwin du Bourg, a wise and excellent man, who later succeeded him, not only in the county, but also in the kingdom.

On arriving at Antioch, he sent his wife and the maids of the household staff, with all the heavy furniture and the greater part of the baggage, down to the sea, where he had ordered a ship to be provided on which the countess might sail in fitting state to Jaffa. This was the only coastal city which as yet had come into our power, all the others being still held under the control of the infidels. His motive in making this arrangement seems to have been that, as he was about to cross the enemy's country, he might be less encumbered and hence better prepared to cope with any difficulties or unexpected attacks that he might meet.

From Antioch he went on to Laodicea of Syria, and from there proceeded along the coast through Jabala, Valenia, Maraclea, Tortosa, and Arka to Tripoli. At this place the ruler of the city greeted him in his camp outside the city and showered him with honor and gifts. From this same ruler he received the information that Duqaq, king of Damascus, had laid ambushes for him further on along his line of march.[15]

From Tripoli he marched on past Jubail and came to Dog river. Here there is a very dangerous passage between a tempestuous sea and high mountains, where the steep ascent and rugged cliffs render the road almost impassable.[16] The pass itself is four stadia long but only two cubits wide. The perilous way through this narrow defile had been blocked so as to prevent its being crossed. For the natives of the locality, with the help of certain Turks from more distant parts, had combined at that point to hinder the march of Count Baldwin.

When the count reached this place he sent some of his people on ahead to reconnoiter. These scouts found that some of the defenders had crossed the river and gone down into the plain. On discovering this situation, they began to fear that the enemy had left even greater numbers in ambush behind them. They therefore sent one of their number to inform the count of the state of affairs. Baldwin immediately drew up his forces in battle formation and marched upon the

[15] Duqaq, a nephew of Malik Shah, ruled Damascus 1095–1104.

[16] This narrow pass at Dog river is famous throughout history. Successive conquerors who passed through it, from Alexander to Napoleon, left inscriptions there.

enemy. He found them prepared to fight. Dashing against them in a bold charge, he broke up their lines in the first onset, killed many of their number, and put the rest to flight. He then ordered his forces to lay aside their baggage and make camp in that place. They passed a wakeful night there under circumstances of much peril, for they were encamped in a narrow defile closely shut in between the mountains and the sea. Throughout the entire night they were harassed by the enemy, both by those who were holding the mountain pass and by others who had come by sea from Beirut and Jubail. The infidels kept up a constant shower of arrows, which wrought great havoc among those Christians whose place of bivouac lay on the outskirts of the camp. To add to their dire distress, although they were near a river, they were unable to water their horses that night, and the poor animals, exhausted from the long march, suffered greatly from thirst induced by the excessive heat.

6. *The enemy is routed. After an undisputed march, Baldwin arrives at Jerusalem.*

THE next day, as soon as it began to grow light, the count, after taking counsel with his people, ordered the baggage to be arranged for the march and all to be ready to retreat. He sent all the weaker pilgrims and those useless as fighters on ahead, and himself followed with the abler warriors to bear the brunt of any attack that might be made on the rear or on either flank. With his customary shrewd foresight he had devised this plan for the purpose of misleading the enemy, not that he lacked confidence in his own company, but that he might induce the enemy to pursue him as he retreated. This would enable him to meet them in the plain, where he could engage them with more freedom, for he greatly dreaded the narrow and confined defiles.

While his army was struggling thus in retreat, the enemy, in the belief that fear was the cause of their withdrawal, continued the pursuit even more boldly. They rushed down eagerly from the defiles and began to follow the Christians vigorously in the open country. Meanwhile those on the ships, scenting booty, leaped upon the shore, hoping to win the victory without difficulty, as if the enemy were already defeated.

When the count saw that they had abandoned the heights and were already on the plain in hot pursuit, he ordered his forces to turn upon them. Then, with standards raised, he fell upon those who were still fiercely pursuing him. His battalions, in a spirited onset, followed the example set by their lord. Thus before the foe could retreat to the mountains, as was their custom, the Christians were upon them, their glittering swords dealing death even to utter annihilation. Unable to stand against this attack, amazed at the strength and intrepidity of their pursuers, the infidels made no attempt to defend themselves; convinced that their only hope lay in flight, they took that way of safety. Those who had landed from the ships dared not return to the sea, while those who fled to the mountains encountered dangerous precipices in their reckless haste and met with sudden death in many a form.

After routing the enemy in this fashion, the victorious Christians returned in high spirits to the place where they had left their packs and impedimenta. There they rested for the night, blessing the Lord who lays low the powerful and exalts the humble. On the following day they retraced their steps to a place called Junia. Here, according to military usage, they divided the spoils and the slaves that had been taken and devoted themselves to the care needful for themselves and their horses.

The following morning Baldwin, desiring to safeguard his company, took with him some of the lighter-armed cavalry and boldly proceeded to the spot where the conflict of the preceding day had taken place. He wished to determine by personal investigation whether his adversaries were still holding the defiles or whether the pass was open without dispute for all who wished to traverse it. Finding that the way was undefended and easily passable, he caused his following to be summoned. The welcome news brought them quickly thither. Under the leadership of their lord they crossed the place which had rightly caused them so much apprehension and dread. They then continued on the march to Beirut, where they encamped before the city. From Beirut they followed the coast, passed through Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais [Acre], and at last arrived at the city of Haifa.

The count, however, distrusted Tancred because of the great and undeserved injury which he had himself done to that lord at Tarsus

of Cilicia. Consequently, he forbade any of his men to enter that city, for he feared lest the great-souled Tancred, remembering the wrong which he had suffered, might wish to requite the injury. Tancred himself was away, but the citizens came out to meet the count and greeted him with much kindness and fraternal affection. They offered to provide a market for the sale of wares, especially of the necessary food supplies, under favorable conditions. From Haifa the army marched on to Caesarea and then to Arsuf, choosing the route along the shore, and came to Jaffa. Here Baldwin was welcomed with much ceremony by all the clergy and people, and here, to the satisfaction of all, he bore himself as lord. From Jaffa they set forth for Jerusalem. All the clergy and people came out from the city to meet them, Latins as well as other nations, and, to the accompaniment of hymns and spiritual songs, with rejoicing they led the count into the city as their lord and king.

7. *The Patriarch Daimbert, fearing Baldwin's arrival, leaves the palace of the patriarch and retires to the church of Mt. Sion.*

DURING this time, Arnulf, mentioned above, the first born of Satan and the son of perdition, realized that because of his just deserts he had fallen from the chair of Jacob which, with brazen effrontery, he had usurped. He began, therefore, to make trouble and disturb the peace of Daimbert, who, with the common assent of all, had been chosen to rule over that church. Immediately after the duke's death, Arnulf had made many accusations against the lord patriarch to Baldwin. He had also roused some of the clergy against Daimbert, for he was full of malice and loved to sow the seeds of discord. For the former patriarch was exceedingly rich and possessed great power. He was archdeacon of Jerusalem and also received revenues from the Temple of the Lord and the place of Calvary. Therefore, since he was both wealthy and shrewd, he worked much evil among the clergy and yet more among those of secular rank.

The lord patriarch, keenly aware of the malice of this man Arnulf, who was as a thorn in the flesh to him, and likewise of the credulity of the count, looked with apprehension on the latter's coming. He therefore left the palace of the patriarch and retired to the church of Mt. Sion. In that retreat far from all dissensions, he de-

voted himself, as a private citizen, to reading and prayer. Thus it happened that he was not present at the reception of the lord count to participate in the honors paid Baldwin by the citizens.[17]

8. *The count leads an expedition against Ascalon. He crosses the Jordan and invades the enemy's land by force. At length he returns to Jerusalem.*

THE count remained several days in Jerusalem to give himself and his horses the opportunity to rest. But he was a man who loved work and disdained idleness. Consequently, as soon as the affairs of the realm had been set in order satisfactory for the time being, he got together an expeditionary force from the people who had followed him thither and from troops which he found in the kingdom. With this company, he appeared suddenly and unexpectedly before Ascalon. But as the citizens feared to issue forth against him, he found that he could accomplish little there. He marched on through the country which lay between the mountains and the sea, therefore, and came upon many places whose inhabitants had left their homes and fled into subterranean caverns with their wives and children, flocks and herds.

This country was infested by bandits and robbers. These scourges of the highways by repeated attacks had made the road between Ramlah and Jerusalem very dangerous, for too often they fell with hostile sword upon incautious travellers. When the count heard of this, he gave orders that they be vigorously pursued. He had all sorts of combustible material heaped up before the entrances to the caves and set on fire. By this means he hoped to force the fugitives hiding within the caves to surrender, for otherwise the dense smoke would soon suffocate them. And this was the result, for those imprisoned within, unable to endure the heat of the fire, the glowing cinders, and the all-pervading smoke, soon surrendered unconditionally to the count.[18] Without mercy, he at once ordered the decapitation of a hundred of their number, a summary punishment which their guilt seemed to

[17] Daimbert's known opposition to Baldwin's succession was probably reason enough for his absence at this time. However, the occasion afforded William another opportunity to malign Arnulf.

[18] This more primitive form of "gas" attack was not an uncommon device in Eastern warfare. It was more frequently employed in summer battles, when, with a favorable wind, the dry grass was lighted to blind and otherwise inconvenience the enemy. Saladin used it against the Christians in the memorable battle of Hattin in 1187.

deserve. From the stores found, he took the necessary food for the men and beasts in his train. Then proceeding on through the land of the tribe of Simeon, he ascended to the hill country. He went through Hebron, also known as Cariatharbe, famed as the burial place of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and then descended through the vineyards of Engaddi to the famous valley where lies the sea of Salt.[19] Passing by Segor, small indeed, yet able to save Lot when he was fleeing from Sodom, the company entered the land of Moab and traversed the whole of Syria Sobal. They were ever on the watch for an opportunity to injure that perfidious race of Turks and to better their own condition. Yet during that entire march they accomplished nothing except that they maintained themselves, their horses, and beasts of burden from the enemy's goods. For the inhabitants of the locality had learned beforehand of their coming and had fled to their usual fastnesses in the impenetrable wilds of the mountains. Consequently, as the Christians traversed this region, they found it utterly abandoned and without cultivation.

Finally the count realized that he could accomplish nothing; so as the feast of the Lord's Nativity was at hand, he retraced the route by which he had come, and, on the twenty-first of December, the feast day of St. Thomas the Apostle, he reëntered Jerusalem.

9. *A reconciliation takes place between the patriarch and the count. The count succeeds to the throne.*

In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1101, Lord Daimbert, the patriarch, and Count Baldwin became reconciled through the laudable efforts of certain discreet mediators. On the holy day of the Lord's Nativity, in the presence of clergy and people, prelates of the church, and princes of the realm, Baldwin was consecrated and anointed king in the church at Bethlehem[20] by the hand of Daim-

[19] Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin on this journey, verified the presence of the salt by actually tasting it and reported his experiment with considerable personal pride (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 377). William, who lacked Fulcher's interest in nature, usually omits such passages from his own account.

[20] The coronation of Baldwin at Bethlehem must be regarded as a compromise of conflicting views. His title was by common consent king of Jerusalem. Whether the pious views of the crusading leaders in the election of Godfrey or Daimbert's apparent claims upon Jerusalem itself weighed most heavily is not clear. Bethlehem, however, was to remain peculiarly dear to Baldwin ever after this.

bert, the above-named patriarch, and was solemnly crowned with the royal diadem.

10. *Tancred is called by the people of Antioch. Ever mindful of the ancient wrong done him, he departs from Baldwin.*

THUS Baldwin, as has been related, was elevated to the throne and established in the realm. But Tancred, that man of distinguished memory and pious recollection in Christ, still cherished in his heart the memory of the undeserved wrong which he had suffered at the hand of this same Lord Baldwin at Tarsus of Cilicia. Tancred was a man of deep religious character with a scrupulous regard for the dictates of his own conscience. Unwilling, therefore, to be bound by the oath of fidelity to a lord whom he could not love with a pure affection, he resigned into the hand of the king the city of Tiberias. At the same time he gave up also the city of Haifa, which Lord Godfrey of illustrious memory had, in the generosity of his heart, granted him in return for distinguished services.[21] Then, taking leave, to the great regret of all, he retired to the land of Antioch. For he had been summoned repeatedly by the leading men of that land to take over the responsibility and care of the principality until the return of Bohemond, if, indeed, the Lord should ever deign to deliver the prince from prison. In the event that Bohemond should not be permitted to return, the succession in its entirety would descend to Tancred by hereditary right. On his arrival at Antioch, the people and elders at once surrendered to him the entire administration of the city, granting him a free hand.

The king bestowed Tiberias, when it was returned into his hand, upon a certain Hugh de St. Omer [de Falkenberg], a man of high degree, valiant in arms, to be held by him in hereditary right; [22] and the kingdom was at peace for four months.

[21] According to Albert there was an extended dispute about Haifa between Baldwin and Tancred, which was settled only by Tancred's summons to Antioch. Geldemar Carpinel claimed it as having been promised to him by Godfrey. Baldwin upheld this claim and actually awarded it to him. Hugh de Falkenberg (St. Omer) received only Tiberias, the fief which Tancred had held.

[22] The grant to Hugh de Falkenberg (St. Omer) was at first conditional. Tancred could reclaim it within a year and three months. It became permanent when Tancred failed to return, and Hugh is thereafter usually mentioned as Hugh of Tiberias.

11. *The king crosses the Jordan and takes immense spoils from the enemy's land. A most laudable feat of his is likewise described.*

DURING those same days, at the suggestion of certain men whose duty it was to investigate the condition of the neighboring districts and spy out the enemy's weak points, the king secretly gathered a large company of soldiers, crossed the Jordan, and entered the land of the Arabs. He penetrated far into the desert where these people usually live and came at last to the place which had been indicated. Here he made a sudden attack at night and surprised the infidels off guard in their tents. He took some men and all the women and children prisoners and seized all their possessions. A vast amount of booty, including a large number of camels and asses, was carried off. Our approach had been noticed from a distance, however, and most of the men, mounting their swift horses, had fled to remote parts of the desert for safety. Their wives and children, their tents, and all their possessions were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy.

The Christians now started on the return march, driving before them the herds and slaves taken as booty. Among the prisoners there happened to be a woman of high rank, the wife of a great and powerful chief, who had been overtaken in the common catastrophe. Now upon the march the time of her travail came upon her, and with the usual pains attending childbirth, she brought forth her offspring.

This was reported to the king. He at once gave orders that she be taken down from the camel on which she was riding and that from the spoils a bed for the emergency be hastily prepared on the ground. Food was provided for her and two skins of water. A maid was also supplied at her request, and two camels were left by whose milk she might be nourished. Wrapping her in the mantle which he was wearing himself, Baldwin left her and resumed the march with his army.[23]

On that same day or possibly the following, that great Arab chief, followed by a large company of his tribesmen, appeared. He was following closely in the tracks of the Christian army, according to the custom of his people. He was very sorrowful, grieving for the loss

[23] This seems legendary, for Baldwin's itinerary during these months offered little opportunity for its occurrence. Such acts of courtesy toward leaders of the enemy were not uncommon in William's time and were performed by both sides. Saladin's treatment of the captives at Hattin is a famous instance.

of his wife, a noble matron who was on the eve of childbirth, in comparison with whose loss he counted all the rest as nothing. Suddenly he came upon her lying thus on the ground. At sight of her, he was amazed at the humanity which the king had shown so abundantly and began to extol to the skies the name of the Latins. Above all, he praised the merciful kindness of the king and vowed that ever after he would be faithful to him as far as lay in his power, a promise which later he made good in a critical emergency.

12. *The princes of the West again undertake a pilgrimage. They arrive at Constantinople with large forces.*

At the time when these events were transpiring in the Orient, princes of the West heard of the great and marvellous things which the Lord had wrought through His servants who had gone upon the pilgrimage: how through a vast expanse of countries, through many varied and manifold misfortunes He had led His army into the Land of Promise; how before the very eyes of these pilgrims He had subdued nations and brought kingdoms low. Those who had remained at home rejoiced over the triumphs of their brethren, but they were vexed in spirit because they, too, had not been worthy to participate in the exploits thus successfully accomplished. Accordingly, they came together and, by mutual agreement, conceived the idea of starting a new expedition.[24]

The most important of these pilgrims was the illustrious and splendid Count William of Poitou,[25] duke of Aquitaine. Another famous man was Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip, king of the Franks. Hugh had accompanied the first expedition, but after Antioch was taken he was forced by lack of means to return to his fatherland.[26] Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, a man prudent and wise in counsel, was also of this number. To his

[24] This expedition of 1101 is sometimes called the Crusade of the Faint-hearted because it included so many who had started on the first expedition and then turned back.

[25] William IX, duke of Aquitaine 1086–1127, the most prominent French leader on the expedition, did not take the cross, however, until the synod of Poitiers, November, 1100. William IX, who is usually called William of Poitou, gained some reputation as a poet and even more as a *bon vivant*.

[26] This explanation of Hugh's failure to return to the army after the mission to Constantinople is more charitable (if not as convincing) than the earlier one held by the crusaders (see Book VII, chap. 1).

everlasting shame and disgrace, Stephen had deserted his comrades when the fall of Antioch was imminent, through terror of the coming battle, and thus brought never-dying infamy upon his name by an ignominious flight. Now, eager to redeem his former fault and to wipe out the memory of his disgrace, he assembled an honorable following and prepared to make the pilgrimage.[27] The distinguished Stephen of Burgundy, of noble and lofty lineage, likewise made ready to undertake the same journey.[28] Many other nobles, also illustrious because of their lands, life, lineage, and prowess in arms, were kindled by the same desire and made their arrangements to go.[29] On the day appointed, when the more important leaders started on the journey, these nobles too intended to join them with their legions.

So they arranged all things needful for the march, summoned their comrades, and at the right time on the appointed day set out on the pilgrimage. They followed in the footsteps of the first expedition, but without the same spirit of devotion. At Constantinople they were fairly well received by the Emperor Alexius. They found at the court the count of Toulouse,[30] who on the first expedition had proved himself to be a great and notable leader. As we have said, the count had left his wife and most of his household at Laodicea, while he himself went to implore the aid of the emperor so that he might be able to return to Syria and conquer one or more cities there. For, since he had once for all undertaken the pilgrimage, he was determined to persevere to the end and never return to his own land.

Full of joy, therefore, that they had met a man so wise and en-

[27] The embarrassing directness of the pressure upon Stephen to atone for his previous conduct is vividly described by the Norman historian (*Ordericus Vitalis*, x, 119, trans. by Thomas Forester in the Bohn Antiquarian Library). "Being frequently reproved by a variety of persons for this conduct, Stephen was compelled both by fear and shame to undertake a fresh crusade. Among others, his wife, Adèle, often urged him to it, reminding him of it even amidst the endearments of conjugal caresses, 'Far be it from me, my lord,' she said, 'to submit any longer to the jibes you receive from all quarters. Pluck up the courage for which you were renowned in your youth and take arms in a noble cause for the salvation of thousands, so that Christians may have good reason to exult in all parts of the world to the terror of the pagans and the public humiliation of their detestable religion.' "

[28] This Stephen of Burgundy was the son of Renaud I, count of Burgundy.

[29] The omission of the names of leaders from Germany and northern Italy who took a prominent part in this expedition is significant of William's lack of connection with those regions. Ekkehard of Aura, who accompanied the German contingent, wrote an account of the expedition (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis abbatis Hierosolymita*, *passim*).

[30] Book II, note 24; Book IX, chap. 13.

ergetic, they took leave of the lord emperor, who showered them liberally with rich gifts. Then, with the count as their guide, they crossed the Hellespont and arrived with their legions at Nicaea of Bithynia, following the tracks of the earlier army.

13. *Emperor Alexius, according to his usual custom, causes the Turks to set ambushes for them. The greater part of the pilgrims perish. The survivors arrive at Jerusalem in the train of the count of Toulouse.*

THE emperor, as we have said, had treated the pilgrims kindly enough while they were with him. But, following the time-honored custom of the Greek race, he envied the success of the Christians and meant to do them harm. Accordingly, he kept sending emissaries to the Turks, begging them to destroy the pilgrims. By numerous letters as well as by word of mouth through these messengers, he informed the Turks of the pilgrims' approach and admonished them in advance that for their own protection they ought not to suffer this large company to pass freely. Thus he played the part of the scorpion, which when met face to face is harmless, but the tail of which is armed with a poisonous sting it is well to avoid. Through Alexius and his emissaries, the arrival of this expedition was well heralded, and from all the parts of the Orient, by both entreaties and money, the infidels had gathered troops and allies to stop the pilgrims in their proposed march across the country.[31]

But the Christians, either purposely or by chance, separated from one another and advanced by different routes; for, like sand without lime, no bond of affection held them together. Moreover, they utterly scorned the military discipline which the earlier army had observed. Hence, a powerful adversary was raised up against them, as they deserved, and they were given into the enemy's hand. For in one day, while on the march, more than fifty thousand of both sexes fell by the edge of the sword.

Those whom divine providence permitted to escape the hand of the enemy lost their baggage and equipment of every kind. Naked and

[31] Qilij Arslan probably required no prompting from Alexius. The possibility of collusion between them, however, did exist, for Qilij Arslan aided Alexius later against Bohemond in Greece (see Book XI, note 27).

empty handed, they sought safety as they could, and it was by chance rather than by their own efforts that they finally reached Cilicia. At Tarsus, the capital of that province, they lost Hugh the Great, who was carried away by inevitable fate.[32] He was interred with much ceremony in the church of the great teacher of the Gentiles, in whose native city he died. Then, after allowing themselves a few days for rest and refreshment, the pilgrims resumed their march and came to Antioch.

Here Tancred was administering the affairs of the principality. As was his custom, he received them all with gracious kindness. Toward the count of Poitou he showed especial favor, because he was of more exalted rank than the others and had suffered more on that ill-fated expedition in the loss of all his possessions.

Then, drawn by an eager longing to see the sacred places, the pilgrim company hastened on toward Jerusalem. Those who lacked horses went by sea, others who still possessed horses, by land. All finally met at Antarados, a coastal city commonly known as Tortosa.

By the advice of Raymond, count of Toulouse, they attacked this city, since it seemed possible to win it, and, with the help of God, within a few days they took it by force. The inhabitants were either slain or consigned to perpetual slavery. They then resigned the city to the count and divided the spoils with each other according to the law of war and again pressed on toward their goal. The count remained to protect the city, much against the will of the rest, who endeavored to persuade him to go on with them.[33]

14. *The king lays siege to Arsuf and takes it by force.*

WHILE the pilgrim army, attended by ill fortune, was struggling through the land of Romania, as has just been described, the king of Jerusalem, loth to idle away his time in inactivity, was devoting his entire attention to extending in every possible way the narrow limits of the kingdom.

Toward the beginning of spring, a fleet of Genoese had arrived at

[32] This statement of William's regarding the burial of Hugh in the church of St. Paul in Tarsus seems too definite to question. Yet several late writers assert that he died shortly after his arrival at Constantinople in 1098.

[33] A characteristic action on the part of Count Raymond, but more excusable, since he had already been to Jerusalem. However, it did not add to his popularity.

the port of Jaffa.[34] They were welcomed with much honor by the king and the citizens of Jaffa. As Easter was at hand, they drew up their ships on land and went up to Jerusalem for the festal day.

After the feast of Easter had been celebrated according to custom, the king sent wise men endowed with the gift of persuasion to confer with the leaders of the fleet and the elders and chiefs of the troops, to ascertain whether they intended to return or would be willing, on receiving an honorable compensation, to devote themselves for a time to the divine service for the purpose of extending the limits of the kingdom.

After consulting with one another, they answered that, if they could remain in the kingdom under honorable terms, it was their intention—and, indeed, had been from the beginning—to devote themselves for a time loyally to the service of God for the purpose of increasing the kingdom. A treaty satisfactory to both parties was thereupon made and confirmed by an exchange of oaths. It was agreed that as long as they wished to remain in the kingdom with their fleet the following terms should hold with regard to any cities or fortified places belonging to the enemy which might be taken by their aid. They were to have without dispute a third part of the slaves and money taken from the enemy to be divided among their comrades, the remaining two thirds being reserved for the king. Moreover, in each city which might be won from the infidels under these conditions, one street, by treaty, was to belong to the Genoese. Animated by hope of this and reliance on divine aid, the king levied forces of both horse and foot soldiers from the cities under his sway and laid siege to the coast city of Arsuf, both by land and by sea. This place is also known as Antipatris, so called from Antipater, the father of Herod. It lies in surroundings of great fertility and possesses many advantages in the way of woods and pasture lands. The previous year Duke Godfrey, of happy memory, had invested this town. As he had only a few ships, however, he was unable to shut off access to the beleaguered city by sea. Consequently, realizing the impossibility of success, he returned home without accomplishing his purpose.[35]

Baldwin at once placed his forces around the place so that they

[34] This fleet had left Genoa on August 1, 1100, wintered at Laodicea, and arrived at Jaffa about April 16, 1101.

[35] See Book IX, chap. 19.

formed a circumvallation and ordered a movable tower to be constructed from huge beams. When this was finished, it was applied to the walls with sedulous care by the workmen, but its strength was not sufficient to bear the weight of the great number which mounted it. Consequently it fell to the ground, a wreck. In this accident about a hundred of our men were seriously injured.

Some of our men were also seized by the enemy and crucified before the very eyes of their friends. Violent indignation filled the hearts of the Christians at this sight. They fell upon the enemy with a furious attack and held them pent up within the city. So terrified were these that they seeemed to have lost all power even to take measures for their own defense.

The Christians had applied their ladders to the walls and were apparently already in possession of the towers and ramparts when the townspeople, despairing even of life, sent mediators who obtained a concession from the king. It was agreed that on the surrender of the city they with their wives and children, but at the cost of leaving all their movable effects, might have free and peaceful exit from the city and be provided with safe conduct to Ascalon. So, after the fortress had been captured, the army left guards to garrison the city and marched on without delay to besiege Caesarea.

15. *The king likewise besieges Caesarea, a coastal city, and takes it.*

Caesarea lies on the seacoast and was in earlier times known as the tower of Straton. According to ancient histories, Herod the Elder enlarged it, beautified it with noble buildings, and called it Caesarea in honor of the Emperor Augustus. By authority of the Roman emperor it was made the capital of Palestina Secunda.[36]

This city has great advantages in the way of running streams and well-watered gardens, but it is without a port. We read, indeed, that this same Herod, at great expense and effort, endeavored without success to construct a harbor there which might offer secure anchorage to ships.

Thither the king marched with his army, and the fleet followed, keeping equal pace by sea with those on land. On arriving at their

[36] Caesarea had been more important than it now was or was to become. It was, however, restored to its position as an archiepiscopal see.

destination, they blockaded the city, set up hurling engines in strategic positions, and made a violent assault on the place. Frequent skirmishes round the gates struck fear to the hearts of the townspeople; huge rocks hurled without intermission from the machines weakened the walls and towers and even shattered the houses, so that not a moment of rest was granted the besieged.

Meanwhile, a machine of surprising height, much higher than the towers, had been prepared, from the top of which the Christians could freely and easily assault the city. For about fifteen days the citizens and our army persevered in this contest, the latter attacking with all their might and the townspeople with equal fury resisting. The engagements were violent and unceasing. The Christians knew, however, that the citizens were unequal to such severe labors, for they had been rendered soft and effeminate through long-continued leisure and peace and were wholly without experience in the practice of arms. From day to day it was noticeable that, wearied by the burden of war, they were offering a less strenuous resistance. Accordingly our men chafed against further delay. Cheering one another on, they declined to wait until the machine under construction was raised, but with one accord made a concerted attack with unusual fury. The besieged, attacked within their walls, were panic-stricken. In despair even of life, they no longer tried to protect their walls or paid any attention to means of defense. When the Christians recognized this state of affairs, they applied their ladders to the walls, eagerly mounted the ramparts, and quickly seized the towers and fortifications. By the zealous efforts of others the gates were unbarred, the city was broken open by force, and the king entered with his troops.

Armed soldiers were now roving freely about everywhere. They broke into houses where the citizens had vainly thought to find protection. They killed the fathers of families, seized utensils of every kind, and laid violent hands on all that seemed desirable, together with the very houses. They put the household retainers to the sword and took possession of the private apartments. It is needless to speak of the fate of those who happened to encounter our forces in the streets and squares of the city, for even those who carefully sought out hiding places in the byways were unable to avoid death.

Many who perchance might otherwise have been granted life brought death upon themselves. They swallowed gold pieces and

precious gems. This roused the cupidity of the Christians to such a degree that they clove their victims through the middle in search of treasures that might be hidden in their very vitals.

16. *Many citizens perish in a certain chapel of the city. An archbishop is appointed for the captured city.*

OCCUPYING an elevated position in one section of the city was a public chapel where, according to tradition, there had once existed a temple of marvellous workmanship built by Herod in honor of Augustus Caesar. Thither almost the entire population had fled, hoping, since it was a place of prayer, that they might be safe within its precincts.

Into this place the Christians forced their way. There followed such a terrible massacre of the refugees within that the feet of the destroyers were stained with the blood of the slain, and the very sight of the multitude of corpses inspired horror.

In this same chapel was found a vase of brilliant green shaped like a bowl. The Genoese, believing that it was of emerald, took it in lieu of a large sum of money and thus acquired a splendid ornament for their church. They still show this vase as a marvel to people of distinction who pass through their city and persuade them to believe that it is truly an emerald, as its color indicates.[37]

Practically the entire adult population of the city was slain in one place or another. Only the young boys and girls were spared. Here in truth might be seen literally fulfilled that which is written in the prophets: the lord "delivered his strength into captivity and his glory into the enemy's hand." [38]

When the work of the sword ceased and the destruction of the citizens was accomplished, the spoils of every description were gathered into one place. Thereupon, according to the tenor of the agreement, a third part was set aside for the Genoese, and the two-thirds remaining were given to the king and his men as their share. After their scanty means had become exhausted on the way, our people had been poor and needy and had struggled on even to that day

[37] William is apparently sceptical of its quality as an emerald. Professor E. H. Byrne, the authority on Genoese commerce in the twelfth century, informed the writer that the vessel, though now broken and recognized as glass, is still highly prized in Genoa. According to Paris it was for some time regarded as the Holy Grail (P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, I, 353, note 3).

[38] Ps. 78: 61. William is here using the term "prophets" loosely.

in the same state of poverty. Now for the first time, enriched with money and laden with spoils, they began to be more prosperous, since a goodly portion of the plunder was apportioned them.[39]

Then before the king as he sat in the place of judgment were brought the governor of the city, who in their language is called an amir, and the judge, or kadi, who had charge of the administration of justice.[40] In expectation of a future ransom, these two officials were granted life, but they were put in chains and ordered closely guarded.

Then as the king was pressed for time, other matters calling him away, a certain Baldwin who had come on the expedition with Duke Godfrey was chosen archbishop of the city.[41] Some of the soldiers were left to guard the city, and the king with the others hastened on to Ramlah.

17. *The king arrives at Ramlah and there awaits the arrival of the enemy who are said to be approaching. He engages them and is victorious.*

THE city of Ramlah is situated in the plain near Lydda, which is Diospolis. I have not been able to learn the ancient name of this city, but the general opinion is that the place did not exist in early times. Ancient histories say that it was founded after the time of the seducer Muhammad by Arab princes who succeeded him. It was a populous city, surrounded by a wall with towers when the Christian army first arrived in the land of Syria, and to it people flocked in great numbers. But it had neither outer defenses nor a moat, and when the legions of the crusaders poured into those parts, all the inhabitants left and fled to Ascalon, which had far better fortifications.

So the Christians found the city abandoned by its inhabitants, as we have said. It would have been difficult to occupy the entire city

[39] One item of interest among the spoils at Caesarea was the large quantity of pepper found there, so much that each ordinary soldier was allotted two pounds of it.

[40] According to Albert, the Muslims of Acre purchased the release of the kadi for 1,000 besants.

[41] Guibert de Nogent says that Baldwin branded himself with the sign of the cross when he started on the crusade. He was made abbot of that group of monks who, according to William, were established in the monastery of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat by Godfrey (see *Guiberti gesta dei per Francos*, *R.H.C.Oc.*, IV, 183, 251).

when the inhabitants were so few. They therefore merely fortified a stronghold with walls and a moat in one part of it.

A rumor was current at this time, which proved to be not far from the truth, to the effect that the caliph of Egypt had dispatched one of the chiefs of his army with a large force of soldiers to the vicinity of Ascalon. In accordance with his usual custom, he had ordered that officer to advance without delay against the needy and mendicant people who had presumed to enter his dominions and disturb his peace. The officer was either to wipe them out utterly with the sword or bring them back with him to Egypt in chains. The forces in the train of that commander were said to consist of eleven thousand knights and twenty thousand foot soldiers.[42]

It was this rumor that had forced the king to leave Caesarea so hastily, for he feared that this host, relying on its vast numbers, would attempt to invade the kingdom, a course which would be most disastrous to its welfare.

For nearly a month Baldwin waited at Ramlah; then, as the enemy did not appear, he returned to Jaffa. Finally, in the third month, the Egyptian forces dared no longer neglect their lord's order; in fact, they dreaded lest he be already angry because they had so long deferred action. Making a virtue of necessity, they summoned courage, repaired their strength, and, with lines drawn up in battle formation, made a swift descent upon our territory to attack us.

When this was announced to the king, he ordered his forces to be summoned. They were small, because the limited extent of his possessions precluded the possibility of a large number. However, he concentrated around Lydda and Ramlah as large a force as possible. This was composed of two hundred and sixty knights and nine hundred foot soldiers.

As soon as it became evident that the enemy was approaching, the king ordered his forces to be drawn up in six battalions and marched out to meet the foe. At the head of the troops went a certain devout abbot, carrying reverently in his hands the Cross of the Lord. Thus arrayed, the Christians surveyed the ranks of the infidels. Then with eyes raised to heaven, they invoked aid from on high and rushed for-

[42] William has reversed Fulcher's proportions of horsemen to foot soldiers but has not cut down the total numbers, which are still too high.

ward in a furious charge. Unappalled by the vast numbers of their adversaries, they pressed them hard with their swords, aware that they were fighting for life itself.

The Egyptians, likewise, resisted with all their might and in their own fashion strove to ward off the attack. For well they knew that unless they should return victorious they had reason to fear for their wives and children, their possessions, and the estates which they had left in Egypt.

It happened that the enemy's vanguard had engaged one of our divisions. With their superior numbers, they quickly threw it into confusion and put it to flight. The infidels followed in such hot pursuit that the fugitives were nearly annihilated. Our other divisions, however, resisted very vigorously. Pressing on with fury, they wrought carnage unspeakable. The king, by word and example, as beseemed so great a prince, encouraged now these, now those. To those who were so hard pressed that they were on the point of giving way he furnished needed strength with his own forces and thus restored their courage.

For a long time the result of the battle was doubtful, but victory was finally granted to the Christians from on high, and the enemy was routed. They suffered the loss of their leader, who perished by the sword while fighting valiantly on the field of combat.

The ranks of the enemy were broken; some of their battalions had perished, while others had fled beyond recall. When the king perceived this, he commanded that no one under pain of death should dare to think of taking spoils. On the contrary, he ordered them to pursue the foe, not to spare the sword but to kill all without mercy. He himself set the example; followed by several divisions of cavalry and swift foot soldiers, he continued the pursuit to Ascalon, a distance of about eight miles. The approach of night put an end to the frightful slaughter. Then the king recalled his forces by the sound of the horn and returned to the field of battle. There he divided the spoils among his soldiers according to the law of war and then passed the night on the field as victor.

According to report, about five thousand of the enemy were slain at that place. When our troops were counted, it was found that seventy knights were missing and a much larger number of foot soldiers, but the exact loss is not known.

18. *Thence he passes to Jaffa where he comforts the citizens, who were prostrated with terror.*

THE Egyptian forces who had routed the Christians in the conflict of the preceding day pursued the fugitives as far as Jaffa. Assuming the weapons, breastplates, and shields of the fallen foe, they made a bold stand before that city and shouted to the citizens in stentorian tones that the king and the entire Christian army had fallen in battle. As convincing proof of this statement, let them gaze upon the well-known arms of their friends and servants. At sight of these, the citizens and the queen, who was also in the city, could not doubt that they were speaking the truth and gave themselves up to lamentations. After consulting with the elders and those of greater experience and foresight, they came to the conclusion that there was but one thing to do. A message must be sent to Tancred, prince of Antioch, begging him to hasten to the assistance of the imperilled realm, now deprived of a leader, for the entire hope of the faithful people, aside from God, rested in him.

Meanwhile the king had spent the night on the battlefield. As soon as day returned, however, he roused his victorious cohorts and set out for Jaffa. But as they were marching along, they happened to meet the infidels whose sinister story the night before had so terrified the people of Jaffa. When these troops first caught sight of the Christians, they supposed them to be their own comrades, for they confidently believed that our army had been utterly destroyed on the previous day. So they advanced with assurance and had almost joined our ranks, when the king, with shouts of encouragement to his followers, took the initiative and attacked them. He was followed by some of his cavalry at full speed. Fighting gallantly for life, all fell upon the infidels. A desperate fight with swords at close quarters ensued. The enemy were caught so closely massed together that they could not escape. Many were killed and the rest, panic-stricken with fear of death, turned and fled. The Christians gave thanks to God. Then laden with spoils and enriched by the enemy's goods, joyously they resumed their march and hastened on to Jaffa.

Meanwhile, the hearts of the people at Jaffa were utterly prostrated over the news of the disaster. When they caught sight of the returning army, however, it was as if they had been roused from

heavy sleep. With tears of joy, they opened the gates and rushed forth to meet them. They told of the sad news which they had received and of the depths of despair into which they had been plunged. Together they entered the city and passed the day in joyous celebration as they recounted to each other the wondrous mercy which the Lord had manifested toward them.

When the king learned that the queen and her advisers, rendered desperate by fear, had written to Tancred, he at once dispatched a swift messenger thither with letters announcing the king's marvellous success. The eminent prince, in great anxiety over the catastrophe that had befallen the realm, was about to set out on the march. The news of the king's victory rejoiced his heart greatly and he gave much thanks to the Creator.

19. *The newcomers capture Tortosa and give it over into the hand of the count of Toulouse. They then proceed to Jerusalem. The king meets them at Beirut.*

MEANWHILE, the nobles who had lost such a large part of their army in the land of Romania by the tragic disasters already related had arrived at Antioch. Marching on from there, they captured from the enemy the city of Tortosa, as related, and had handed it over to the count of Toulouse. They then hastened on toward Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the king, fearing that their march might be hindered at Dog river, went out with his forces to meet them and seized the pass beforehand. Nor was this an easy task which he undertook on their behalf, for hard by lay four noble and populous hostile cities: namely, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. These must be passed before he could arrive at his destination.

When the king with his company had surmounted the difficulties of the pass, he found there the illustrious men mentioned above. They were: William, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine; Stephen, count of Blois; Stephen, count of Burgundy; Godfrey, count of Vendôme; Hugh de Lusignan, the brother of Raymond, count of Toulouse; and many other nobles. Most joyous and happy were they, first, because they had found the long-dreaded, dangerous pass unimpeded; and, secondly, because the king was there to meet them. They rushed into each other's arms and exchanged gracious greetings with the kiss of peace. Pleasant converse with one another so refreshed them that

their hardships and losses seemed to have slipped from their minds. It was, indeed, as if they had suffered no ill fortune on the way. The king showed them every kindness that the laws of humanity and affection dictated. Then he led them with him back to Jerusalem.

As the feast of Easter was at hand, they passed the festal day in the Holy City and then went to Jaffa with the intention of returning to their own country. There the count of Poitou, who was greatly hampered by lack of means, took ship and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived safely in his own land. The two Stephens also sailed from that port, but after suffering much on the sea for some days, they were compelled by contrary winds to return to Jaffa.

20. *The Egyptians invade the land of the Christians with vast forces. The king marches out against them. He engages in battle without due precaution and is defeated.*

All these pilgrims of whom we have been speaking were still in the East when the people of Ascalon joined forces with the Egyptians who had escaped from the battle described above and invaded our dominions in the vicinity of Lydda, Saurona, and Ramlah. Their army was said to consist of about twenty thousand men. When this report reached the king, he forgot his usual caution. He did not wait to muster forces from the neighboring cities or to summon the nobles who were with him in the city, but depending on his own strength alone he rode forth rashly—nay, in headlong haste—attended by barely two hundred knights. The nobles in the city, however, realized that it would reflect disgrace upon them if, in such a pressing emergency, they sat back idly without sharing in the labors of their brethren; therefore, they obtained horses from their friends and relations and followed the lord king.

Baldwin had set forth ahead of the rest with reckless haste. But when he surveyed the legions of the enemy, he was amazed at their multitude and began to regret that he had been so precipitate. He now realized that the saying, "Impetuosity does all things badly," might well be applied to him. Deeply he repented his rash action, but he was already so close to the foe that neither shame nor peril of death permitted him to retreat.

But in the enemy's ranks shrewd men who had had much experience in the practice of arms observed that the Christian forces,

contrary to their custom, were advancing in straggling array without regard for military rules. The usual companies of foot soldiers and the cavalry squadrons were also lacking. The sight inspired their hearts with greater hope of victory. Accordingly, thus emboldened, they drew up their battalions in fighting formation and made a massed attack upon the king's forces. This charge was made with more than usual fury, because they saw that the Christians, on their part, had neglected their usual military order. Overwhelmed by the vast numbers of the foe and their furious onset, our forces could not endure the stress of battle and fled precipitately with the loss of many men.

Those who fell in this engagement, however, left a bloody victory to their foes, for they fought valiantly even to the death and slew many in hand-to-hand combat. In fact, they had broken up the enemy's lines and were on the point of routing them when the infidels, seeing our small numbers and their own great host, regained their lost courage and rallied their forces. They shouted encouragement to one another and once more came on in a furious charge which put the Christians to flight, as has been said. Our people who made good their escape fled to the town of Ramlah, where they hoped to be safe.

The two Stephens fell in that engagement, together with other nobles whose names and number we do not remember. We feel that it is a matter for congratulation that the noble Count Stephen of Chartres, an outstanding figure among his own people both on account of his illustrious lineage and on account of his glorious deeds, met with this fate. It is evident that the Lord dealt with him according to His own great mercy, for He permitted Stephen to wipe out by a splendid end the mark of infamy which his own conduct had branded upon his name when he deserted the forces before Antioch. For since he redeemed his reputation by such a brilliant end, his former fault should not in justice be held against him. We believe, indeed, that those who fall in the ranks of the faithful, fighting with the warriors of the cross for the name of Christ, deserve that not only disgrace but all derelictions and sins whatsoever be erased from their records.

21. *The king, fleeing from the field of battle, retreats into the citadel of Ramlah. Thanks to the kindness of a certain Arab chief, he is rescued, but others are slain at that place.*

WHEN the king saw that he was completely surrounded by the legions of the enemy, he and others withdrew into the citadel to escape the imminent peril of death, for there was no other place of refuge. He felt but little confidence in the defenses of the place, however, and during the whole night he was weighed down with anxiety about his life and safety. But in the silence of midnight, the noble Arabian chief whose wife the king had befriended shortly before, as has been already related, secretly left the enemy's army and, entirely unattended, presented himself before the citadel. In grateful remembrance of the kindness shown her and loathing the sin of ingratitude, he approached the sentinels on the walls and in low tones addressed them, saying, "I have a message to give to the king in all privacy. Cause me to be brought into his presence at once, for the matter is of the greatest importance."

The message was conveyed to the king, who listened to it and ordered the prince to be brought before him. On being admitted, the Arab made himself known and recalled to the king's mind the great favor recently rendered to his wife. He declared that he was under undying obligation to repay this kindness by a service somewhat similar. Thereupon he disclosed the enemy's plans and warned the king that he must leave the fortress at once. For at peep of dawn the infidels proposed to besiege the place, and all prisoners taken therein would be sentenced to death. He urged the king to depart with him immediately and promised that, by the help of God, he would himself conduct him without hindrance to a place of safety, since he knew that country well. Baldwin finally agreed to flee with the chief. He took with him only a very few of his followers, lest perchance a larger number might rouse the suspicion of the foe. Under the guidance of this chief, he went up into the mountainous country. Here the Arab assured the king that whenever an opportunity presented itself he would show him loyal obedience and ready devotion. He then left him and returned to the army of the foe.

Encouraged by the victory just won, the infidels now completely surrounded the citadel and made a furious attack on the fugitives who

had taken refuge there. They took the place by storm and treated the prisoners according to their own free pleasure. Some were put to death, and the rest condemned to be led in chains into perpetual slavery. So fearful a massacre of noble and valiant men is not to be found in the annals of the kingdom up to that time. The realm was almost demoralized, the courage of all gave way, and the hearts of the wisest melted within them. Into such depths of despair were they cast that had not the Dayspring from on high in all mercy speedily attended them, they had been ready to leave the kingdom.

Our people were indeed small in numbers, nor could those who arrived from countries beyond the sea with safety reach the East. Fear of the enemy's coastal cities, of which there were many, both to the right and to the left, prevented this. For, as we have said, of all the cities on the coast, from Laodicea of Syria even to the very border of Egypt, only two, Jaffa and the recently conquered Caesarea, were held by the Christians. Consequently when newly arrived pilgrims saw the weak and almost desperate state of the realm, they returned to their own land as soon as they had accomplished their vows, lest they too might be involved in the same calamities.

22. *The king escapes by devious routes and comes first to Arsuf and then to Jaffa. All the forces of the realm flock to his aid. A battle is fought from which the Christians emerge triumphant.*

As we have already related, the king fled to the hills, having lost his comrades. Rescued by the aid of his swift horse and guided by the noble Arab,[43] he had escaped, and throughout that night he lay hiding in lonely places in great trepidation of mind. When morning came, he set out with two companions whom he chanced to meet, and following bypaths through the midst of a country beset by the enemy, he at length arrived safely at Arsuf. Here he was welcomed with joy by the faithful who dwelt in that city and, after taking food, was greatly refreshed. For he had almost collapsed under the strain of hunger and thirst before he reached that place. It seemed, indeed, that the peculiar circumstances surrounding his arrival had been ordered from

[43] According to some of the chroniclers, Baldwin owed his almost miraculous escape to his Arab horse, "Gazela," rather than to the gratitude of an Arab chieftain. The rescue by an Arab at this time is as legendary as the story of the original courtesy.

on high. For scarcely an hour before he arrived a great part of the enemy's force had departed, after keeping up a continuous attack before the gate during the entire day. If, on his approach, the king had encountered them thus engaged, he could scarcely have escaped their hands.

Meanwhile, various reports concerning the fate of the king were abroad, for the few who had escaped from the battle fled to Jerusalem and declared that the king was among the number of those who had fallen.

The bishop of Lydda, on hearing of the massacre of the Christians who were seized in the citadel of Ramlah, had left his church and fled to Jaffa. When asked about the king, he confessed that he knew nothing about him. He insisted, however, that the refugees in the citadel had come to a pitiable end. As a matter of fact, the slaughter had taken place almost before his very eyes, and he did not hesitate to acknowledge that he had fled secretly to save his life.

Throughout the entire country where that report circulated, everywhere was sorrow, everywhere groans and tears. Each despaired of his own life and hoped only for speedy death, that he might not witness the misfortune of his people and behold the desolation of the kingdom. At this crisis when the entire realm was given over to sorrow, mourning, and lamentations, lo, the king, like the morning star which shines forth in the midst of darkness, set out from Arsuf and betook himself by a swift sailing ship to Jaffa. His arrival was greeted with joy, and his unexpected appearance put to flight the shadows and brought back the bright day. All the evils that had beset the path of the Christians seemed dispelled. The joyful news spread rapidly throughout the kingdom, and this second news raised to buoyant hope those whose spirits had been cast into the very depths by the first false rumor.

Meanwhile, Hugh de St. Omer, the lord of Tiberias, hurrying to the relief of the king at the behest of the people, had arrived at Arsuf with eighty knights. As soon as Baldwin learned this, he at once set out to meet him, accompanied by such forces as he was able to find at Jaffa. For the enemy was roving freely all through that district, and he feared that they might lay ambuscades for Hugh and his company, or even assemble troops and openly try to hinder their march. On meeting, the two leaders embraced each other with heartfelt joy;

they then joined forces and returned to Jaffa, where the townspeople received them with many manifestations of delight. Messengers were immediately dispatched to solicit aid from the dwellers in the hills. These quickly gathered forces and within a few days arrived at Arsuf. They were obliged to take a roundabout route, since the enemy was in full possession of the country between. From Arsuf they were beset with the greatest difficulty, even the peril of their lives, for they encountered the enemy on the road. Finally, however, by the help of God, they reached Jaffa. The number of those just arrived was about ninety and included knights of mixed worth.

The arrival of these allies inspired the king with renewed hope, for he longed to retaliate upon the enemy and to repay with usury the wrongs which they had inflicted upon him. Accordingly, he arranged his squadrons of cavalry and his companies of foot soldiers according to the rules of war and went forth against the foe. He was indifferent to their vast numbers, for his reliance was on the help of the Lord.

The foe was close at hand, only about three miles distant. They were busily engaged in making mats of wickerwork, ladders, and machines of various kinds from selected material. They proposed (and it seemed an easy task) to storm the hostile city and to capture the king and all those within as if they were the vilest slaves. But in the midst of their varied activities, lo, the king with his army was actually upon them. The infidels at once perceived that the adversaries whom they had regarded as conquered were now taking the initiative and challenging them to battle. Wholly without fear of those whom they considered already vanquished, they seized arms and made ready for the encounter. But the Christians were firmly resolved to repay twice over the wrongs that they had suffered. They came on with an impetuous charge, even as the lioness whose fury has been roused by the capture of her cubs. Imbued with strength from on high, and led by divine grace, they fought with all their strength for their wives and children, for their fatherland, and for liberty. They broke up the ranks of the enemy with their swords, killed a great many, and compelled the rest to flee ignominiously. On account of their small numbers, however, the Christians deemed it unwise to continue the pursuit very long. Instead, they went back to the enemy's camp, where they collected an enormous amount of booty, asses and camels, pavilions and tents. In addition they carried off with them all sorts of food and

provisions. Thus the king returned to Jaffa in triumph. There the people greeted him with acclamations of joy, and the realm was at peace for about seven months.

23. *Meanwhile, Tancred receives under his control the noble cities of Apamea and Laodicea.*

WHILE these various activities were being carried on throughout the realm, the illustrious Tancred assembled forces, both horse and foot, from his entire people and invested the noble city of Apamea, the capital of Coelesyria. For some time he continued to press on the siege with all possible energy, as is the custom of all good lords. Every device which is customarily used in storming an enemy's fortress was employed, and no device which might cause heavy loss to the besieged was left untried. At last, by the aid of divine mercy, coupled with his own indefatigable zeal and gallant efforts, he took the city. This capture extended the limits of his principality immensely. On the same day, according to report, he proceeded to Laodicea, which was held by the Greeks, and received that, too, under his domination. This took place under the original terms agreed upon between himself and the Laodiceans: namely, that whenever he should be able to conquer Apamea, on that same day the city of Laodicea also should be surrendered to him without contest. These two famous cities are said to have been founded by Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, who called them after his two daughters, the one, Apama, and the other, Laodicea.[44]

We are now speaking of Laodicea of Syria, for there is another Laodicea which is numbered among the seven cities of Asia Minor. This latter city is the one which St. John refers to in the Apocalypse, as follows: "What thou seest, write in a book, and send unto the seven churches . . . unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea." [45]

The other Laodicea was made a colony by the Emperor Severus,

[44] These towns were more probably named by Seleucus, Alexander's general, for his mother, Laodice, and his wife, a Persian princess, Apama. The city of Laodicea, with which the crusaders had had both pleasant and unpleasant relations ever since 1097, was not captured until 1103 after a siege of a year and a half, while Apamea was not captured until 1106.

[45] Re. 1:11.

according to the history of Ulpian, who speaks as follows about it in his *Digest* in the chapter entitled "De censibus": "There is also the colony Laodicea in Syria, to which the Emperor Severus granted Italian rights as reward for their services in the civil war." [46]

And so with the aid of the Lord, Tancred accomplished the work of many days in one campaign. At one and the same time he won two cities, each of which had ample domains, with many fortified towns and outlying fields. Tancred was indeed a man who loved God and was beloved of Him. Notable for his faith, renowned for his valiant deeds, he was acceptable to the people on account of his many services; in fact he was successful in all he undertook.

24. *Baldwin du Bourg, count of Edessa, marries the daughter of Duke Gabriel.*

At this time, the noble Baldwin, count of Edessa, a man commendable in all respects, who had succeeded the lord king in the county of Edessa, was administering the land subject to him with great vigor and success. He was held in dread and suspicion by the enemies who surrounded him. Since he had neither wife nor children, he married Morfia, daughter of one Gabriel, duke of Malatia, to whom we have referred before. With her he received as dowry a large sum of money, of which he stood in great need. Gabriel was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith.[47]

Baldwin's domains were in splendid condition, enjoying a state of complete peace, when one of his kinsmen, Joscelin de Courtenay, a nobleman of France from the district of Gâtinais, came to visit him.[48] As Joscelin had neither lands nor other wealth, Baldwin conferred upon him extensive possessions so that he might not be compelled to turn to a stranger to earn a livelihood. This grant included all that part of Baldwin's own land lying adjacent to the great river Euphrates. It contained the cities Coritium and Tulupa, the extensive and well-fortified castles Turbessel, Hamtab, Ravendal, and others. The count reserved for himself the region beyond the Euphrates, as being nearer

[46] *Corpus juris civilis*, *Digest*, L. xv. 1.

[47] The marriage of Baldwin du Bourg and Morfia, daughter of Gabriel, is dated sometime before Bohemond's release in 1103. Gabriel's wealth was evidently fabulous, for he gave his daughter a dowry of 50,000 gold besants and aided Baldwin on later occasions with further large sums.

[48] Joscelin de Courtenay was a first cousin of Baldwin du Bourg.

to the enemy's domain, and retained only one city of the interior, namely, Samosata.

Joscelin was a man well endowed with worldly wisdom, circumspect in all he did. He displayed much prudence in the care and disposition of his private affairs; he was a good provider and the best of lords to those of his household. When circumstances demanded, he showed some liberality, but at other times he was economical, a careful conserver of his domestic goods. He was temperate in eating and paid but slight attention to dress and the adornment of his body. He ruled with earnest care that portion of the country so liberally granted him by the lord count and possessed all good things in great abundance.

25. *Bohemond is released from the bonds of the enemy and returns to Antioch. The Patriarch Daimbert takes refuge with him and is kindly received.*

About this time, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, a magnificent man commendable in all respects, returned to Antioch. After four years spent in the chains of the enemy, divine grace looked upon him, and on payment of a ransom he was released from his bonds.[49] A joyous reception awaited him from the patriarch and clergy as well as from the entire populace, for both the province and the kingdom had long earnestly yearned for his return. When he learned with what loyal wisdom and foresight his kinsman Tancred had administered the principality entrusted to his care during the absence of its lord and how he had extended the domains of Antioch by the capture of two splendid cities, Bohemond thanked him heartily.[50] As proof of esteem and a well-merited reward for his services, he bestowed upon Tancred and his heirs the greater part of that region to be held by them in perpetual right, and, not long after, he resigned the entire principality to him, as will be related in the following pages.

[49] Bohemond was released probably in May, 1103, after a captivity of three years. His ransom was paid by the Armenian Kogh Vasil, Baldwin du Bourg, and Bernard, patriarch of Antioch. William fails to mention that Tancred contributed nothing to his uncle's release (R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 96).

[50] William is apparently determined to preserve Tancred's reputation as unblemished. According to contemporary evidence Bohemond was very wrathful at Tancred for his failure to contribute to the ransom. He deprived him not only of the principality but also of the places which he had conquered (R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred*, pp. 136–37).

During this time, Arnulf, archdeacon of Jerusalem, to whom we have so often referred, had continued, according to his usual custom, to sow the seeds of discord and hatred between the king and the Patriarch Daimbert in the hope of stirring up a quarrel. As a result, their former enmity, which had apparently died down, began to revive.[51]

Through the assiduous efforts of that same seducer, the clergy also had been roused against the patriarch. Finally this ill feeling increased to such an extent that the man of God, a lover of peace, could not endure the constant vexations to which he was subjected. He left his church and the city at the same time and, poor and needy, wholly bereft of counsel and aid, fled to Bohemond. The prince received him with great honor, his sympathy and pity being roused the more in as much as he felt that he himself had been mainly responsible for Daimbert's elevation to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. In order that the man of God might not be obliged to live with him under conditions ill befitting one of so lofty a station, Bohemond generously assigned him a benefice. With the consent of Bernard, patriarch of Antioch, he was granted the church of St. George, below the city of Antioch, together with its great estates and rich revenues. There, up to the time when Bohemond crossed to Apulia, as will be related presently, Daimbert dwelt continuously with him.

26. *After the expulsion of Daimbert, one Ebremar is placed without sanction over the church at Jerusalem. The king besieges Acre without success. As he is returning thence, he is seriously wounded.*

Now, led astray by the wicked Arnulf, the king departed from the fear of the Lord and, after the expulsion of Daimbert, was guilty of even worse acts. For he thrust into the patriarchal chair a simple-minded priest of deep religious character, named Ebremar. This priest, a plain man, had come with the first expedition and, because of his upright life, was highly esteemed by all. But in this matter

[51] The most detailed account of the resumption of this quarrel is given by Albert. William fails to mention that charges had been brought against Daimbert, who was tried by a synod at Jerusalem over which the papal legate, Robert, presided on October 2, 1102. Daimbert was declared deposed and left Jerusalem in the company of Tancred, who had taken part in the recent campaign against the Egyptians. Daimbert was apparently content to remain in Antioch for nearly two years before making his appeal to the papacy.

he showed himself to be a man of stupid and thoughtless ignorance, since he believed that he would be permitted to usurp the patriarchal throne while the rightful incumbent was still living.

Likewise in this same year, which was the year 1103 of the Incarnation of the Lord, toward the beginning of spring, the king, after observing the feast of the Lord's resurrection at Jerusalem, called out all the forces of the kingdom and laid siege to Acre.[52]

Acre is a city on the seacoast in the province of Phoenicia, one of the suffragan cities which is under the metropolis of Tyre. Its double harbor, lying both inside and outside the walls, offers a safe and tranquil anchorage to ships. It is well located between the mountains and the sea and possesses wide domains with rich and fertile fields. The river Belus flows past the city.

According to the story generally received, it was founded by two brothers, Ptolemais and Acco. They fortified it with walls of solid masonry and divided it into two sections, which were called from their names. Hence even today it is known indifferently as Ptolemais or Acre, as is the case with most of the cities of Syria, each of which has, as a rule, two or even three names.

Hither came the king with his legions, but, as he had no fleet, he was unable to shut it in so that it would be forced to surrender. However, he cut down the orchards which surrounded it, killed some of the townspeople, and drove off as booty the flocks and herds found outside the city. Then he raised the siege and departed to his own land.

He intended to return through Caesarea. It chanced, however, that at a place called Petra Incisa near ancient Tyre, between Capharnaum and Dora, which today is known as *Districtum* [the Pass], he encountered brigands and highway robbers. They were hiding in ambush, but the king fell upon them fiercely, killed most of them, and put the rest to flight. One of them, however, as he fled, hurled a javelin which by ill luck struck the king. It entered from behind through the ribs near the heart and just missed dealing a fatal blow. The care of the physicians, however, with their use of incisions and cautery, at length restored Baldwin to some degree of health, but at certain times ever after he suffered a recurrence of trouble from this wound.[53]

[52] This ineffective siege occurred during April and May, 1103.
[53] This accident befell Baldwin sometime in July, 1103.

27. *The count of Toulouse builds a fortress before the city of Tripoli and calls it Mount of the Pilgrims.*

DURING this same time, Raymond, count of Toulouse, of good memory, a most excellent and magnificent man and a true worshipper of God, had conquered the city known as Tortosa and was showing great energy and prowess in the work of extending his domains round about. Anxious to make use of every means to drive the adversaries of the Christian name out of those lands, he had built a fortress on a hill facing the city of Tripoli, about two miles away. Since the place was founded by pilgrims, he gave it a name reminiscent of that circumstance, that it might be known forever as the Mount of the Pilgrims. This name survives even to the present day.

The Mount of the Pilgrims is well fortified both by its natural site and by the skill of those who built it. From it as a base, almost daily Raymond caused new trouble to the people of Tripoli. As the result of this constant harrying, the natives of the entire district and even those who dwelt in the city itself were forced to pay him an annual tribute and in all matters obeyed him as if he owned the city without dispute.

In that place, his wife, a woman devoted to God, bore him a son who received the ancestral name Alphonse, and who later succeeded his father as count of Toulouse.[54]

28. *The king besieges Acre a second time, and with the assistance of the Genoese takes the place by force.*

IN the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1104, in the month of May, Baldwin mustered the entire strength of his people, from the least even unto the greatest, and hastened to Acre to lay siege to that city a second time. He had seized the opportunity as most auspicious, because just at that time a fleet from Genoa of seventy beaked ships called galleys had arrived at the land of Syria. As soon as the king learned of their arrival, he sent a message to the commanders of the fleet, inviting them in a friendly way to fight for Christ before going back to their own land. He called their attention to the good ex-

[54] Alphonse was named for his maternal grandfather, Alphonse, king of Castile, whose natural daughter, Elvira, was the third wife of Count Raymond. He had the distinction of being a Western feudal lord, born in the Holy Land.

ample set by their fellow citizens whose zealous work had helped win for the realm the city of Caesarea, whereby everlasting glory had accrued to the citizens of Genoa and, in addition, much worldly recompense.

Through the able work of shrewd and diplomatic mediators who exerted themselves nobly to effect the negotiation, an agreement with these people was reached. On condition that they should be given in perpetuity a third part of the returns and revenues collected at the port of Acre from sea-borne imports and in addition be granted a church in the city and full jurisdiction over one street, the Genoese consented to lend loyal aid in taking the aforesaid city. These terms proved acceptable to the king and his chief men; the agreement was confirmed by an exchange of oaths and committed to writing to be preserved forever under the form of a charter.[55]

On the day set, the Genoese blockaded Acre by sea, and the king with his forces laid siege on land. All possibility of exit and entrance was completely shut off by the encircling camp, and the citizens suffered all the innumerable ills which always attend a siege. Machines such as the fertile ingenuity of experts is wont to devise were placed in position round the city for the destruction of the enemy; towers also were erected from which were hurled huge rocks, whose constant battering shattered the ramparts and even destroyed buildings within the city itself.

Exhausted by repeated engagements both with the fleet which guarded the shore and with the king's army on land, their numbers depleted by the loss of many defenders through various mishaps, the enemy found it difficult to bear the constant pressure of the besiegers. Accordingly, when for twenty successive days the Christian warriors had put forth all their strength in assaulting and the infidels with like persistency had resisted, the city was finally surrendered to the king. The stipulations imposed were that those who wished to leave should be permitted to depart freely wherever they would, taking with them their wives and children and all their movable possessions. Those who chose to remain in their homes, however, and not to desert their native soil might enjoy favorable conditions by the payment of a fixed sum annually to the king.

[55] William had probably seen this document in the archives. His mention of it reveals his unusual interest in diplomacy, law, and commerce.

As soon as the city was won, the king assigned possessions and domiciles to the Genoese according to the services rendered by each man. Thus, for the first time, a safe and convenient approach was opened to those arriving by sea, a more commodious anchorage was gained, and the shore freed, to some extent at least, from the attacks of the foe.

29. *Haran of Mesopotamia is besieged by Tancred, Baldwin, and others. The citizens, forced by hunger, resolve to surrender the city.*

In this same year, Bohemond, accompanied by all the leading men of his province, Tancred, Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin, the latter's kinsman, united and, with mutual accord, agreed to cross the Euphrates and besiege the city of Carrhae [Haran] near Edessa, which was held by the infidels. In accordance with this proposition, each leader zealously convoked military forces from his own land, gathered allies from all around, and, on the day appointed, crossed the Euphrates and came to Edessa.

Three venerable men, distinguished lights of the church, took part in this ill-fated expedition: namely, Bernard, patriarch of Antioch; Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, an exiled wanderer and refugee, who was at that time living at Antioch; and Benedict, archbishop of Edessa.

All these leaders, intent on carrying out their project, assembled at the city just mentioned and then, at the head of their legions, advanced toward the place of their destination.

We learn from histories of olden times that Haran is the place to which Terah led "Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son," when they left Ur of the Chaldees and went into the land of Canaan to live, according to the story contained in the book of Genesis. There, too, Terah died, and there also Abraham received the Lord's command to leave his land and his kinsfolk and follow the promises of God.[56] This is the place, too, where Crassus, the Roman dictator, was forced by the Parthians to drink the gold for which he had been so eager.

Immediately after arriving at Haran, the leaders blockaded the city closely, as had been their plan from the first. There was, how-

[56] Ge. 11:31, 12:3.

ever, slight need of assaulting the place, for the supply of provisions within the city was scanty—in fact, almost nothing. It was necessary only to use some means of preventing the besieged from going back and forth. The reason for this lack of food was as follows: a long time before this, Baldwin had earnestly applied himself to working out some method by which the citizens might be driven to such destitution that they would finally be forced through hunger to surrender the city to him. The following was the method which seemed best adapted for accomplishing his design.

Edessa and Haran were barely fourteen miles apart. Between them flowed a river whose waters, conducted by canals, served to irrigate the adjacent plain and rendered it so fertile that it produced abundant crops. From the earliest times it had been understood that all which was grown on this side of the river should belong to the people of Edessa without dispute, while that produced in the fields beyond the river should be the property of the inhabitants of Haran.

Baldwin knew that no provisions could come to the enemy from without but that they themselves must raise all their food on this common ground. He preferred, therefore, to suffer inconvenience himself rather than allow the foe, who could not readily be supplied from elsewhere, to be nourished from these common fields. Accordingly, now for a long time by making frequent sallies upon them he had prevented them from practicing agriculture there. He hoped and believed that he would be able to secure ample provisions for his own citizens from the region lying beyond the Euphrates as well as from the country midway between Edessa and that river. But the people of Haran, deprived of the supplies which they had been accustomed to obtain from this common land, would, according to his forecast, be reduced to a condition of desperate need. The result proved that he was correct. For several years past he had prevented them from cultivating these fields, and thus it was that the besiegers found the city in great distress, as we have said, from lack of food. Yet the citizens, having long been aware that the Christians were coming, had sent letters and messengers to the princes of the Orient, begging them for assistance and stating that they would have to give way unless help came to them soon. Meanwhile, the pressure of famine daily increased, and they saw that their hope of relief from the princes to whom they had appealed was futile. Therefore, after holding counsel with one

another, they decided that it was better to surrender the city than to waste away within its walls through hunger and to perish from lack of food.

30. *The Christians lose the city while they are disputing over the question of who shall rule it. Aid comes to the besieged. A battle is fought there at close quarters. The Christians are routed under conditions of extreme danger to themselves.*

On making this decision, the townspeople went forth and surrendered unconditionally to the besiegers. At this juncture, however, an unfortunate contention, due to jealousy, arose among the leaders. Prince Bohemond and Count Baldwin began to wrangle over the question as to which one of them should receive the city and whose standard should lead the way into the city. As a result, the actual surrender was deferred until the morrow, that there might be time to give careful consideration to that trifling matter. And so they learned by real experience the truth of the saying, "Delay drags danger along in its train," as well as this other proverb, "When all is ready, it is hazardous to delay." For before the following day dawned, a vast host of enemies had arrived, an army of Turks so numerous and formidable that the Christians began to doubt whether it would be possible to save even their lives.

The relief forces brought with them vast supplies of provisions. With shrewd foresight they had adopted the wise plan of dividing their troops into two contingents. One of these was to engage the Christians without regard to the outcome, whether successful or disastrous, and in the meantime the other was to supply the city with food. This plan was carried out. Soon after daybreak, the infidel leaders at once drew up their forces in battle array and arranged their lines as if for immediate conflict, while those who had the responsibility for the baggage were stationed somewhat apart from the rest.

Although the infidels were preparing for battle, they had little hope of success or even of keeping up a show of resistance very long, their only purpose being to engage the Christians in battle so that supplies might be carried into the beleaguered city.

When our leaders saw the enemy making these preparations, they in their turn drew up their forces in battle formation. The two patriarchs went among the soldiers and strove with words of exhortation

to inspire them with courage; but, since the favor of God was lacking, their admonitions were without result. At the first encounter the enemy became masters of the field, for the Christians turned their backs on the foe in disgraceful flight, abandoned their camp with all it contained, and thought only of seeking safety, which, alas, was nowhere to be found. The infidels at once cast aside their bows, their customary weapons, and fought with their swords in a hand-to-hand combat in which the Christians were almost annihilated.

The count of Edessa and Joscelin, his kinsman, were taken prisoners and carried off in chains to a far distant part of the enemy's land. Bohemond, however, with Tancred and the two patriarchs, escaped from the tumult while the battle was still raging and, by carefully choosing sequestered bypaths, succeeded in reaching Edessa in safety. The archbishop of that city, a man without experience in warfare, was caught in the warring crowd and taken prisoner. Thus the number of captives was increased. But he chanced to fall into the custody of a certain Christian. When this man discovered the identity of the archbishop, he was moved by loving compassion and permitted him to escape uninjured, although by this action he risked his own life. Within a few days, the archbishop, under the protection of God, returned to Edessa where he was received with many manifestations of joy.

The prince of Antioch was still at Edessa when the news came that the count, in punishment for his sins, had been taken prisoner by the enemy. It was his opinion, in which the citizens concurred, that Edessa and the entire region should be placed under the care of Tancred, with the understanding, however, that on the release of the count, the government should be restored to him immediately without dispute. Bohemond took Joscelin's land under his own care.

Never during the rule of the Latins in the East, whether before or after this event, do we read of a battle so disastrous as this one, which resulted in so terrible a massacre of brave men and so disgraceful a flight of the people of our race.[57]

[57] This battle occurred in the spring of 1104. Qalanisi dates it May 7, 1104, and names the Muslim leaders as Sukman Ibn Ortuq and Jikirmish, lord of Mosul (H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 60).

HERE ENDS THE TENTH BOOK

THE ELEVENTH BOOK BEGINS

END OF THE REIGN OF BALDWIN I: FURTHER CONQUESTS BY JERUSALEM AND ANTIOCH

1. *Bohemond, prince of Antioch, intrusts the care of his principality to Tancred and hastens across the sea to France. He marries the daughter of the king of the Franks. Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, goes to Rome. The king abandons his legitimate wife without legal procedure.*

WHEN the summer was over, Bohemond, accompanied by Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, sailed for Apulia. He was burdened with heavy debts, and in the lands across the sea he hoped to obtain means for the payment of his obligations and also to bring back reinforcements of knights. To his beloved kinsman, Tancred, he intrusted the responsibility and general administration of his principality with full powers.[1]

On arriving in Apulia, he made a short stay in his own country.[2] He then crossed the Alps, accompanied by an honorable retinue of loyal followers, and came to the court of Philip, the illustrious king of the Franks. The latter bestowed upon him, as one of many favors, two of his own daughters. Constance, the child of a legitimate marriage, the prince took as his wife in the bonds of matrimony; [3] the other, Cecilia, he sent from Apulia as the destined bride of his nephew, Tancred.[4] This maiden was the daughter of the countess of Anjou,

[1] Fall of 1104. The fleet of thirteen ships on which he sailed evaded the Greeks and reached Bari, January, 1105. Evidently Emperor Alexius already had suspicions of Bohemond's ultimate plans (R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, p. 102).

[2] He spent a year in Italy, though relatively little of the time in Bari. He saw Pope Paschal II several times. His departure across the Alps is dated early in 1106 (Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, p. 108).

[3] Constance was the daughter of Philip I and his first wife, Bertha of Holland. She had been married to Hugh I, count of Champagne, but was separated from him on grounds of consanguinity by early 1105.

[4] Cecilia was the daughter of Philip I and his second wife, Bertrada de Montfort. This marriage, though performed by a compliant bishop, did not receive the sanction of the church and was one of the causes for the excommunication of Philip. Bertrada had been married to Fulk IV of Anjou, from whom Philip had seized her. He put aside

who deserted her husband for Philip and bore him this child while his wife was still living.

After accomplishing his business with the king and attending to affairs in other lands beyond the mountains, Bohemond returned to Apulia. He led with him a large company of both knights and foot soldiers who desired to make the pilgrimage across the sea.

Daimbert, however, proceeded to the church at Rome and there unfolded the full measure of the wrongs under which he was suffering. At the same time, he described in detail the success of Arnulf's treachery and the wicked purposes of the king, whereby he was trying to humiliate the Church of God. The patriarch's story excited the sympathy of all and won for him universal favor. Not only had the king, contrary to the rules of the Church, committed the monstrous offense against Daimbert which I have mentioned,[5] but, in addition, he had put away his legitimate wife, whom he had married at Edessa while he was count of that place.[6] Regardless of the rights of matrimony and without procedure of law, he compelled her, though she had been convicted of no crime and had confessed none, to become a nun in the convent of St. Anna, the mother of the Mother of God, the immaculate Virgin Mary.[7]

This convent is situated in the eastern part of Jerusalem, near the gate called the gate of Jehoshaphat and close by the lake which in early times was known as the sheep pool. A grotto is still shown there where, according to ancient tradition, Joachim and Anna lived and where the immaculate Virgin is said to have been born. In that convent three or four poor women had professed the religious life, and the king, for the sake of placing his wife with them, enlarged their possessions and extended their patrimony.

Many and varied reasons have been given to account for Baldwin's separation from his wife. Some say that the king dismissed her in or-

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his legitimate wife, Bertha, whose relatives joined Fulk in appealing to the pope for redress.

[5] Presumably the deposition of Daimbert (Book X, chaps. 25 and 26). Daimbert's delay in appealing from the decision of the council at Jerusalem, October, 1102, raises a question whether this appeal was not suggested by Bohemond. Doubtless Bohemond, in his several visits with the pope in 1105, strongly supported Daimbert's case.

[6] This was Arda, the daughter of Thoros I, whom Baldwin had married at Edessa in 1098.

[7] The convent of St. Anna became one of the most popular and wealthiest of the monastic foundations restored or set up by the Latins.

der to marry a richer woman of higher rank.[8] In this way he could improve his condition and relieve the poverty which weighed so heavily on him, for he would acquire wealth from outside under the name of dowry. Others claim that the queen was indiscreet and careless in observing the bonds of marriage and thus had incurred the anger of her husband.

At first she appeared content to put on the habit of religion, and, in the early period of her profession, she lived an honorable life, to all appearance, in that monastery. Finally, however, she seized a favorable opportunity to approach the king and, by false stories, obtained permission to visit her kindred at Constantinople. She claimed that she wished to obtain means to relieve the poverty of her community and, under this pretext, left the realm. But she at once laid aside the habit of religion and began to abandon herself to a sordid and immoral life. Without regard for her reputation and the queenly dignity of her former estate, she prostituted herself to all who came.[9]

2. *Raymond, count of Toulouse, dies. William Jordan, his nephew, succeeds him. Ridwan, a powerful Turkish chief, invades our territories. Tancred attacks him and compels him to flee in disorder.*

On the last day of February, in the following year, which was the year 1105 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Raymond, count of Toulouse, of good memory, died at the castle which he had built before Tripoli and called Mount of the Pilgrims. He was a religious and God-fearing man, a true confessor of Christ, worthy of praise in every respect, one whose deeds of prowess and life of notable virtues merit a special treatise.

He was succeeded by William Jordan, a nephew, who carried on the siege of Tripoli with the same earnest care and devoted himself

[8] This explanation is preferred by some modern writers who think that her chief defect was her father's failure to complete the payment of her dowry. This, coupled with the fact that she had borne no children and the further fact that Baldwin was greatly in need of money and other help, might have accounted for Baldwin's dismissal of her.

[9] This story, which would be hard to substantiate, is discredited by Iskenderian who feels that the later decision to restore her to her rightful place (chap. 29) completely refutes the slander (Galust T. Iskendarian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, p. 59, note 215).

with intrepid valor to the task, until the arrival of Count Bertram. Then, however, disagreements arose over the matter and he relaxed his efforts somewhat, as will be related presently.

We believe that the notable perseverance and courage of the venerable Raymond should be admired and lauded not only by the present generation but by those of the future as well. For when he had once undertaken the pilgrimage for Christ, he patiently and resolutely continued on that way to the very end of his life. In his native land he was a distinguished man of very great power, possessed of extensive ancestral holdings, and he might have had in abundance everything he desired. Yet he chose to leave land and kindred in humble obedience to the Lord rather than to flourish in the tabernacles of sinners among his own people. After the Holy City had been restored to freedom, the other leaders who had undertaken the same pilgrimage felt that they had obtained the fulfillment of their desires and returned to their own lands. But he, having once assumed the cross, feared to lay it aside. Even when his own friends and members of his household eagerly suggested that, since his vow had been accomplished, he should return to the country which so longed for his presence, he preferred to offer himself as a holocaust to the Lord, rather than to return to the attractions of the world. In this he followed the example of his Master, who, when they said to Him, "Descend from the cross," preferred, after His passion was ended, to be taken down by the hands of strangers, rather than to fail in the work which He had undertaken for our redemption.[10]

During the same year also, Ridwan, lord of Aleppo, a powerful prince, gathered allies from the regions near by, both by entreaty and by promise of payment, and with a vast host entered the land of Antioch. The whole district was terrorized by his inroads and by the repeated conflagrations which he caused. As soon as Tancred learned this, he summoned his forces, both knights and foot soldiers, and marched to the place where, as all reports agreed, the army of Ridwan was assembled. He set out from Antioch and led his army to Artasium. Here, as had been reported, he found a vast number of the enemy assembled. After first invoking aid from on high and obtaining it, as his merits deserved, he attacked the foe with vigor. Although

[10] William here probably reflects a general change in opinion towards Raymond, whose conduct on the crusade had antagonized so many persons.

at first they made a show of resistance, their ranks were soon thrown into disorder and put to flight. Many were the captives, and countless the numbers of the slain. Moreover, the standards of Ridwan were captured and retained. The prince had been the first to start the flight in order to save his life.[11]

This victory comforted our people greatly, and as recompense for their repeated losses in similar encounters they seized many of the best of the enemy's chargers, after their riders had been thrown to the ground.

3. *The Egyptians invade the kingdom with an immense host. The king engages them in battle. He kills many, captures some, and puts the rest to flight.*

In the same year, some of the great men of his kingdom came to the caliph of Egypt and said, "This tribe of pilgrims who have lately invaded your kingdom by force have thus far, with reckless disregard for life, succeeded in resisting the commanders whom you have sent against them. They have been successful in this bold undertaking because they have relied on the vast numbers of the earlier armies which came to the Orient. But now these people have for the most part returned to their own lands. Those who remain, deprived of the assistance of fresh pilgrim recruits, have become greatly reduced in numbers by frequent campaigns, so that their strength is utterly exhausted. Therefore it seems to us opportune, if your Majesty approves, that a leader chosen from your great men be sent to deliver the land now held by that unhappy people."

These words pleased the caliph and seemed good in his sight. He ordered a mighty host to be convoked and a large fleet prepared. Over each army he appointed special commanders and dispatched them into Syria. Their arrival at Ascalon brought consternation to the entire land.

As soon as news of this invasion reached the king, he marched quickly to Jaffa with the entire strength of the kingdom. Furthermore, he issued a legal edict [12] commanding that all the forces from each city should assemble without delay at Jaffa. Those summoned

[11] This defeat of Ridwan by Tancred occurred April 20, 1105.

[12] The use of this legal phrase, not employed by Fulcher, from whom the information is derived, bears upon the question of William's conception of the royal power.

arrived speedily. Among others came Ebremar, the patriarch of Jerusalem, bearing with him the healing wood of the Life-giving Cross.

After the arrival of these reinforcements, our forces were numbered and found to consist of five hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers. The enemy's strength was reputed to be about fifteen thousand, in addition to the fighters in the fleet.[13]

As soon as the enemy's land army marched out from Ascalon, the fleet was ordered to sail for Jaffa. The land army proceeded to Azot [14] and was there divided into two sections. One of these was to advance toward Ramlah and challenge the king to fight while the other proceeded to Jaffa. Then while the king was engaged with the first division, the other contingent was to attack Jaffa, after first summoning to its aid the forces which had come by sea. Accordingly, announced by the blare of trumpets and the roll of drums, the first division in battle array entered the land of Ramlah. This was done with a definite purpose, that while this contingent was luring the king and his forces against it, the other army following the shore might arrive safely at Jaffa. These plans failed, however, for when the king approached at the head of his forces, the hearts of the infidels melted within them and they gave way to panic. They called the other division to their aid, but even when thus reinforced they felt themselves scarcely strong enough to escape the king's hand.

The king and his men fell upon the legions united against them and pressed them hard in the most spirited fashion. At the same time, by word and example, Baldwin encouraged his men and thus redoubled their strength. The patriarch with the Life-giving Cross in his hand also passed along the lines. He too cheered the fighters who were about to go into battle and admonished them to remember Him who for the salvation of sinners was willing to die on that Cross. He exhorted them to fight valiantly against the enemy of the name and faith of Christ. Thus they might hope to obtain the remission of their sins and win the hundredfold reward which the Lord ever grants to His servants. Animated and encouraged by these words, the Christians implored aid from on high and threw themselves with increased

[13] This further effort of Al-Afdal, which aroused so much alarm, is described in smaller numbers than his earlier attacks. William here repeats the exact figures used by Fulcher.

[14] Azot or Isdud, about ten miles north of Ascalon.

fury upon the foe. They succeeded in killing a vast number and forced the rest to flee.

In this engagement the governor of Ascalon fell, but the commander in chief of the entire host escaped by flight. About four thousand of the enemy are said to have been slain that day, but only sixty of our people were found among the dead.

Thus, led by the mercy of God, our forces held possession of the enemy's camp, where they found many troops of camels, besides asses and horses. Filled with joy and exultation, therefore, they went back to Jaffa, laden with the richest of spoils. They brought back with them also many prisoners. On that day a certain nobleman was captured who at one time had been governor of Acre. For the ransom of this prisoner the king is said to have received later twenty thousand gold pieces.

During this time, the enemy's fleet still lay in the harbor of Jaffa. As soon as the news of the disaster to their land forces reached them, however, they took advantage of a favoring south breeze and withdrew to the port of Tyre. Later, as they were about to set sail for Egypt from this port, a sudden storm arose over the sea. The fleet was scattered and twenty-five ships, unable to endure the violence of the waves, were driven upon our shore. Our soldiers took as prisoners more than two thousand sailors and rowers, and in addition many of the foe were drowned.[15]

4. *Daimbert the patriarch, while on his return journey, followed by an apostolic letter, dies at Messina in Sicily. Ebremar, the unlawful occupant of his see, hastens to Rome. Gibelin, the archbishop of Arles, is sent to Jerusalem as papal legate and is afterward made patriarch.*

MEANWHILE, Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, had been long detained at Rome by Pope Paschal and the Roman church until it could be determined whether the king of Jerusalem and those who had expelled Daimbert intended to make any charge against him, whereby they might seem to have legal justification for their actions. No one appeared, however, to lay any accusation against him, and nothing

[15] The battle occurred August 27, 1105 (see H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 503). William's account is but a summary of the extensive and jubilant description by Fulcher.

reprehensible could be found in the case, except that the patriarch had been expelled by royal violence. He was therefore given an apostolic letter and sent back to his own land, in full favor, to resume the see from which he had been wrongfully ousted.

He went to Sicily, and while lingering there perforce awaiting a crossing, he was stricken with a serious illness from which he died on June 16. He had occupied the patriarchate in peace for four years and had been in exile three.[16]

Ere the news of Daimbert's death arrived, Ebremar, the unlawful possessor of this office, decided to sail across the sea and visit the church at Rome. He had learned that Lord Daimbert was returning in full favor to resume his rightful seat, and he wished to assert his own innocence and explain that it was contrary to his desire and with great reluctance on his part that he had been placed in that position. On arriving at Rome, he received no satisfaction but was informed that a legate to be stationed at Jerusalem would be sent back with him to make a full investigation of the case. Gibelin, archbishop of Arles, a man well advanced in years, was appointed to this mission. By the pope's orders, he was to proceed to Jerusalem and there, after convoking a council of the bishops of the realm, he was to investigate fully the facts relating to Ebremar's case.[17]

Through suitable and competent witnesses to whom no exception could be taken, it was established to the legate's satisfaction that Daimbert had been driven out without legitimate cause by the machinations of Arnulf and the violence of the king, and that Ebremar had taken possession of the chair of a priest still living and in the communion of the Roman church. Accordingly, by virtue of the authority invested in him, Gibelin deposed Ebremar from the patriarchate. But

[16] Daimbert's occupancy of the patriarchate was scarcely two full years. Even these, by William's own account, were far from peaceful. His exile included two years at Antioch and some time in Italy. There is some dispute as to the date of Daimbert's death. William's account seems to indicate 1107 as the year, but Hagenmeyer is convinced that June 15, 1105, must be accepted as the correct date (H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, no. 747).

[17] The letter of Pope Paschal II to King Baldwin, dated at the Lateran December 4, 1107, suggests a different explanation for Ebremar's journey to Rome. He left Jerusalem after the news of Daimbert's death and went there to receive papal approval as patriarch. Archdeacon Arnulf, however, followed him with letters charging Ebremar with incompetence and disregard of synodal decree. The pope intrusted the case to Gibelin, archbishop of Arles, who was to take testimony in Jerusalem and decide accordingly(R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 49).

out of consideration for the deep piety of the man and his unusual simplicity of character, he was granted the charge of the church of Caesarea, which was then vacant.[18]

Later, that the subject might be handled with all due consideration, according to custom, a special day was set when the clergy and people might discuss the question of electing a patriarch for the church at Jerusalem. After various expressions of opinion on this side and on that had been offered for deliberation, the unanimous choice fell on Gibelin, the legate of the apostolic see, and he was placed in the patriarchal chair. It is claimed that this choice also was brought about by the subtle plotting of Arnulf, who thought that Gibelin, being old and decrepit, would not survive long in the patriarchal office.[19]

In the same year, 1107 of the Incarnation of our Lord,[20] the Ascalonites, with their usual wickedness, placed five hundred knights and a thousand soldiers in ambush in suitable places along the highway which leads from Jerusalem to the sea. They had heard that a company of our people had left the city of Jaffa on the way to Jerusalem, and in the hope of effecting by strategy what they could not accomplish by strength, they were lying in wait for them in ambush. So, as the pilgrims, ignorant of all these plots, were proceeding on their way, they fell into the trap set for them. In deep anxiety, they were hesitating whether to fight or retreat when the enemy fell upon them and thus removed all opportunity for further deliberation. Perceiving that they must either fight valiantly or fall ignominiously, our men made a virtue of necessity and, with renewed boldness and courage, rushed with intrepid hearts upon those whom but now they had regarded as formidable. The infidels were taken by surprise and, unable to endure the attack, took to flight. Our forces pursued them for a while; many were killed and some prisoners were taken. So,

[18] The exact date of Archbishop Baldwin's death has not been determined, but it was to his post that Ebremar was assigned, 1108. He held office for many years and died late in 1129 or early in the following year.

[19] It is not improbable that Arnulf had hoped to regain the office after the death of Daimbert and had for that reason hastened after Ebremar to Rome in protest against the latter's plea. William's conjecture about Arnulf's part in the election of Gibelin gains color from the later developments.

[20] This is slightly confusing, for the election of Gibelin occurred in 1108. William's inclination to round out an incident once begun caused him to overlook the fact that both 1107 and 1108 were involved in the patriarchal succession.

aided by divine grace, the Christians won the victory and, with the loss of only three men, continued on the way to Jerusalem.[21]

5. *The noble Hugh de St. Omer, lord of Tiberias, builds a fortress in the mountains overlooking the city and names it Toron. Not long after, while fighting with the Damascenes, he is fatally wounded and, though victorious, perishes. The Ascalonites attempt to set pitfalls for our people, but fall into the trap which they themselves had set.*

At this time the city of Tyre was still held by the infidels, who were trying to block the advance of the Christians in every way. Hugh de St. Omer, a noble and powerful man of distinguished memory in the Lord, had succeeded Tancred as lord of the city of Tiberias. He was continually making surprise attacks upon Tyre and harrying it as far as the distance (thirty miles) between the two places permitted. In going back and forth between the two places the soldiers were frequently exposed to danger, because there was no fortress or fortified place of any kind between the two cities whither they might retreat when pursued by the enemy. To alleviate this difficulty, the illustrious man resolved to build a stronghold on the top of the mountains overlooking Tyre, about ten miles distant from that city. The original name of this place was Tibenin,[22] and, since the fortress was situated on a very high and steep mountain, he gave it the name of Toron. This place, famed for its salubrious air and delightful climate, lies in the tribe of Asher between the sea and Mt. Lebanon and is about equally distant from the two cities, Tyre and Banyas. The soil is very fertile and is admirably adapted to the cultivation of vines and trees. It also produces abundant crops under the care of the farmer. Consequently, this site not only offered its founder advantages well suited to his needs at the time, but even now, because of its rich soil and the excellence of its famous fortifications, it is of the greatest benefit to the city of Tyre and indeed to the whole locality.

Shortly after building this fortress, the noble Hugh entered the enemy's country, attended by seventy knights, and engaged four thousand Damascenes in battle. Twice on the same day he was severely

[21] This battle occurred in November, 1107.

[22] It is still called Tibnin, Toron having been long forgotten except as a memory of the crusaders.

repulsed by the foe. Once more he tried, this time under better conditions, for he had received additional forces and was inspired with courage from on high. By the will of God, he put the enemy to flight, but he himself was fatally wounded by an arrow and perished. He was a wise and valiant man and, as his services deserved, he was worthy of all praise and most acceptable to the king and his realm. The enemy lost two hundred men in that engagement, and a like number of horses were seized by our people.

Soon after this, also, many signs and portents were seen in the eastern sky. For a period of forty days and more, a comet followed by a long train of fire appeared after nightfall. In the morning, from sunrise to the third hour of the day, the sun seemed to have two attendant suns equal to itself in size but of less brilliancy. A rainbow was also seen round the sun with all its colors clearly defined. All these omens seemed verily to portend a change in the affairs of men.[23]

6. *Bohemond returns to Apulia from France with a large force. He enters the land of the Greeks for the purpose of pillage. But as he is about to return to Syria he dies, leaving behind him a son called Bohemond.*

At this time, Alexius, the wicked and treacherous emperor of Constantinople, was putting many obstacles in the way of pilgrims who desired to pass through his lands on their way to Jerusalem. Against the first expedition, which had nevertheless been the means of much gain to him, as has been related, he had invoked the aid of Qilij Arslan, a very powerful Turkish satrap, and of all the barbarous nations of the entire Orient. Against the second, which was under the command of the count of Poitou, he had stirred up the same infidel nations and peoples by means of many messengers. As the result of his treachery, the second expedition was almost wholly destroyed. Not merely once or twice did he employ this foul play against the Christians; nay, as often as an opportunity of causing them loss or ruin occurred, he regarded it as a gain for himself. Nevertheless, when they presented themselves before him, he gave them kindly

[23] Such phenomena are usually recalled as portents after some tragedy. Fulcher, from whom this account was taken, was a genuine naturalist and recounted them without attempting to identify the events which they portended.

answers and showered them abundantly with gifts, in order that he might more readily deceive them. Thus he upheld the proverbial reputation of his nation, of whom it is said, "I fear the Greeks even when they bear gifts." [24] For in general he looked upon the advance of the Latins with suspicion and did not suffer their strength to be augmented or their power extended when it was possible to prevent it.[25]

These wrongs were still fresh in Bohemond's mind when he returned from the countries beyond the mountains with a force of five thousand knights and forty thousand foot soldiers, and he proposed to advance the cause of all the Latins. On October 9 he arrived by sea in the land of the emperor.[26] After storming and pillaging all the cities on the coast, he laid waste Epirus, both Prima and Secunda, and then laid siege to Durazzo, the metropolis of Epirus Prima. He ravaged all the surrounding country with fire and devastation and dealt with it according to his own good pleasure. He was preparing to force his way to the remotest parts of the empire and, by the help of God, to wipe out the wrongs of the Latins.

When the emperor heard that Bohemond had entered his land with a great army of Latins, he gathered his own troops and advanced to meet him,[27] stationing his forces near those of Bohemond. At this crisis, however, through the intervention of common friends, a treaty was arranged between the two and oaths of good faith were exchanged. The emperor agreed that thenceforward, in good faith without fraud or evil intent, he would furnish advice and aid to the faithful of Christ who desired to pass to the Orient and would not suffer any impediment to be placed in their way by those whom he was able to control. When these terms had been agreed upon and confirmed by the giving of an

[24] Virgil *Aen.* II. 49.

[25] This reputation of Alexius had become widespread in the West by now. It was probably deliberately promoted by Bohemond and his friends (see A. C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta," *Munro—Crusades,* pp. 57–78). Yewdale was convinced that Bohemond made no pretense of a crusade to Syria but definitely and openly recruited this expedition for an attack upon Alexius (Yewdale, *Bohemond I,* p. 107).

[26] This expedition is described in detail by Yewdale as "The Crusade of 1107" and as "the first example of a crusade for political purposes." He sets October 9, 1107, as the date of departure from Brindisi, the arrival at Avlona being a day later.

[27] Alexius, who usually kept himself well informed about his neighbors, did not wait until Bohemond's arrival to make necessary preparations. According to Qalanisi, Qilij Arslan had sent one of his commanders with a large force to help Alexius against Bohemond's expedition (see H. A. R. Gibb ed., *The Damascus Chronicle,* p. 80).

oath, Bohemond also promised under solemn oath to observe friendship and fidelity to the emperor forever.[28]

He then sent forward the company of pilgrims who, under their vows, were bound to accomplish the journey to Jerusalem. He himself returned to Apulia, where private affairs detained him still longer. In the following summer the necessary preparations for the journey had been partly made and ships had been assembled. But while he was preparing to depart and had summoned forces from all around, he was seized with a serious malady and yielded to fate.[29] He left, as the heir of his name and principality, one son by the Lady Constance, the daughter of the illustrious Philip, king of the Franks.[30]

In the course of the same year, his father-in-law, Philip, the glorious king of the Franks, also died.[31]

7. *Mighty hosts of Turks from the lands of the East endeavor to seize the county of Edessa, but Tancred, with the aid of the king, valiantly resists them.*

At this time, while the nobles whom I have mentioned above, namely, Count Baldwin and Joscelin, his kinsman, were still held prisoners by the enemy, a vast host of Turks assembled from the lands of the East in countless numbers. Seizing the opportunity presented by the absence of these princes, they went down into Mesopotamia and, with a strong hand, began to ravage the country round Edessa. They took certain fortresses by storm, burned villages, and captured farmers and others engaged in cultivating the fields. No place was safe outside the circuit of the walled cities; consequently the tilling of the fields ceased, and food began to fail entirely.

Tancred, to whom the care of the region had been committed, was at this time detained in the land of Antioch, for on the departure of Bohemond he had taken over the responsibility of that country also, as has been stated above. When he learned of the depredations of the

[28] The oath was taken over a number of the most sacred relics to be found in Constantinople. The treaty was signed September, 1108. A very elaborate account of the oath and the ceremony is given by Anna Comnena (Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, trans., *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, pp. 348, 359).

[29] His death occurred in Apulia, March 7, 1111 (Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, p. 133, note 97).

[30] Bohemond II, who was the second child of the marriage, was born in 1109.

[31] The death of Philip I occurred in the year 1108, which was the same as that of Bohemond's defeat and treaty but not of his death.

enemy around Edessa, however, he sent for the king of Jerusalem, making clear the reason for the summons, and himself got together as large forces as possible from all the towns and fortresses. Within a few days, as he was hastening thither in great anxiety about his country, he was joined by the king with a large force. The two armies were at once united and together crossed the Euphrates. On arriving at Edessa, they found the infidels, as had been reported, roving hither and yon over the entire district without hindrance. But when they learned that our forces were coming, they recalled their troops and began to roam about less freely. They had often experienced the strength of our soldiers and feared to fight with them; yet they were unwilling to return to their own land, for they knew that neither the king nor Tancred had leisure to remain long in that locality. They endeavored, therefore, to detain them there, hoping that the protracted delay would force the leaders to depart, when they themselves would be able to resume their usual depredations. But our chiefs, well understanding their intentions, adopted a plan which seemed well adapted to the critical situation.

The region in the vicinity of the river Euphrates produces most abundant crops. Taking advantage of this fact, they ordered food supplies of every kind to be gathered there and transported by horses, camels, asses, and mules across the river. In this way, the towns and fortresses were supplied with a large quantity of food, sufficient for a long time. Special attention was devoted to provisioning the city of Edessa, even to an overabundance. Then, relieved of anxiety about the cities and fortresses, since these had been well supplied with arms, men, and food, the leaders returned to the Euphrates, for matters of greater importance demanded their attention. As the Christians were crossing the river, however, in little boats, frail and few in number, the enemy, following in pursuit, attacked some of the lesser people who were still on the farther shore waiting their turn to cross. Before the very eyes of Tancred and the king, some of these were killed and others dragged away as prisoners. No assistance could be given, for the river, which was not fordable, lay between, and, with the few boats available, it would have been difficult to ferry back a second time so large a force. Our troops were forced, therefore, to return to their own land in deep anguish of heart over the fate of the poor people whom they had seen in their very presence either killed or taken prisoners.[32] The chief men

[32] This campaign into the regions of Edessa is placed by Fulcher in the summer

in charge of the region on this side of the Euphrates were directed to exercise the greatest care in fortifying that locality. The people who were either killed or captured on the banks of the Euphrates were poor Armenians who, in the hope of finding a safe place of abode, were fleeing before the devastation caused by the Turks.

8. *Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin return from captivity among the enemy. They stir up war against Tancred.*

In the following year, 1109 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Baldwin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin, his kinsman, returned to their own land. For five successive years they had been detained in captivity among the enemy. Now after giving hostages and agreeing to pay a certain fixed sum of money which was demanded as ransom, they had recovered their liberty. Most mercifully did the Lord deal with them.[33] For their hostages by chance killed the guards who had charge of them in a certain fortress while the men were heavy with sleep and wine. Then by travelling stealthily at night over devious bypaths, they made their way to their own land.

It is said that when the count reached Edessa, Tancred at first refused to allow him to enter. At last, however, remembering the oath which he had taken when the city was put in his charge at the time of the count's capture, he changed his mind and ordered that the city as well as the entire region be surrendered to Baldwin. Later, the two leaders, in resentment of this treatment, declared war against Tancred. Joscelin was especially active against the prince, for his own fortresses lay on this side of the Euphrates and he was therefore nearer the land of Antioch. One day, with a large company of Turks whom he had called to his aid, he was attempting to make a raid upon Tancred's land. The latter, however, aware of his intention, marched out against him, and a battle was fought between them. About five hundred men on Tancred's first front fell, but finally his battalions regained their courage, rallied, and, after cutting down a large number of Turks, succeeded in routing Joscelin's forces.

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of 1110 after the capture of Beirut (*H.F.*, p. 537). Perhaps Fulcher's failure to mention either Baldwin du Bourg or Joscelin misled William.

[33] The release of Baldwin and Joscelin occurred in the summer of 1108 or later in that year. Tancred had made no effort to bring about their release (see *H.F.*, p. 477, note 2).

At this point, however, the chief nobles of the land and those of more practical common sense intervened. They realized that the enmity existing between two men of such exalted rank was exceedingly dangerous and might prove a source of actual detriment to the Christian people. Accordingly, they undertook the role of peacemakers and succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between the two.[34]

9. *Bertram, son of the count of Toulouse, comes to Syria with the fleet of the Genoese, seeking to succeed his father. William Jordan opposes him. Jubail is taken.*

About this time, Bertram, son of Raymond, count of Toulouse, of good memory, landed with a fleet of Genoese near Tripoli.[35] William Jordan, his kinsman, was still besieging this city. He had been carrying on the work without intermission from the time when the venerable Raymond had been called away from the task by death. A quarrel soon arose between the two, however, for Bertram claimed the right of succession from his father, while William put forward the claims of his own labors and the expenses incurred through four years of continual responsibility. The former desired to succeed as legitimate heir to his father's possessions, while William was striving to obtain for himself the city which he had so indefatigably stormed. The controversy raged for a long time, but finally common friends interposed and effected a compromise. It was arranged that, for the sake of peace, the cities of Arka and Tortosa with their appurtenances should be conceded to William Jordan, while Tripoli, Jubail, and the Mount of the Pilgrims, likewise with their dependencies, should be given to Bertram. This was accordingly done, and by a concession on the part of each, an agreement was reached.

Then William, in return for the portion assigned to him, became the man of the prince of Antioch, pledging fealty to him. Bertram received the investiture of the lands allotted to him from the king of Jerusalem and showed him the customary fealty. In drafting the agree-

[34] This reconciliation has been dated April 18, 1109 (see *H.F.*, p. 480, note 9).

[35] Bertram was the son of Raymond's first marriage, being named after his maternal grandfather, Bertram I of Provence. He had led a somewhat stormy career in the West, and his journey to Syria was characterized by a series of adventures involving encounters with Greeks and Latins as well as Muslims. His journey to Syria at this time must be regarded as a personal adventure rather than the attainment of an inheritance. The Genoese fleet with which he came gave him definite advantage in pushing his claims. (See *H.F.*, pp. 526–27, note 3.)

ment, it was stipulated that if either should die without heir the other should succeed him as ruler of the whole.[36]

But after the question had been settled in this fashion, a quarrel chanced to spring up from some trivial cause between the squires of the two families. William Jordan immediately mounted his horse and rode swiftly thither in the hope of settling it, but he was struck by a chance arrow, from the effects of which he died. Some claimed that Count William perished by the crafty machinations of Bertram, but even to the present day the author of the fatal wound is not definitely known.[37]

His rival and competitor for the possession of Tripoli having been removed in this way, Bertram was left in sole command of the campaign. The Genoese fleet with which he had come consisted of seventy galleys, under the command of two noble Genoese, Ansaldus and Hugh Embriacus.[38] It was soon apparent that they were wasting their efforts in the siege of Tripoli at that time. It was therefore deemed advisable, in the meantime, to attempt something worthy of remembrance. Accordingly, they begged Bertram in a friendly way to accompany them to Jubail by land, and they themselves directed the fleet thither.

Jubail is a city on the coast of Phoenicia, one of the dependent cities which are recognized as subject to the metropolitan of Tyre, with metropolitan right. Ezekiel the prophet mentions it, saying, "The ancients of Gebal [Jubail] and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers." [39] Again, in the first book of Kings, it is written thus concerning the same city: "So they [the Jubailites] prepared timber and stones for the building of the house [of the Lord]." [40] The ancient name of this place was Eve, for Eveus, the sixth son of Canaan, is believed to have been its founder.

[36] Our author here follows Albert rather than Fulcher, who states that King Baldwin had just begun an effort toward such an agreement when the accident to, or murder of, William Jordan occurred.

[37] An instance of William's judicial attitude, based upon a comparison of conflicting accounts.

[38] William probably received this story from Ugo Embriaco, the grandson. This famous Genoese family controlled most of the colonial empire of that city in Syria by William's time. The founder of the family in the East was Guglielmo [Hugh] Embriaco, leader of the expedition. He left his son Ugo and Ansaldo Corso to administer the Genoese holdings (see E. H. Byrne: "The Genoese Colonies in Syria," *Munro-Crusades*, pp. 146–54).

[39] Eze. 27: 9.

[40] I Ki. 5: 18. The Douay translation here brings out William's meaning more clearly than the King James version.

On arriving before Jubail, the armies invested the city both by land and by sea. The citizens were thrown into a state of panic, for they had no confidence in the strength of their defenses. A deputation was accordingly sent to the commanders of the fleet, Ansaldus and Hugh Embriacus, to announce that under certain conditions the citizens were willing to unbar the entrances and admit them as lords. It was stipulated that those who desired to leave be given an opportunity to do so unhindered, with their wives and children, but that those who did not wish to abandon their homes in the city be permitted to remain under favorable conditions. The terms asked were granted, and they thereupon surrendered the place to the two commanders. One of these, Hugh Embriacus, received the city for a definite time on consideration of a fixed annual payment to the treasury of the Genoese. This same man was the grandfather of the Hugh who rules that city today and bears the same name and surname.[41]

When the city had been taken in this way, the fleet again returned to Tripoli.

10. *King Baldwin hastens to Tripoli. The siege is carried on with great vigor, and the city is taken.*

WHEN the king learned that the fleet of the Genoese, after the capture of Jubail, was still lingering in the vicinity of Tripoli, he hurried thither. He wished to enlist them in his own service under certain conditions, until by their aid he could capture one of the coast cities. For there still remained on our shore four rebellious cities: namely, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Ascalon, a circumstance which greatly hindered our plans for enlarging our young kingdom. The king's presence brought great joy to all who were at the siege, both on land and sea, and rendered them more zealous about the work in hand. His coming was a source of much comfort to those who were laboring at the siege before the city. They were inspired with greater courage and felt confident that their strength had been increased. To the besieged, on the other hand, his arrival brought a corresponding discouragement and utterly took away their feeble hope of resisting. In proportion as the strength of the Christians increased, so their own force seemed to diminish, and

[41] This incident of the capture of Jubail is not mentioned by either Fulcher or Albert. Caffaro does describe it, but there is some uncertainty about the date, whether during or after the capture of Tripoli. Röhricht is wrong in thinking that William has confused Jabala and Jubail (see Byrne, *loc. cit.*).

all that augmented the power of their foes made their own weakness more apparent. In view of this situation, our soldiers renewed the attack with the vigor of fresh recruits, and whenever an opportunity offered they pressed the enemy hard with extraordinary spirit. It was as if they were at the very beginning of the siege, while in reality they had been carrying it on with great effort for almost seven successive years.

The townspeople saw that the strength of the Christians was increasing daily, while their own, on the contrary, was decreasing. They were worn out by long-continued effort and had no hope of succor. Accordingly, they took counsel together with a view to putting an end to such great hardships. Messengers were sent to the king and the count with proposals of surrender under the following conditions: those who wished should be allowed to depart freely and without hindrance and to transfer their households and goods whithersoever they desired; but those who did not wish to go should be permitted to remain in their houses in peace and safety and to retain their possessions, under a fixed annual payment to the count.

The king listened to the demands of the citizens and, after consulting with the count and the chief men, decided to accede to their wishes and receive the city at once. The decision was satisfactory to all. The citizens were therefore summoned and their petition granted just as they desired. It was agreed under oath that these conditions should be kept in all good faith without fraud or evil intent. The city was then surrendered and the entrances unbarred for all who wished to enter. Tripoli was taken on the tenth day of June in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1109. At the same time Bertram pledged fealty to the king and became his liege man. Hence his successors even to the present are bound to show the same fealty to the king of Jerusalem.[42]

11. *Baldwin, count of Edessa, goes to Malatia to visit his father-in-law, Gabriel. He successfully carries through a notable scheme.*

After he had recovered his liberty, Baldwin, count of Edessa, determined to go to Malatia with his comrades in arms to visit his father-in-law, who was a very rich man. The count had many men in his service,

[42] The capture of Tripoli is dated June 26, 1109, by Hagenmeyer, who regards William's date as a mistranslation of Fulcher's poetical statement about the matter.

and he lacked the money to pay them their stipends for the military service and duties which they had faithfully performed. Accordingly he had devised a very shrewd and cunning plan, every detail of which had been skilfully worked out in anticipation of the time when he should appear before his father-in-law.

So, after all necessary arrangements for the journey had been made, he proceeded thither. His father-in-law gave him an affectionate welcome, far beyond the requirements of hospitality, and received him as a son and a member of the household. Greetings were exchanged, according to custom, and the sign of peace given with many embraces.

The count had been there for some time, when one day, after the two had been conversing for a long time on necessary matters, the knights approached, as had been previously arranged between them, and interrupted the colloquy. Then one, acting as spokesman for the rest, addressed the count as follows: "No one knows better than yourself, O count, how faithfully and valiantly this band of knights has for a long time fought for you, in reliance upon your faithful promise. Well you know how many hardships, how many trials in the shape of night vigils, hunger and thirst, cold and excessive heat, they have endured in order to save you and the land divinely committed to your care from harm at the hand of the enemy, to avert from the citizens and the remnant of people still in residence the attacks of the infidel, and to thwart the attempts of the enemies of the cross of Christ. This company calls on you to testify that it has often been of service to you. You know that we have served you for a long time without pay; that often, compelled by necessity, we have demanded to be released; and that as often, sympathizing with you, we have granted your petitions for delay and have, from day to day, held out with equanimity. But now our affairs have come to such a pass that we can wait no longer. Poverty is invincible. That it is which refuses to grant you longer delay and further extension of time. Choose for yourself. Either pay what is due and relieve our needs, or, according to the agreement, redeem the pledge by which you bound yourself."

Gabriel marvelled as to the meaning of that speech and as to what the solemnity of tone portended. Finally, by the help of interpreters, he grasped the situation. He then inquired further what might be the nature of the pledge by which the count had bound himself to make payment. Baldwin, as if restrained by shame, would give no answer,

but the spokesman replied that he had pledged his beard and that, unless on the day appointed he should pay them the amount agreed upon, he was to allow his beard to be shaved off without objection on his part.[43]

Gabriel was astounded at this novel agreement. Marvelling beyond measure, he struck his hands together and began to pant and boil with excessive rage. For Orientals, both Greeks and other nationalities, cherish the beard with most earnest care, and if perchance even one hair be pulled from it, this insult is regarded as the highest dishonor and ignominy. Gabriel inquired of the count whether conditions were as had been stated and was answered in the affirmative. Almost beside himself with astonishment, Gabriel again asked why he had thus pledged a thing that ought to be guarded with the greatest care, the characteristic feature of a man, the glory of the face, the chief dignity of man, as if it were a thing of no consequence that might be lost without dishonor. To this the count responded, "Because I had nothing of more value with which to satisfy the pressing demands of my soldiers. But my lord and father must not be anxious over this, for I hope, by the mercy of God, to obtain a respite from the knights until I return to Edessa, when, to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, I shall redeem the pledge guaranteed by my honor."

But the knights, as they had been instructed, declared with one accord that unless they were paid before that time, they would carry out their threats and leave him at once. Upon this, Gabriel, a man of simple character and ignorant of their secret understanding, hesitated for a little. Finally, however, he decided that he would himself pay the soldiers the sum for which his son-in-law was held, rather than suffer one whom he regarded as his own son to suffer such dishonor. He inquired what the amount of the debt was. He was told that it was thirty thousand micheles. Now the michele was a kind of gold coin which was used commonly in public trading at that time. It derived its name from Michael, an emperor of Constantinople, who had caused the coin to be stamped with his image.[44] Thereupon, Gabriel promised

[43] In the course of time, however, the example of the smooth-shaven Franks won some of the Armenians to give up their beards. Nerses of Lampron rebuked Leo II for having abandoned the more manly practice (see Saint Nerses de Lampron, "Lettre adressée au Roi Léon II," *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens*, I, 599–600).

[44] This coin was a besant of Constantinople, the standard gold coin of the East, so named for the reason here given. It was customary for the Greeks to refer to these

to pay for his son-in-law the sum stipulated, on condition, however, that the count should promise on his faith that never again under any circumstances, no matter what the pressure of necessity might be, would he bind himself to anyone in that way. So the money was paid. The count then took leave of his father-in-law and, with his retinue, their purses filled to repletion and need driven away, returned in affluence to his own land.

12. *By the zealous efforts of the king, the church at Bethlehem is raised to the dignity of a cathedral.*

KING BALDWIN was ever zealously anxious for an opportunity to honor the kingdom committed to him by God and thereby to offer some deed worthy of acceptance to the Lord, his protector. In the following year, 1110 of the Incarnation of our Lord, he proposed with pious fervor to raise the church at Bethlehem to the dignity of a cathedral. Up to that time it had been only a priory.

The nature of this act will be more clearly understood from the rescript of this edict made by this most pious king. It reads as follows: "The race of the Franks, inspired and admonished by divine grace, has liberated from the desecration of the infidels the holy city of Jerusalem, so long oppressed by the pagans—Jerusalem, the city where our Saviour by His own death destroyed death, which first laid hold on the human race through the sin of our first parents. This city, worthy worshipper of God, was invested by this nation on the seventh day of June, and on July 15, because God fought for it, it was captured.

"In the year of our Lord 1100, under the inspiration of the divine will, the clergy and Raymond of St. Gilles, the two counts, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders, Tancred, and the other principal men with all the host of the Franks, decided that my dearly beloved brother, the most pious and merciful Duke Godfrey, should preside over the captured city. But on the third day after the expiration of the first year of his rule, by the will of God, this worthy man of God, the ruler of the city, passed away in peace.[45]

"I, Baldwin, who by virtue of the divine will was chosen to succeed him as the first king of the Latins by the rejoicing clergy, by the princes,

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coins by the name of the emperor rather than by a more generic term. The term "besant" is a generalization used by the Latins.

[45] Godfrey died July 18, 1100.

and by the people, have looked with discerning eye upon the excellence of the church at Bethlehem, the birthplace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the place where my head received the glittering diadem; and I have resolved to invest it with full episcopal dignity.[46]

"For a long time, with sincere heart, I continually pondered this cherished plan. Finally I broached the subject to the distinguished Archdeacon Arnulf and to the chapter at Jerusalem and earnestly begged them to consult with me over the matter. They acquiesced in my just request and resolved to go to Rome to discuss this matter as well as that of the see of Jerusalem, which at that time was, as it were, without a father. Accordingly, the Archdeacon Arnulf and Archard, who was deacon at that time, undertook this embassy. They proceeded to Rome and, by the help of the Holy Spirit, obtained honorable assistance in respect to both matters from Paschal II, the pontiff of the church universal. They then came back to Jerusalem.

"After their departure, Pope Paschal sent to Jerusalem Gibelin, the archbishop of Arles, a man of brilliant intellect and most virtuous life, to whom, in the presence of Arnulf and Archard, he had assigned the mission.[47]

"Most joyfully was he received by me, by the clergy, and by the people; and, in virtue of the orders received from Pope Paschal, with my good will and the assent of the chapter at Jerusalem and the favor of the whole council, he dispensed all matters according to his own judgment. He decreed that Aschetinus, an illustrious man presiding over that same church and also precentor therein, whom the chapter at Jerusalem, at my express desire and that of my chief men and the people, had chosen as bishop of Ascalon, should become the first bishop of Bethlehem. Furthermore, at my own desire and command, he made the church at Ascalon subject to the see at Bethlehem with parochial right.[48]

[46] Bethlehem had not been a bishopric but a parish of the bishopric of Ascalon. Since the latter was still in the hands of the Muslims, such a modification of former ecclesiastical organization seemed justifiable, especially for the personal reasons which the king added. The request, which was granted by Pope Paschal II, involved a question of policy regarding the whole reorganization of the church in Syria by the Latins and led to endless disputes, as appears later.

[47] The sending of Gibelin as legate to Jerusalem was primarily to settle the problem of succession to Patriarch Daimbert (see note 17).

[48] These words do not indicate a subservient attitude of Baldwin toward the patriarch.

"Finally, I, Baldwin, by the grace of God first Latin king of Jerusalem, have joyfully and with all my power confirmed all his acts.

"I have also given of my own will and have granted absolutely to the bishop and to his successors to hold and possess the city of Bethlehem, which I had already granted to the church for the salvation of my own soul and that of the most merciful duke, my brother Godfrey, and those of all my relations.

"I have also granted and conceded to him a village in the territory of Acre, called Bedar; also another in the territory of Nablus, named Seylon; and another near Bethlehem, which is called Bethbezan; also two villages in the territory of Ascalon, namely Zeophir and Caicapha, with their dependencies.

"I have also made the aforesaid church free from the accusations with which the church at Jerusalem has troubled her, on the subject of the lands and vineyards in the suburbs of Jerusalem, which are a part of my domain.

"Moreover, I decree that if any cleric or layman induced by most wicked avarice shall presume after my death to violate that which at my petition has been confirmed with the aid of the Holy Spirit (concerning the church of Bethlehem, illustrious as the birthplace of our Lord and Saviour) by Paschal the supreme and revered pontiff of the Roman church, through the agency of Gibelin archbishop of Arles, his legate, that man shall be held guilty of the charge of invasion; and, unless after due warning he shall withdraw from his purpose, he shall be severely dealt with and expelled absolutely from our realm.

"Moreover, if any one of my nobles, or knights, or burghers, inspired by the spirit of God, shall desire to give of his possessions to this same church for the good of his own soul and those of his relatives, I grant that he be free to carry out his pious wish and that the donation be legal and be a perpetual charge on his property.

"This act of concession and the account of the things done has been made and our signature confirming it given in the year 1110 of the Incarnation of our Lord, in the third indiction; Pope Paschal II presiding over the Roman church; Gibelin, archbishop of Arles, vicar of the apostolic see, being patriarch-elect of Jerusalem.[49]

[49] The date of this document has not been established more closely than the interval from September 1, 1109, to March 24, 1110 (*R. Reg.*, no. 59). The use of the term "elect" would ordinarily imply that papal approval of Gibelin's election had not yet been received.

"The witnesses to this act are:

ARNULF, archdeacon
ARCHARD, deacon
EUSTACE GRENIER
ANSLEM, constable of the Tower of David
RALPH OF FORITANETO, viscount of Pisellus
SYMON, son of the duke
ANFRED, a religious
GERARD, the chamberlain
AND MANY OTHERS."

13. *The city of Beirut is besieged both by land and by sea, and in the second month of the siege it is taken.*

THE lord king, that glorious conqueror and true worshipper of God, was ever seeking with unwearied care to enlarge the kingdom which had been entrusted to him by God. In February of this same year, taking advantage of the fact that some galleys had wintered in the kingdom, he gathered from all over his realm such forces as the strength of the Christians afforded and laid siege to Beirut.

This city is situated on the seacoast in Phoenicia, between Jubail and Sidon, and is one of the suffragan cities under the metropolitan of Tyre. It was formerly in high favor with the Romans, who considered it one of their colonies and granted it the rights of citizenship. Ulpian, writing of the province of Phoenicia, in the *Digest,* under the heading "De censibus," says, "The colony of Beirut, also in the same province, was distinguished by the gracious favor of the emperor. The divine Hadrian in one of his speeches speaks of it as 'a colony of Augustus which had Italian rights.'"[50] This same emperor gave Beirut not only Italian rights but also the privilege of having Roman schools, which was granted to a few cities only. In the first book of the *Code,* in that constitution which begins thus, "Cordi nobis est,"[51] one may read as follows: "Dorotheus, also, teacher of law at Beirut."[52] The early name of this city is believed to have been Gerse, from its reputed founder Gerseus, the fifth son of Canaan.

[50] *Corpus juris civilis, Digest,* L. xv. 1. 1.

[51] Such reference to the beginning or "incipit" came to be the usual method of citing Roman law.

[52] *Corpus juris civilis, Code,* "Const. Cordi," 2.

When the king arrived before Beirut, he invited Bertram, count of Tripoli, to join him and at once began to hem in the city with great vigor. But ships had come from Tyre and Sidon with brave warriors prepared to aid the city, and if these people were permitted to come and go freely, all the efforts of the besiegers would be in vain. When the Christian fleet arrived, however, on the support of which the king had relied in undertaking the siege, these hostile ships were afraid to trust themselves on the open sea and immediately retreated into the harbor.[53] Thus the citizens were effectively shut off from coming and going by sea.

There was a pine grove near the city, from which the besieging host could obtain abundant wood suitable for building scaling ladders and all kinds of machines. From this material, therefore, they constructed wooden towers, hurling engines, and every kind of machine which could be of service in the siege. The attack on the city was kept up so continuously that neither by night nor by day were the defenders granted respite even for an hour. Thus working by turns and succeeding each other in relays, the Christians exhausted the strength of their foes by unendurable labor.

For two entire months they had toiled manfully at this task. Finally, one day while they were making attacks in several places at one time, with more than wonted vigor several impatient soldiers leaped upon the wall from the wooden towers which had been applied by force to the ramparts. Others followed their example, and still others climbed up by the scaling ladders. They then descended and forcibly opened the way into the town.

The citizens fled to the seashore. Our army entered without dispute and seized the entire city. At the news that the king and his troops had forced an entrance, the Christians on board the ships leaped down and took possession of the harbor. With their swords they drove back the citizens who had fled thither in the hope of finding safety and forced them to return into the midst of their foes. Thus the unfortunate townspeople, unluckily caught between two hostile bands, beset now on one side and now on the other, perished by the sword between the two.

Finally the king, appalled at the merciless slaughter, ordered the

[53] The Christian fleet may have included ships belonging to the kingdom as well as those of the Genoese. The harbor of Beirut was one of the most commodious on the Syrian coast.

herald to proclaim the end of the butchery and granted life to the vanquished survivors who besought his mercy.

This city was taken on April 27, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1111.[54]

14. *A fleet of Danes and Norwegians arrives in Syria. With their assistance, the king besieges Sidon and takes it. The king's marvellous escape from assassination is narrated.*

THAT same year, a company of pilgrims set out from the islands of the West, especially from the land called Norway. They had heard that the Holy City of Jerusalem had been taken by the faithful followers of Christ and desired to go thither for the sake of devotion. Accordingly, they prepared a suitable fleet and embarked. Wafted by a favorable wind, they sailed through the English Channel. Then passing through the straits between Calpe and Mt. Atlas, they entered this inland sea of ours and sailed through its entire length to Jaffa. The commander in chief of the fleet was a tall young man of fine appearance, a brother of the king of Norway. They landed at the port and straightway started on the way to Jerusalem, the object of their pilgrimage.[55]

When the king was informed of their arrival, he hastened forth to meet them. He gave the prince a kindly greeting and, while in friendly conversation with him, he endeavored to ascertain whether the naval expedition intended to remain for a time in the kingdom; and if so, whether the members would be willing to dedicate their services to Christ for a while so that, through their zealous efforts, the possessions of the Christians might be increased by the capture of one of the infidel cities.

After consulting one another, the Scandinavians replied that they had come for the very purpose of devoting themselves to the service of Christ. They added that they were ready to proceed with all speed by sea to any one of the coast cities which the king and his army wished

[54] The date of the capture was May 13, 1110. William may have miscalculated the poetic formula in which Fulcher gives the date (*H.F.*, p. 536, note 13).

[55] This expedition of Sigurd, the Crusader, king of Norway 1103–1130 and son of Magnus Barefoot, is the most celebrated Scandinavian contribution to the crusades. It is described at length in the saga literature as well as in contemporary Latin, Greek, and Arabic sources (see P. Riant, *Les Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*, pp. 174–267; K. Gjerset, *A History of the Norwegian People*, I, 311–36).

to besiege. They asked nothing for their services except the necessary food.

The king heard their words with fervent interest. He immediately assembled all the strength of the realm and with as large a force as possible proceeded to Sidon. At the same time the fleet sailed from the port of Acre and sped thither in a straight course, that both armies might arrive before the city almost simultaneously.

Sidon is a maritime city very advantageously situated between Beirut and the metropolis of Tyre. It forms a very considerable part of Phoenicia. It is often alluded to in both ancient and modern writings. Thus, Solomon, in the second [first] book of Kings, writing to Hiram, king of Tyre, says: "Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar-trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants: and unto thee will I give . . . according to all that thou shalt appoint: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians." [56]

In the Gospels also, our Lord makes mention of this city, saying, "if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon," etc.[57]

We read that the city was founded by Canaan, whence even to the present day it retains the name of its founder. It is one of the suffragan cities of the metropolis of Tyre.

Thus our forces invested Sidon both by land and by sea. Great fear fell upon the citizens, for they perceived that resistance by force would be in vain. Accordingly, in order to avert the imminent peril, they tried to bring about by strategy what they could not accomplish by valor.

The king had in his retinue a certain Baldwin,[58] a trusted retainer, practically his *valet de chambre*. This man, formerly a pagan, had asked for baptism, and the king in his pious zeal not only received him at the sacred font, but gave him his own name and made him one of his domestics.

The nobles of Sidon, determined to free themselves by whatever means, secretly sent intermediaries to negotiate with this man. They promised him an immense sum of money and extensive possessions in the city if he would slay the king and thus free them from the great danger. So intimate was Baldwin with the king and so dear to him that

[56] I Ki. 5:6. [57] Mat. 11:21.

[58] This incident is unsupported by any of the other accounts.

he often attended his lord alone when the latter retired to relieve the necessities of nature. Yet he willingly entertained the suggestion made and promised to carry it into execution. In fact, he was so entirely committed to the crime that he only waited for a favorable time to accomplish the deed.

But in the meantime some of the Christians in the city had gained an inkling of the matter. Fearing that through the king's imprudence this detestable deed might actually be accomplished, they wrote an anonymous letter, explaining the plan in detail and sent it by means of an arrow into our army. The letter chanced to fall into the hands of the king. He was greatly affected by it and justly so. He at once called his principal nobles and conferred with them as to what course should be adopted. The guilty man was summoned before them; he confessed his crime and was sentenced by the judges to be hanged.[59]

When this plot proved unsuccessful, the citizens tried another method of accomplishing their end. They sent messengers to beg that the nobles be permitted to leave Sidon, but that the people be allowed to remain as before under favorable conditions, in order that they might continue to cultivate the fields. The request was granted. The city was surrendered, and the nobles were allowed to depart freely wherever they wished with their wives and children.

The king at once generously granted the city to Eustace Grenier, one of his nobles, to be held by hereditary right. Then the people of the fleet took leave and, laden with rich gifts, returned to their own land, followed by the blessings of all.[60]

This city was taken on December 19 in the year 1111 of the Incarnation of our Lord.[61]

[59] The legal procedure is that of the feudal high court (see J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1100–1291, p. 102).

[60] The return to Norway was a triumphant journey through Constantinople, where Sigurd was elaborately entertained. His ships were a source of wonder to the Greeks, to whom he gave or sold them. Some of his men remained there to enter the service of the emperor. The rest returned with him by land following the crusaders' trail back to southern Germany, thence to Denmark and Norway. He returned in 1111 after an absence of nearly four years, having left Norway in 1107.

[61] Fulcher, whose interest in natural phenomena grew with his years, developed a practice of describing important dates in astronomical terms and poetic form. This device has baffled modern students no less than it did William, who was at this point largely dependent upon Fulcher. According to Hagenmeyer the date really intended was December 5, 1110 (*H.F.*, p. 549).

15. *Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. He is succeeded by the wicked and impious Arnulf.*

About the same time, Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem, of good memory, died. In his place was chosen (without divine sanction in our opinion) Arnulf, archdeacon of Jerusalem, who was called in the vulgar parlance *mala corona*, the man who has been so often mentioned in the foregoing pages. But, "Who maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people"? [62]

Arnulf continued to conduct himself as he had done before and even committed many worse offenses. Among other things, he married his niece to Lord Eustace Grenier, one of the greatest lords of the realm, ruler of two noble cities, Sidon and Caesarea.[63] With her he conferred upon Eustace the best portion of the patrimony of the church: namely, Jericho with all its dependencies, the annual revenue of which today is said to be five thousand pieces of gold. But even while he was patriarch Arnulf led an unchaste life, and his shame was a matter of common knowledge. Seeking to disguise this fact, he changed the order which the first leaders after careful deliberation had established in the church at Jerusalem and introduced regular canons.[64] He also induced the king to marry another woman while his wife was still living, as will be related hereafter.[65]

16. *A host of Turks from the Orient invades the land of Antioch with innumerable troops, but Tancred, with the help of Bertram, count of Tripoli, makes a valiant resistance.*

Shortly after the taking of Sidon, a large body of cavalry was levied in Persia. In order to test their strength that they might be able to boast of it in the future, they went up into the land of Syria. From the first coming of the Latins even to the fortieth year of the kingdom the

[62] Job 34: 30. Here the Douay translation brings out William's meaning more clearly than the King James.

[63] This niece, Emelota, is mentioned by William alone, and the story of the relationship to Arnulf has been regarded as doubtful (see C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, App. C).

[64] This reform of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre was in line with the reform movement then extending through the Church. They were to live according to the Augustinian rule. Even this pious act of Arnulf fails to win William's approval.

[65] Countess Adelaide of Sicily (see chaps. 21 and 29).

Christians were never free from that pest, a curse more cruel than the hydra, which grows stronger as often as its heads are destroyed.[66] Nearly every year a multitude of this detestable people poured forth from the heart of Persia in such numbers that they covered almost the entire surface of the globe. But divine mercy pitied our sufferings and raised up a rival kingdom against the overweening insolence of the Persians in the race of the Iberians.[67] By the grace of God, this nation gained such increase and strength through their continual successes that they crushed the pride of the Persians. Formerly the latter people had been suspected and dreaded by the Iberians, but now these, in their turn, became greatly superior to them both in forces and experience in arms. Thus the Persians, who for a long time had been wont to inspire terror even in far-distant kingdoms, now felt that it sufficed to find even temporary peace within the limits of their own territories.

The land of Iberia, also known as Avesguia, joins Persia on the north. Its people are tall of stature and noted for their robust strength and warlike proclivities. By frequent wars and continual attacks they had worn down the Persian forces so that the latter no longer felt themselves a match for them. Hence, anxious about their own condition, they ceased to harry the lands of others.

As I was saying, the great host mentioned above went forth from their own land, passed through Mesopotamia, and crossed the great rivér Euphrates. They ravaged the country in the vicinity of the river according to their own good pleasure and laid siege to Turbessel, the strongest fortress of the locality. For a whole month they put forth strenuous efforts in vain before that place, but finally, seeing that there was no possibility of success, they decided to abandon the attempt and went on to Aleppo.[68] Relying on their great numbers, they hoped to induce Tancred to come forth incautiously and attack them.

But Tancred was a wise man, discreet in all that he did. He sent

[66] This phrase is a literary allusion. The people mentioned continued to be troublesome for a much longer period.

[67] Iberia and Abasgia were themes or administrative divisions of the Byzantine empire before the coming of the Saljuqs. They were located just south of the Caucasus and were peopled then as now by Georgians, a people of distinct physical features. They were, however, subjugated by the Saljuqs, and the warfare between "Iberians" and "Persians" at this time could only have been civil wars between Saljuq rivals. The disturbing hosts on this occasion were led by Mawdud of Mosul.

[68] This campaign occurred during August and September, 1111. Baldwin returned in October.

messengers to the king with letters begging that he would come quickly to aid him. Baldwin at once mustered his forces and, taking Bertram, count of Tripoli, with him, again marched to the vicinity with his troops. When they reached the city of Rugia, they found Tancred already there with his army. Thence, in orderly line of march, they proceeded against the foe and finally reached Shayzar, where the enemy had encamped.

For a time the two armies surveyed each other. Finally, however, the Turks refused battle and left the region. The Christians then took leave of one another and returned to their own lands.

17. *Tyre is besieged. The citizens, however, put up a strenuous defense, and the purpose of the besiegers is frustrated.*

At this time, of all the coastal cities from Laodicea of Syria to Ascalon, which is the last city of the kingdom, Tyre alone was still under the yoke of the infidel. By the will of God, the king had delivered all the rest. Accordingly, he decided to devote himself to liberating that also. He assembled all the ships that could be found along the entire coast, prepared a fleet, such as it was, and directed it to proceed toward Tyre with all speed. He himself gathered all the land forces and the people from all over the realm and marched thither. He placed his troops in a circle around the city and besieged it.

Tyre lies in the bosom of the sea like an island closed round about by waters. It is the capital and metropolis of Phoenicia, which extends from the Valenian brook to Petra Incisa, on the boundary of Dora, and contains within its circuit fourteen suffragan cities.

The advantages afforded by the situation of this city will be described more fully later when the story of its final siege and capture, granted divinely by the will of God, is narrated.

So Tyre was besieged. As Baldwin was most anxious for the success of the undertaking, he applied himself heart and soul to harassing the place in every way, that it might be forced to surrender. He employed all the methods ordinarily used in besieging a city and exerted himself to the utmost to bring it under his power. A series of almost constant skirmishes and attacks exhausted the strength of the citizens; the walls and towers were shattered by violent blows from the engines, and never-ceasing showers of spears and arrows fell upon the city. As a

culmination of woes, Baldwin caused two wooden towers to be built, far taller than the stone towers. From the top of these it was possible to look down into the city below and, as from a vantage point, to hurl down ruin and devastation which could not be escaped.

The citizens, however, showed themselves to be shrewd and valiant men, experts in all sorts of devices. They met each scheme by a similar one and strove to repel in kind the injuries that were being inflicted upon them. They brought together great quantities of stones and cement, mounted two towers which were practically opposite our machines, and began to build them higher. Thus within a very short time these rose far above the wooden machines opposed to them outside the walls. From there the defenders hurled fire upon the engines below and were prepared to burn everything, unopposed.

The king now perceived that every scheme of his own was at once frustrated by a similar scheme. Moreover, he was exhausted by the long-continued labors which for four months and more, at no slight expense, he had wasted before the walls of Tyre. Accordingly, he gave up the attempt, defeated in his purpose. The siege was raised. He himself returned to Acre, and the rest eagerly departed to their homes.[69]

18. *Tancred dies, leaving the principality to Roger, son of Richard.*

About this time died Tancred, of illustrious memory and pious recollection in the Lord. The entire church of the saints will ever recount his alms and works of piety. While he was lying upon his deathbed, he had about him in his service a young man named Pons, the son of Bertram, count of Tripoli. Knowing that the day of his death was fast approaching, the prince is said to have asked that this young man be brought into his presence and also his own wife Cecilia, the daughter of Philip, king of the Franks. He is said to have advised the two to marry after his death. And so it happened that, after Tancred's death —Bertram, count of Tripoli and father of the young man, having also died—Pons married his widow.[70]

By Tancred's last will, Roger, son of Richard, one of his kinsmen, succeeded to the principality on the following condition: that, when in due time the younger Bohemond, son of the elder Bohemond, should

[69] This siege lasted from November 28, 1111, to April 7, 1112.

[70] The marriage of Cecilia and Pons did occur, though not until August, 1115. William alone mentions this deathbed scene and wish of Tancred.

demand Antioch with its dependencies as his rightful inheritance, it should be rendered to him without trouble or gainsaying.[71]

The illustrious Tancred was buried in the portico of the church of the Apostles in the year 1112 of the Incarnation of our Lord.[72]

19. *Menduc, a powerful Turkish prince, invades the kingdom with immense forces. The king meets him in battle and is defeated. The entire district is harried beyond endurance.*

In the following summer, that is, in the year 1113 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Persia again poured forth her countless hosts like a contaminated spring that constantly emits waters which give rise to pestilence. They were commanded by a powerful prince of illustrious birth, Menduc [Mawdud] by name, who led in his train forces so vast that their number was without limit.[73] He traversed the intermediate countries and reached the Euphrates. He was trying a new plan; former armies of the same nation had been accustomed to try their strength first on the land of Antioch, but this plan, as the result showed, was of far different mind and its purpose was different. Mawdud crossed the entire land of Coelesyria, leaving Damascus on the left, passed Tiberias between Lebanon and the coast, and encamped by the bridge over the Jordan.

When this news was brought to the king, he, well knowing that the trust of his foes lay in their vast numbers, called to his aid Roger, prince of Antioch, and the count of Tripoli. Before they could arrive, however, he left with his own troops and established his camp in the vicinity of the foe. As soon as the Persians discovered this, they realized that strategy rather than strength was needed. Accordingly, they sent out two thousand knights and ordered fifteen hundred of this number to hide in ambush. The remaining five hundred were to go on farther in a careless manner so that the king and his men would be led to pursue them. All turned out just as had been planned. The king observed the five hundred riding along in a heedless and incautious manner as if going farther. He impetuously summoned his men and marched

[71] Roger was the son of Richard of the Principate and a sister of Tancred's. Presumably he had accompanied his father on the crusade. His rule of Antioch was the subject of the chronicle by Walter the Chancellor.

[72] William apparently found Fulcher's statement of the day too baffling. Hagenmeyer sets the day of Tancred's death as December 12, 1112 (*H.F.*, p. 562, note 2).

[73] This Mawdud had made himself virtual ruler of Mosul, which he held until 1113.

against them. They pretended to flee, and the king, pursuing them incautiously, fell into the ambush laid for him. The infidels rushed forth from their hiding places and became a considerable force. The five hundred also turned back and joined them, and the united forces fell with a furious attack on the Christians. At first our people tried to resist—to drive them back with swords as they pressed fiercely on—but they were overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the foe and forced to flee. Not even in that way, however, was safety to be found, for a terrible massacre of the fleeing Christians ensued. Even the king himself threw down the standard which he bore in his hand and barely made good his escape, as did Arnulf the patriarch, who was with him, and other lords of the realm. The camp and all the baggage were abandoned.

Thus the enemy obtained possession of our camp and, in punishment for our sins, great confusion resulted among the people of God. The disaster was ascribed entirely to the king, because he had not waited for the assistance that had been summoned, but had relied too much on his own strength and valor. For Roger, prince of Antioch, and the count of Tripoli were close at hand and would undoubtedly have arrived in a day or two. Thirty Christian knights fell that day and twelve hundred foot soldiers.[74]

After this disaster, the two great and powerful leaders just referred to arrived and, learning of the catastrophe which had occurred, they blamed the king for his precipitate action. All the forces were then united, and as one body they encamped in the neighboring mountains, whence they could watch the enemy's host in the valley below.

But the infidels, well aware that the kingdom had been stripped of defenders, sent out bands of soldiers in every direction and overran the whole country. They wrought fearful carnage everywhere along the highways; they set fires, ransacked villages, seized farmers, and treated the entire region as if it had already been brought under their power.

During these days, our domestics deserted us and also the Saracen dwellers in our villages, which are called *casalia*.[75] These joined the

[74] The date of this battle is calculated by Hagenmeyer as June 28, 1113. Qalanisi, who assigns exactly that day, agrees with William's account of the reason for Baldwin's defeat.

[75] These *casalia* were in some respects units of agricultural organization and economy like the western manors (see Helen G. Preston, *Rural Conditions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, *passim*).

cohorts of the foe and instructed them how to destroy us. This they were well able to do, inasmuch as they possessed full information about our situation. "For there is no more deadly and effective pest than an enemy within one's own doors."

Thus the foe, guided by these people and rendered more efficient by their help, continued to go about among the towns and fortresses, carrying off booty and slaves. In short, they reduced the whole realm to such a state of terror that no one dared to venture outside the fortifications.

20. *The people of Ascalon assault Jerusalem. Their strength is at last broken, and they return to their own land.*

ONE circumstance put the finishing touch to the terror and woes of our people. The Ascalonites were well aware that the king was still detained in the land of Tiberias with all the available forces of the kingdom and that the enemy was in possession of practically the entire country. Accordingly, like ever-gnawing worms, they set forth with a great host for the hill country to besiege Jerusalem, which was now entirely without military defenders. Anyone found outside the city was either slain or taken prisoner. The ripe grain which the farmers had gathered upon the threshing floors was consigned to the flames. The infidels remained before Jerusalem for several days, but all the people cautiously kept within the walls. Fearing that the king would return, the invaders finally went back to their own land.

Summer was now rapidly verging toward autumn, the season when ships bringing pilgrims customarily began to arrive. Those who came learned of the great difficulties under which the king and his people were struggling, and with all speed both knights and foot soldiers eagerly hastened to the army. Consequently, from day to day a great increase in the numbers of our forces became apparent. This was soon observed by the commanders of the infidel army, who became anxious lest with these large reinforcements the Christians might be preparing to avenge the wrongs which they had suffered. They therefore retired into the territory of Damascus. The Christian forces also separated and returned home.

When the commander in chief of the hostile armies, who had so greatly afflicted the kingdom, reached Damascus, he was slain by assas-

sins. It is said that this was not done without the knowledge and consent of King Doldequinus [Tughtigin]. For rumor declared that the king distrusted the power of that leader and feared that he might deprive him of the kingdom.[76]

21. *The countess of Sicily lands at Acre to become the wife of the king.*

AFTER the Christian army had separated and all had returned home, a messenger arrived who announced to the king that the countess of Sicily had arrived at the port of Acre. This noble lady was the widow of Roger, surnamed Bursa, a brother of Robert Guiscard.[77] She was a wealthy woman of great influence. In the year just passed, the king had sent some of his nobles to invite her most earnestly to marry him. She communicated this message to her son Roger, who was later king of Sicily, and consulted with him over the matter.[78] It seemed good to both that they should accede to the king's request, provided that he would agree to certain definite conditions. The stipulation was as follows: that if the king should have offspring by the countess, the realm should descend to that child on the king's death, without contradiction or trouble; but if he should die without an heir by that union, Count Roger, her son, should be the heir and should succeed him in the realm as king, without trouble or gainsaying. But the king had already instructed the envoys when they left that they should agree to any conditions and should endeavor by every possible means to bring the countess back with them. For he had heard, as was true, that the countess was rich and possessed everything in great abundance, since she was in good favor with her son. Baldwin, on the contrary, was poor and needy, so that his means scarcely sufficed for his daily needs and the payment of his knights. Hence, he longed to supplement his scanty resources from her superabundance.

The envoys gladly agreed to the terms made. They took oath, as

[76] The murder of Mawdud, October 2, 1113, is recounted in detail by Qalanisi, a resident of Damascus. William's guess as to the motive is probably correct (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 139–42).

[77] Adelaide, niece of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, was the second wife of Roger I of Sicily, whom she had married in 1089. At his death, 1101, she acted as regent for her son, Roger II, who took over the rule in 1112, when he was seventeen. William has toned down Albert's extravagant account of her arrival in Palestine.

[78] Roger became king of Sicily in 1130.

required, that the king and his chief nobles, in good faith, without deceit or fraud, would ratify the agreements. So the countess prepared for the journey, her son providing everything that was necessary. The ships were loaded with grain, wine, oil, and salt meat, and equipped with armed men and splendidly mounted knights. The countess carried with her an immense sum of money and, followed by all her belongings, arrived in our land, as has been related. But this was a scheme artfully contrived by the patriarch Arnulf, as has already been explained, to deceive this noble and honorable lady. For it is impossible to deny that she was misled, since, in the simplicity of her character, she supposed that the king was in a position to marry her legally. But this was far from the fact, for the wife whom he had legitimately married at Edessa was still living. After the countess had landed, the promises and oaths were renewed, in the same form as had previously been employed in Sicily, in the presence of the king, the patriarch, and the principal men of the realm. But because this alliance had been entered into with an evil intent and not with a pure heart, God considered its purpose. He did not grant the woman, innocent though she was, the usual blessing of fecundity in the realm, and, finally, sorrow took the place of joy, as will be related in the following pages. "For things that have a bad beginning rarely end well." Yet, temporarily, her arrival brought so many great advantages to the kingdom that the least might justly say: "And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." [79]

22. *A terrible famine arises in the land of Edessa. Count Baldwin seizes his kinsman Joscelin and compels him by force to leave the entire region.*

Now it happened in those days that a terrible famine arose in the land of Edessa. This was partly on account of the inclement weather, which affected the crops, and partly because that country lay in the midst of the enemy and was surrounded on all sides by foes. Consequently, fear of hostilities prevented the dwellers on the land from devoting their attention freely to agriculture. The result was that the people in the city and the surrounding country were driven to the necessity of eating bread made of barley, and even that at times was mixed with acorns.

[79] Jno. 1 : 16. The Douay translation here brings out William's meaning more clearly than the King James.

The land of Lord Joscelin, however, lay in safety on this side the Euphrates and had plentiful crops and an abundant supply of provisions. But although his lands were filled with all good things, Joscelin, foolish and ungrateful, offered nothing at all from his own overflowing abundance to his lord and blood relation, to whom he owed all that he possessed, although well he knew that the count and his people were in the direst need.

Now it happened that Count Baldwin had occasion to send envoys on certain private business to Roger, son of Richard, the lord of Antioch, who had married one of the count's sisters.[80]

The envoys crossed the Euphrates and, both in going and returning, passed through the land of Joscelin, who received them with kindness and hospitality.

Some of Joscelin's retainers, however, began, as foolish men often do, to taunt the messengers and to make sneering remarks about Baldwin's poverty. At the same time, they boasted of their master's immense wealth; the superfluity of grain, wine, oil, and provisions; the immense weights of gold and silver; the numerous knights and foot soldiers. They added also, "as the itching tongue is ever heedless," that the count was not fit to rule over the land; he would be wiser to sell his county to Lord Joscelin for a vast sum of money and return to France.

These remarks cut the messengers to the heart, although they made an effort to conceal their feelings. Although the statements were uttered by persons of no consequence, yet they seemed to reflect the sentiments of the master. The envoys took leave and returned to the count. On arriving, they gave him a full account of all that had happened on the journey, including the remarks which had been made in the house of Lord Joscelin.

The count was deeply stirred by their report. After carefully weighing in his heart what he had heard, he was convinced that all these sentiments had originated with Joscelin. He was indignant that a man on whom he had bestowed such great wealth, one who was in duty bound to relieve the necessities of his benefactor from his own opulence, should thus, contrary to good taste, make slurring remarks about poverty as if it were a vice. He reflected that it was through no imprudence

[80] Her name has not been preserved, nor has the date of the marriage. The fact of this relationship of Roger and Baldwin du Bourg, however, is fairly well established.

on his own part that these straits had overtaken him, but through inevitable fate. Furthermore, the very wealth of which Joscelin was now boasting had been generously withdrawn from his own possessions. Violent rage surged within his heart.

Accordingly, he feigned illness and, lying down upon his bed, directed that his kinsman be summoned without delay. Joscelin at once hastened to him. He feared nothing and had no suspicion of evil connected with the journey. On arriving at Edessa, he found the count in the citadel of the city and in that part of it which is called Rangulath. He was lying in an inner room. Joscelin entered and, after making the customary salutation, inquired of the count how it was with him. Baldwin answered, "Much better, through the grace of God, than you would wish." Then continuing, he asked, "Joscelin, do you own anything which I did not give you?" Joscelin replied, "Nothing, my lord." "Why is it then that you, in the enjoyment of the prosperity and abundance which you owe to me, are ungrateful and regardless of the favors which I have bestowed upon you? Why do you not sympathize with me, your benefactor, in my need, incurred not through imprudence but from causes which no one, however wise or skilled, could avoid (for this did not happen against the will of God)? Why do you not return a portion of all that which I gave you? Moreover, you taunt and reproach me with the poverty which has been sent upon me from above as if it were a fault and a crime. Am I so helpless that I must sell to you what the Lord has granted to me and flee, as you demand? Surrender the possessions that I have given you and return everything which I have conferred upon you, for you have acted unworthily."

With these words, the count ordered that Joscelin be cast into prison. There, in a most astonishing and pitiable manner, he was subjected to all sorts of questionings and tortures until he should give up the entire country and resign everything which he had received as a gift from the count. Finally, despoiled of all his possessions, he left Edessa. He repaired first to King Baldwin of Jerusalem, to whom he gave a full account of all that had happened and announced his intention of returning to his own land.[81]

After listening to his story, the king granted him the city of Tiberias

[81] William is the only one to offer an adequate explanation for the quarrel between Baldwin and Joscelin. There probably were additional reasons also. The quarrel and the dismissal are sufficiently corroborated by Arabic as well as Latin chroniclers. The dismissal occurred in 1113 (see *H.F.*, p. 477, note 6).

with its territories, to be held in perpetual right. For he realized that Joscelin would be of great service to the kingdom and desired to be strengthened by the assistance of such a great man.

Joscelin is said to have ruled this city and its dependencies with energy and wisdom as long as he remained there and to have enlarged its possessions in a remarkable manner. The city of Tyre was still in the power of the infidels, and Joscelin, following the example of his predecessors, is said to have harassed its citizens greatly.

And although he was somewhat remote from them, since the mountains lay between, yet he often made raids into their territories and inflicted much loss upon them.

23. *A great earthquake shakes the land of Antioch. Bursuq, a very powerful Turkish satrap, ravishes that land.*

In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1114, a great earthquake shook the whole land of Syria and utterly destroyed many cities and fortresses. It was most destructive in Cilicia, Isauria, and Coelesyria.[82]

In Cilicia, it overwhelmed Mamistra, with many other fortified places. It also destroyed the city of Marash with the outlying districts so that only vestiges of some remained. Towers and fortifications were shattered, and the falling of large buildings brought destruction to a great many people. The largest cities became mere heaps of stones, burial mounds for those who had been killed, sepulchres for the people crushed in their fall. The populace fled in consternation from their dwellings in the cities, dreading the downfall of the houses. They hoped to find rest under the open sky, but their slumbers were broken by fear, for in dreams they lived through the fate which in their waking hours they had dreaded.

This overwhelming catastrophe was not confined to one district alone. It extended far and wide, even to the remotest regions of the Orient.

In the following year, Bursequinus [Bursuq],[83] the powerful Turkish satrap, according to his usual custom, gathered a great host of his

[82] Earthquakes were of frequent occurrence. There had been quakes in Palestine in the previous year. This more destructive quake had repercussions throughout northern Syria during the last two weeks of November, 1114.

[83] Bursuq was a son of the first Bursuq, who had participated in the Saljuq conquest of Syria. He himself was a warrior of note, though overshadowed both by his father and by his mamluk who adopted his name.

people and entered the Antioch region with hostile intent. After traversing that entire province, he encamped between Aleppo and Damascus to await an opportunity to make raids here and there upon our lands. Tughtigin,[84] king of Damascus, was greatly disturbed over this campaign. He greatly feared that it had been undertaken to cause trouble for him and his kingdom, rather than against the Christians, whose strength the Turks had so often tested. For the death of the noble Mawdud, who had been assassinated at Damascus, was laid at his door, and it was believed that he had been fully aware of, and in accord with, the deed.

Consequently, when he learned that the Turks had arrived, Tughtigin, fully aware of their purpose, sent messengers to the king and to the prince of Antioch with splendid gifts. He implored them to grant him a temporary peace. He offered hostages and promised under oath that for the entire time of the truce he would faithfully observe the alliance with the Christians, both of the realm and the principality.

Meanwhile the prince of Antioch had appealed to the king for assistance. For he knew that the Turks were very near his territory and had received many reports that they were trying to raid his lands. He invited Tughtigin also, who was bound by the treaty with him, to come with his forces.

The king was exceedingly anxious about the welfare of the country. Without loss of time, he gathered his forces, and, accompanied by Pons, count of Tripoli, and followed by a numerous company of knights, marched thither. Within a few days they reached the place where the prince had concentrated his troops. Tughtigin, who was nearer, had arrived before the king and his army and, as an ally, had joined the camp of the Christians.

The various contingents were then united into one body, and the march was directed toward the city of Shayzar, where the hostile army was said to be assembled. But when the Turks learned of this movement, they realized that they could not oppose our forces without serious danger. They therefore pretended to retreat as if with no intent of returning. Consequently, the Christians also disbanded their forces and returned home.[85]

[84] Tughtigin, whom William calls Doldequinus, had been appointed as atabek for Duqaq. He married the mother of Duqaq and, when the latter died in 1104, he became the actual ruler of Damascus, though nominally he continued as atabek for Duqaq's son.

[85] This campaign occurred in the late spring and the summer of 1115.

24. *The people of Ascalon besiege Jaffa. The approach of the king alarms them, however, and they return home without accomplishing their purpose.*

WHILE the king was occupied thus in the land of Antioch, the people of Ascalon seized the opportunity, afforded by his absence with most of his troops, to besiege Jaffa. Shortly before this, a fleet of seventy ships had come to their aid from Egypt. These were sent on ahead to seize the shore near Jaffa. The land army, numbering many thousands, followed with banners displayed and suddenly appeared before the city.

As soon as the people in the fleet knew that the land forces had arrived, they eagerly leaped from the ships, ready to attack at close quarters. The city was surrounded on every side, and, at the given signal, the troops made a fierce assault at all points. But the citizens of Jaffa put up a vigorous defense. Although few in numbers and far unequal to their foes in strength, they were fighting for their wives and children, for liberty and for country—for everything, in fact, on behalf of which man deems it noble to die. They fortified the towers and walls as strongly as possible; with their bows and ballistae, and with missiles hurled from the engines, they drove the enemy far back and did not allow them to approach the walls. The hopes of the Ascalonites were frustrated. They had expected to find the city without defenders; they had made scaling ladders sufficient both in height and numbers, as they confidently thought, to storm the ramparts at once without trouble. But so valiant was the resistance that there was no opportunity to apply them to the walls. Indeed, they were scarcely allowed to hurl missiles of any kind against the defenders in the towers. For God had looked with such favor on the citizens that they, confident in divine assistance, felt no fear of the enemy who encompassed them.

The gates of the city were of wood, entirely without covering of brass or iron. By skilfully hurling fire the assailants partly burned them, but not enough to injure the townspeople greatly or to make their position untenable.

Finally, after several days, the Ascalonites perceived that their efforts were not meeting with success. Fearing that the people of the vicinity might come to the aid of the beleaguered city, they raised the

siege and returned home. The fleet took advantage of favoring winds and retired into the port of Tyre.

Ten days later, however, desirous to learn whether they could surprise the people of Jaffa off guard, they mustered a great host of their people and stealthily left Ascalon. Suddenly and silently they again appeared before Jaffa. But the citizens, accustomed to such tactics, were on the alert. They kept constant watch by night in successive relays, so that they might never be found unprepared. Consequently, when they saw that the enemy's legions had returned and were preparing to renew war, they valiantly mounted the towers and ramparts. Their courage increased greatly as they perceived that the enemy's strength was less and that their numbers had diminished. For the fleet, which had been the source of much danger to them before, had now sailed away and could not easily return. Their confidence was strengthened also by the news that the king would soon arrive. Rendered bolder by this intelligence, they fought with more confidence, and through varying turns of fortune they persevered and killed many of the enemy. The assault continued for about seven hours without intermission. Then the infidels, realizing that their efforts were in vain, recalled their men and returned to Ascalon.[86]

25. *Bursuq again harries the land of Antioch. Prince Roger advances against him with his allies, breaks up his ranks, and forces him to flee.*

THIS, then, was the situation in the kingdom at this time. On the approach of the king and the other nobles, Bursuq had pretended to flee from the land of Antioch. But when the king and the prince of Antioch, and Tughtigin as well, separated and each returned to his land to attend to his own affairs, he realized that it would not be easy for them to reassemble their forces against him. Accordingly, he returned to Antioch and began to overrun the whole country. He burned farms and outlying places and surrendered to the troops as plunder and booty everything found outside the fortified places. He divided his forces into bands and sent them out in different directions to carry on the work of slaughter everywhere. Any unwary straggler who was encountered in the fields or along the highways was either carried off

[86] This attack upon Jaffa occurred on August 22, 1115.

captive or put to the sword. It was not alone places unprotected by walls which suffered; even fortified cities were seized by force. Maara and Cafarda [Kafartab] were destroyed to their very foundations, and all the inhabitants were either slain by the sword or thrown into chains. In short, the infidels seized the entire region and daily carried off booty and led Christians away as slaves.

When the prince of Antioch learned of these conditions, he called to his aid the count of Edessa. He himself set forth from Antioch on September 12, and without loss of time arrived at Rugia with his forces. Scouts were at once sent out to ascertain the condition and plans of the enemy. Meanwhile the prince drew up the line of battle, arranged his forces, and valiantly prepared for the encounter. While, loyally aided by the count, he was thus zealously engaged, according to the rules of military science, a messenger arrived in great haste, who announced that the enemy had already established a camp in the valley of Sarmatus. The entire army rejoiced over this news as if the victory had already been won.

On being informed of our approach, Bursuq also ordered his troops to arm and form in battle array. He exhorted his fellow soldiers to conduct themselves valiantly. Before the Christians approached, however, in order to provide for his own safety he, with his brother and some of his friends, took possession of a neighboring mountain called Danim. From this elevation he could watch his men as they fought and give the necessary instructions for carrying on battle. While he was thus engaged, the Christians' battalions, with standards raised, began to advance.

Baldwin, count of Edessa, was in the van with his division. As soon as he caught sight of the foe, unappalled by their great numbers, he dashed upon them with a furious onslaught which shook their entire army. The other battalions, following his example, threw themselves with equal spirit against the center of the enemy's forces. They fought with swords in a hand-to-hand fight, determined to avenge the wrongs which had been inflicted with such license upon the villeins and the poor. At first, the infidels, strong in the hope of resistance, endeavored most valiantly to repulse the Christians; but, finally, in consternation at the strength, the onrush, and the marvellous perseverance of the foe, they turned and fled in utter disorder.

From the top of the mountain, Bursuq witnessed the failing strength

of his forces and the increasing success of the Christians. Followed by his brother and the friends whom he had taken with him into the mountain, he deserted his standard and his camp with all the baggage and took measures to save his life by flight.

Our forces vigorously pursued the disorganized troops for about two miles. They wrought great havoc among the fugitives with their swords and killed a large number. The prince remained for two days on the field of victory with some of his forces, waiting for the return of his men who had followed the foe in various directions. When they returned, he ordered all the spoils to be brought before him and assigned fitting portions to those who had been participants in the victory. For the infidels had abandoned their camp and fled, utterly regardless of the quantities of provisions and the vast riches which it contained. Consequently, the Christians not only gained possession of the plunder and spoils which had been carried off from all over, but they recovered also their own people who had been captured and thrown into chains. These were sent back to their homes rejoicing, together with their wives and children and their animals. It is said that in this engagement the enemy lost more than three thousand men.

When all these things had been accomplished, the prince sent on ahead a great number of horses, mules, and captives, as well as abundant riches of every kind. He himself then entered Antioch as victor, amid the joyous acclamations of the people.[87]

26. *Arnulf, the patriarch, is accused of many misdeeds. He goes to Rome. The king builds a fortress in Syria Sobal beyond the Jordan and calls it Montreal.*

About this time, the venerable bishop of Orange, a man highly esteemed because of his religious life, was sent to Syria as papal legate, for the outrageous conduct of the Patriarch Arnulf and the facts of the dissolute life which he was leading had been reported to the pope. When the legate arrived in our locality, he at once called a council of all the bishops of the region and ordered Arnulf to appear before him. Finally, by authority of the apostolic see, Arnulf was deposed from the pontifical office, as he richly deserved.[88] Then, still with full confi-

[87] The glorious victory of Roger of Antioch over Bursuq occurred September 14, 1115. Fulcher observed with pious satisfaction that the previous alliance with Damascus against Bursuq had accomplished nothing (*H.F.*, pp. 588–90).

[88] Berengar, bishop of Orange and legate of Pope Paschal II, presided over the

dence in his own subtle devices by means of which he had corrupted the minds of all, he was obliged to cross the sea and go to the church at Rome. There, by his bland words and a free use of gifts, he overcame the scruples of the pope and the whole church and returned to his own land in high favor with the apostolic see. He was permitted to retain the patriarchal chair at Jerusalem, where he at once resumed and continued to maintain the same licentious mode of life which had caused his deposition.[89]

At this time, the Christians had no fortress in the country beyond the river Jordan. Accordingly, the king, desiring to extend the boundaries of the realm in that locality, proposed with the help of God to build a fortress in Arabia Tertia, which is also called Syria Sobal. The garrison in this place would be able to protect the fields lying below it, which were tributary to the kingdom, from the inroads of the enemy. In pursuance of his plan, he levied the forces of his kingdom and led them across the Dead sea. He passed through Arabia Secunda, whose metropolis is Petra, and came to Arabia Tertia. There, in an elevated spot well suited to his purpose, he built a fortress strongly defended both by its natural site and by artificial means. When the work was finished, he placed a garrison of both cavalry and infantry forces there and granted them extensive possessions. The place was fortified with walls, towers, forewalls, and a moat and was well equipped with arms, food, and machines. Since a king was its founder, he gave it a name derived from the royal prestige and called it Montreal.[90] The spot has the advantage of fertile soil, which produces abundant supplies of

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synod which deposed Arnulf. It is significant of the deep-seated party division among the clergy of Palestine that Arnulf's opponents were able to make out so strong a case against him despite the support of the king. The issue, however, was a fundamental one, whether Jerusalem should be under patriarchal or royal control. Arnulf, though a churchman, was the vigorous champion of the latter view and thus incurred the undying enmity of local churchmen who held the opposite view.

[89] The letter of Paschal II written July 19, 1116, contains a review of the whole case against Arnulf, who had appeared at Rome accompanied by several leading clergy to appeal from the decision of the council at Jerusalem. The pope reinstated Arnulf, accepting the refutation of the charges of licentious conduct and undue royal influence in his election and magnanimously according him dispensation from the charge of priestly birth (E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, pp. 11–13). William's animosity toward Arnulf was too great for him to share the pope's magnanimity. There is no evidence to support his further charges.

[90] Montreal, a fortress which was to play such a romantic part in the decades which followed, was first established as a crusaders' fortress in the fall of 1115 but greatly improved later.

grain, wine, and oil. Moreover, it is especially noted for its healthful and delightful location. This fortress dominated the entire district adjacent to it.

27. *Observing the lack of inhabitants in the Holy City, the king introduces the Syrian Christians from Arabia. He gives them dwelling places and makes them inhabitants of the city.*

At this time, the king realized with great concern that the Holy City, beloved of God, was almost destitute of inhabitants. There were not enough people to carry on the necessary undertakings of the realm. Indeed there were scarcely enough to protect the entrances to the city and to defend the walls and towers against sudden hostile attacks. Accordingly, he gave much anxious thought to the problem, turning the question over in his own mind and talking with others concerning plans for filling it with faithful people, worshippers of the true God. The Gentiles who were living there at the time the city was taken by force had perished by the sword, almost to a man; and if any had by chance escaped they were not permitted to remain in the city. For to allow anyone not belonging to the Christian faith to live in so venerated a place seemed like sacrilege to the chiefs in their devotion to God. The people of our country were so few in number and so needy that they scarcely filled one street, while the Syrians who had originally been citizens of the city had been so reduced through the many tribulations and trials endured in the time of hostilities that their number was as nothing. From the time that the Latins came into Syria, and particularly when the army began to march toward Jerusalem after the capture of Antioch, their infidel fellow citizens began to abuse these servants of God greatly. Many were slain for the most trivial remarks, and neither age nor condition was spared. The Gentiles distrusted them intensely, for they believed that it was these people who, through their messengers and letters, had summoned the princes of the West who, it was said, were coming to destroy the infidels.

The king felt that the responsibility for relieving the desolation of the city rested upon him. Accordingly, he made careful investigations in regard to some source whence he might obtain citizens. Finally he learned that beyond the Jordan in Arabia there were many Christians living in villages under hard conditions of servitude and forced tribute. He sent for these people and promised them improved conditions.

Within a short time, he had the satisfaction of receiving them with their wives and children, flocks and herds, and all their households. They were attracted thither not only by reverence for the place but also by affection for our people and the love of liberty. Many, even without being invited, cast off the harsh yoke of servitude and came that they might dwell in the city worthy of God. To these the king granted those sections of the city which seemed to need this assistance most and filled the houses with them.[91]

28. *At the suggestion of the clergy, the king demands from the pope that all the cities which he has conquered be subject to the church at Jerusalem. Rescripts of several letters are given.*

MEANWHILE, the king determined (perhaps at the suggestion of the clergy) to send envoys to Rome to offer certain petitions to the pope. The general tenor of these was as follows: that all cities and provinces which, God willing, he might be able to win through his prowess as a warrior and his royal solicitude, and in this way to rescue from the power of the enemy by force of arms, might be under the authority and rule of the church at Jerusalem. In reference to this matter he obtained a bull from the apostolic see, the contents of which we have deemed worthy of inserting in the present narrative.[92]

"Paschal, servant of the servants of God, to the glorious King Baldwin of Jerusalem, greeting and the apostolic benediction.

"The infidel's long period of possession and tyrannical rule has brought about confusion in regard to the boundaries of the holdings of churches which have been and still are in your parts. Since, after due

[91] The problem of insuring an adequate supply of laborers for the city of Jerusalem continued to trouble the rulers throughout the period of Latin control.

[92] The insertion of these documents relating to church organization at this point is somewhat puzzling. The problem with which they are concerned naturally interested William greatly, both as archbishop of Tyre and as prospective patriarch. He had investigated it thoroughly during the period 1175 to 1178, if not also earlier. Such material, however, did not seem very appropriate to a royal chronicle, as he himself confesses. The best explanation thus far advanced for its inclusion is that William lacked sufficient material for the reign of Fulk and the last years of Baldwin II. He could fill that space by the insertion of such material from the archives. Having made the decision, he was compelled to include here these documents relating to the beginning of the problem. This explanation receives further support from the fact that these documents are inserted at this point, near the end of Baldwin's reign, instead of in their proper place some five and six years earlier.

deliberation, we are unable to assign definite limits thereto, we have deemed it not unjust to agree to your petition. And since on behalf of the exaltation of the church at Jerusalem you have devotedly exposed your own life to extreme dangers, I grant that whatever cities of the infidel you have taken or shall take hereafter shall be under the rule and authority of that church. Furthermore, I direct that bishops of these cities be careful to show obedience to the patriarch as to their own metropolitan, so that he, strengthened by their assistance, and they, in turn, quickened by that very harmony, may together accomplish great things for the exaltation of the church at Jerusalem and that thus omnipotent God may be glorified by the expeditions of the [crusaders].

Given at the Lateran the fifth day before the Ides of July." [93]

Likewise at the petition of King Baldwin and under the same article, Pope Paschal granted a privilege to the Patriarch Gibelin and his successors forever, a rescript of which we have inserted in the present narrative. The text is as follows.

"Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most reverend brother, Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem, and to his successors following him according to canonical law.

"The kingdoms of the world change in accordance with the changes of time and conditions; hence it seems wise that the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes in many districts be also changed and transferred. The boundaries of the churches of Asia were defined in early times, but these divisions have been disturbed by the influx of various races of differing faiths. But in our times, thanks be to God, the cities of Jerusalem and Antioch, with their suburbs and the adjacent regions, have been restored to the rule of Christian princes. We must, therefore, put our hand to change and transference ordained from on high and, in accordance with the movement of the times, we must rearrange that which needs to be rearranged. Accordingly, we grant to the church at Jerusalem those cities and provinces which have been acquired, by the grace of God, through the blood of the glorious King Baldwin and the armies following him.

"Thus to you, beloved brother and co-bishop Gibelin, and to your successors, and through you to the holy church at Jerusalem, either

[93] Röhricht has corrected this date to June 8, 1111 (*R. Reg.*, no. 60).

with patriarchal or metropolitan right, we grant, by the words of this present decree, the ruling and disposing of all the cities and provinces which divine grace has already restored to the sovereignty of the said king, or shall deign to restore in the future. For it is fitting that the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord should obtain the honor it deserves according to the wishes of its devoted soldiers; that, freed from the yoke of Turks and Saracens, it should be exalted more abundantly in the hand of the Christians."

Bernard, patriarch of Antioch, a man of revered life, waxed very indignant over this decree, for it seemed to redound to the injury of his own church. He at once sent envoys to the church at Rome to make serious complaint of this act and of the manifest injury done to him and his church. He also sent letters in which he accused the pope and the whole church of wrongdoing in respect to this matter. The pope, desiring to soften his wrath, wrote in response as follows.

"Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Bernard, patriarch of Antioch, greeting and the apostolic benediction.

"Although among other apostolic sees that one stands forth preëminent which divine grace made illustrious by the death of St. Peter in the body, yet so strong an affection has heretofore existed between the bishops of Rome and Antioch that there seemed to be no diversity between them, for the same Peter made both illustrious.

"Many things have changed during the interval in which the domination of the infidel has interfered with this unity between these two presiding heads of the church. Thanks be to God that in our times He has restored the rule of the Christians in the city of Antioch.

"Therefore, dearest brother, that same firm unity and love ought to continue among us. Nor should you allow any feeling that we desire to abase or dishonor the church of Antioch to enter your mind. If we have unwittingly written either to the church at Antioch or to that at Jerusalem anything concerning the boundaries of the parishes to which exception may be taken, it should not be ascribed either to malice or levity, neither ought strife to be aroused among us on this account. The remote location of places and the changes which have taken place in the ancient names of cities and provinces has occasioned us great doubt and uncertainty. Moreover it has always been our supreme desire

—a desire which is still close to our heart—to encourage among brethren conditions of peace rather than of strife, and to preserve for each church its own right and honor.

Given at the Lateran, on the seventh day before the Ides of August."[94]

In order that his feelings in the matter be understood, as well as his purpose in granting to the king and the church at Jerusalem the concession contained in his bulls, the pope also wrote as follows to the patriarch Bernard:

"Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his fellow bishop, the patriarch of Antioch, greeting and the apostolic benediction.

"As we have written in another letter to your brotherhood, we regard you and the church committed to your care with sincere affection; nor do we wish in any way to lessen the honor of your high position. On the contrary, it is our desire that the preëminence of the patriarchate of Antioch, which has been maintained in past times, may be kept ever intact, according to the will of God. The grant which we have made to our son Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, at the request of his envoys, should not disturb your affection in the least, if you will carefully examine the inmost meaning of my letter. For thus it is written therein: 'The infidel's long period of possession and tyrannical rule has brought about confusion in regard to the boundaries of the holdings of churches which have been and still are in your parts. Therefore, since after due deliberation, we are unable to assign definite limits thereto, we have deemed it not unjust to agree to your petition. And since on behalf of the exaltation of the church at Jerusalem you have devotedly exposed your own life to extreme dangers, I grant that whatever cities of the infidel you have taken or shall take hereafter shall be under the rule and authority of that church.'

"In the same spirit of understanding should be received the words which we have written to Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem of happy memory, concerning the cities and provinces which, through the grace of God, have been acquired by the foresight of King Baldwin and the blood of the armies following him. But those churches to which definite territories can still be assigned, those whose limits and holdings have not been confused by the long possession and tyranny of the infidel and

[94] Röhricht has corrected this date to August 8, 1112 (*R. Reg.*, no. 66).

the cities of those same churches, it is our desire to make subject to that church to which, from early times, they are known rightly to pertain. For we do not wish to lessen the dignity of the churches in order to increase the power of princes, nor do we intend to injure the power of princes for the sake of exalting ecclesiastical dignity.

Given at Beneventum, the fifteenth Kalends of April." [95]

He wrote to King Baldwin also in the same strain, explaining what his purpose had been in giving assent to those same petitions and pointing out that the church at Antioch was to be in no wise unduly burdened.

"Paschal, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his well-beloved Baldwin, illustrious king of Jerusalem, greeting and the apostolic benediction.

"The concession which we granted at your petition—namely, that whatever cities of the infidel you have already taken or shall hereafter take shall be subject to the rule and dignity of the church at Jerusalem—has greatly disturbed our brother, the Patriarch Bernard, and the entire church at Antioch. Since the granting of that concession in respect to those churches whose boundaries and possessions have been confused by the long domination of the infidel, complaint is made that the patriarch of Jerusalem, with your connivance, has attacked the rights of those churches concerning which there is no ambiguity—churches which, even in the time of the Turks and Saracens, were held by the see of Antioch. For the bishops of those churches, even when oppressed by the tyrannical rule of the infidel, showed obedience to the patriarch of Antioch.

"Therefore, we have sent letters to the said patriarch, in which we have decreed that the preëminent position of the patriarchate of Antioch shall be preserved intact in the future just as it was determined in early times and as it has been maintained heretofore. Accordingly we admonish you earnestly—and not only admonish but command—that invasions of this kind (where the truth is evident) be not committed by you, but that each church enjoy the full use of the territories belonging to it by right. For we cannot go contrary to the manifestly sacred constitutions of our fathers; nor do we desire in the least either to lessen the dignity of the churches in order to increase the power of princes, or to

[95] Röhricht has indicated the date, March 18, 1113 (*R. Reg.*, no. 73).

injure the power of princes for the sake of exalting ecclesiastical dignity, lest, in either case, the peace of the church in your midst be disturbed, which God grant be far from us.

"We also command the clergy of Jerusalem through the medium of this present document, since, as it appears, they have left ancestral possessions and native lands for the exaltation of the church and the observance of religion, that they be content with the rights of the church at Jerusalem and that they do not try unrightfully and boldly to usurp those possessions which are known definitely to pertain to the right of the church at Antioch. May omnipotent God protect you in all things by His right hand and grant you to triumph over the enemies of the church.

Given at the Lateran, the fifteenth Kalends of April."[96]

29. *The king goes down to the Red sea to examine that region. Brought low by illness, he sends back to her own land the countess of Sicily, whom he had taken as his wife.*

KING BALDWIN desired to gain a more intimate knowledge of the adjacent regions and to investigate the condition of the provinces. In the following year,[97] therefore, taking with him experienced guides and a retinue which seemed to him sufficient for his purpose, he crossed the Jordan and traversed Syria Sobal. Then he crossed the vast desert to the Red sea and came to the ancient city of Helim, a place once well known to the people of Israel, where, as we read, there were twelve springs and seventy palm trees. When the king arrived at this place, he found that the inhabitants, warned betimes of his approach, had fled to the sea near by and embarked in little boats to escape death. After carefully investigating and observing these places, the king returned over the route so lately traversed to Montreal, the castle which he had recently built. From there he went on to Jerusalem, where he was seized with a sudden and serious illness that exhausted him beyond his powers of endurance. Fearing that he was about to die, he was pricked in conscience because he had wrongfully cast off his legitimate wife and married another woman. Full of remorse and penitence, he made known his scruples to certain religious and God-fearing men,

[96] Here again Röhricht indicates the date, March 18, 1113 (*R. Reg.*, no. 73).

[97] The events which follow occurred in the year 1116. William's reference to "the following year" would suggest that the preceding material had been inserted in one of the later retouchings of his manuscript.

confessed his guilt, and promised to make amends. He was admonished to send away the wife whom he had married and to restore his former wife to the dignity of which he had deprived her. This he agreed to do if his life should be prolonged, and he bound himself by a vow.[98]

He then called the queen before him and explained the matter fully to her. She had already received some intimations of his purpose, for many had spoken of it to her. She was highly indignant that she should have been called from her country to no purpose, after being deceived by the trickery of the lords of the realm who had been sent to summon her. Sad and sorrowing over the insult offered her as well as over the futile waste of her wealth, she prepared to return to her own land in the third year after her arrival in Syria. Her son was angered beyond measure, because she had been sent back. He conceived a mortal hatred against the kingdom and its people. Other Christian princes in various parts of the world, either by coming in person or by giving liberal gifts, have amplified and promoted our infant realm. But he and his heirs to the present time have never become reconciled to us to the extent of a single friendly word.[99] Although they could have relieved our necessities by counsel and aid far more easily than any other prince, yet they have always remembered their wrongs and have unjustly avenged upon the whole people the fault of a single individual.

30. *The fortress Alexandrium, called in common parlance Scandalium, is built before the city of Tyre.*

TYRE was now the only city on the coast which still remained in the possession of the enemy, and the king was most eager to bring it under his power. Accordingly, this same year, after he had recovered from his illness, he built a fortress between Acre and Tyre. This occupied the very site where once Alexander of Macedon, in order to take Tyre, is said to have erected a fortress and to have called it Alexandrium from his own name.

Alexandrium lies on the seashore scarcely five miles from Tyre and

[98] This is somewhat inconsistent with William's earlier statement regarding the fate of Baldwin's former wife, Arda (see Book XI, chap. 1).

[99] Sicily contributed a naval expedition to aid in the conquest of Egypt in 1174 which William describes at some length (see Book XIX). Prutz has concluded from the inconsistency of these statements that William had written this portion of his work before 1174 (see Hans Prutz, "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus." *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, pp. 115–17).

is well watered by springs. The king rebuilt it with the idea that it might be a thorn in the side of the people of Tyre and that from it injuries might often be inflicted upon them. Today the people incorrectly call this place Scandalium. For in Arabic, Alexander is called Scandar, and Alexandrium, Scandarium, but since *R* is usually changed to *L*, it is commonly known as Scandalium.[100]

31. *The king goes down into Egypt. He takes Pharamia. While on this journey he is seized with a serious illness from the effects of which he dies. He is buried at Jerusalem, near his brother.*

In the following year, the king went down to Egypt with a large force to take vengeance on the Egyptians for the wrongs which they had so often brought upon him. By a violent assault he seized the very ancient city of Pharamia and gave over the supplies found therein as plunder to his comrades in arms.

Pharamia, as we have said, is an ancient city on the seacoast, not far from one of the mouths of the Nile, which is called Carabeix. On this mouth is also situated another very ancient city, Tanis, which was witness of the signs which the Lord worked before Pharaoh through Moses, his servant. After the city was taken, the king went out to visit this mouth of the Nile and marvelled at its waters, which he had never seen before. It was of special interest to him because the Nile, a portion of which is carried into the sea by that arm, is said and believed to be one of the four rivers of Paradise. From this bay they took fish, which are very abundant there. They then returned to the conquered city and there partook of a breakfast prepared from the fish they had caught. As the king rose from the meal, he began to experience great internal distress. The pain in his old wound revived also and caused him such suffering that he despaired of life in his peril. The order to depart was at once proclaimed by the voice of the herald, but the king's illness increased and he became so weak that he was unable to ride. A litter was therefore brought, and he, suffering extremely, was placed in it. In this fashion by uninterrupted journeys, they crossed that part of the wilderness which extends between Egypt and Syria and arrived at Lares [al-Arish], an ancient coast city in that desert. There the king succumbed to his illness and yielded to fate. The sorrowing legions, almost

[100] This fortress was erected in 1117.

overwhelmed by grief, bore his body thence to Jerusalem. On the Sunday which is called the Day of Palm Branches he was borne into the city through the valley of Jehoshaphat, where, according to custom, the people had gathered for the feast day. He died in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1118, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried with royal splendor next to his brother in the place called Golgotha below Calvary.[101]

[101] Palm Sunday, April 7, 1118. Golgotha was the name of a chapel in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

HERE ENDS THE ELEVENTH BOOK

THE TWELFTH BOOK BEGINS

BALDWIN II: TROUBLES IN NORTHERN SYRIA

1. *Baldwin, count of Edessa, is raised to the throne. Who he was and of what lineage he came is stated.*

THE second Latin king of Jerusalem was Baldwin du Bourg, surnamed Aculeus.[1] He was a devout and God-fearing man, notable for his loyalty and for his great experience in military matters. He was of the Frankish nation, from the bishopric of Rheims, the son of Hugh, count of Rethel, and the noble countess Melisend. This lady is said to have been one of many sisters, of whom were born numerous sons and daughters. The actual number of these descendants is well known to those who make a careful study of the genealogies of princes.[2] While his father was still living, Baldwin, in company with other nobles who were inspired with the same spirit of devotion, undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the retinue of Duke Godfrey, his kinsman. He was the oldest of the family, and his father was now well advanced in years. Two brothers and two sisters were left at home. Of these, one brother, Gervaise, was afterwards elected bishop over the church at Rheims; the other brother was called Manasses. One of his sisters, Matilda, became the wife of the castellan of Vitry; the other, Hodierna, married Herbrand of Herges, a noble and powerful lord. Of this latter marriage was born Manasses of Herges, who later, in the time of Queen Melisend, became the royal constable.[3]

When the father of this King Baldwin died, his son Manasses succeeded him, for Baldwin, who was the first born, was occupied with the cares of the kingdom overseas. Manasses died childless. His

[1] Literally sharp or pointed, perhaps thorn.

[2] This statement implies a profession of genealogists, which must have sprung up since the time of the First Crusade. Heraldry was, of course, involved in this, and the heraldic devices on the shields of the nobles were becoming complicated by genealogical indications. This development is symptomatic of the great social change which had occurred in this century. The wide substitution of law for force in the ownership and transmission of fiefs gave added importance to genealogical lore.

[3] The family connections of Baldwin du Bourg were greatly complicated by the number of his immediate relatives. William here attempts to give only a portion of the relationships.

brother Gervaise then renounced the office of archbishop of Rheims, married a wife—which was contrary to the canons of the Church—and held the county [Rethel] by hereditary right.[4] An only daughter, born of this union, he married to a certain nobleman of Normandy. On the death of Gervaise, Huitiers, the son of Matilda, that sister who had espoused the castellan of Vitry, succeeded to the county. But enough of these matters for the present.

2. *The reason for Baldwin's journey to Jerusalem, where he was elected king.*

ON the death of Duke Godfrey, of happy and illustrious memory, his brother Baldwin I was called to the throne of Jerusalem and with all due ceremony placed in charge of the realm. At that time, he appointed as his successor over the county of Edessa his kinsman, the Baldwin of whom we are now speaking.[5] For more than eighteen years, the latter governed the county with energy and success. At length, in the eighteenth year of his rule, as conditions in his own land were in an enviable state of peace, he determined to visit the king of Jerusalem, his overlord, kinsman, and benefactor. At the same time he wished to visit the holy places for the sake of prayer.

The necessary preparations for the journey were accordingly made. He entrusted the care of the country to certain of his faithful servants in whose loyalty and vigilance he had entire confidence and, like a wise and provident man, arranged for the safety of the towns. Then, attended by a noble retinue, he set forth upon the journey as he had planned.

But as he was pursuing his way, a messenger met him. He brought the news, which proved to be true, that the king had died in Egypt. Baldwin was greatly concerned over the news of the death of his lord and kinsman, as was not strange. He did not, however, give up the journey on which he had set out, but made more haste toward Jerusalem. He arrived there on the day called the feast of Palm Branches. According to custom, all the people had assembled in the valley of Jehoshaphat for the solemn religious ceremonies of the great day. By

[4] Such instances as this illustrate the loose way in which the canons had been observed. It required years of effort by the church during the later eleventh and early twelfth century to establish a fairly consistent observance of canon law in the face of long-established custom.

[5] See Book X, chap. 1.

a strange coincidence, as the count and his escort entered the city from one direction, the bier of the king in funeral procession was borne in from the opposite side, followed, as was customary, by the entire body of soldiers that had gone down to Egypt with him.[6]

3. *The method of election is described. The memorable action of Count Eustace of Boulogne is recounted.*

THE body of the king was brought into the Holy City and buried with honor next to that of his brother, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord before the place which is called Golgotha, at the foot of Mt. Calvary. Then the great men of the kingdom who were present assembled for consultation—archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church. The Patriarch Arnulf and some lay princes were also there. Among them was Joscelin, lord of Tiberias, whom we have often mentioned above. He was a man of great energy, powerful both in word and deed.

In the conference then held on the matter in hand various opinions were advanced. Some thought that they ought to wait for the arrival of Count Eustace and not interfere with the ancient law of hereditary succession.[7] This was especially so because his brothers of happy memory had so successfully administered the kingdom. Their rule had been harmonious and satisfactory to all. Others said, "The affairs of the realm and the exigencies constantly arising do not permit these delays or allow us to indulge in interregnums of this kind. On the contrary, haste is imperative, that measures for the good of the land may be speedily taken. If an emergency should arise, there would be no one to lead forth or withdraw the troops or to attend to the affairs of the realm. Thus, for lack of a leader the welfare of the kingdom would be imperilled." [8]

[6] William's allusion to "customary" practices presents some difficulties. Was he thinking of customs as they existed in his own day, or did he have in mind certain antecedent practices which the early crusaders followed? Technically Baldwin I was the first king, though the second Latin ruler of Jerusalem, and it would therefore seem somewhat early to speak of local "customs" governing procedure at royal funerals.

[7] Reference to an "ancient" law of hereditary succession likewise presents difficulties. Doubtless there was a natural tendency to accept hereditary succession, but circumstances had already interfered and were to interfere again in any easy acceptance of the hereditary principle (see J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,* 1100–1291, pp. 8–35 *passim*).

[8] William here recognizes the potent force of circumstances in the modification of legal arrangements, though his preference is that of a lawyer, for the law.

I have already mentioned that Joscelin was a man of very great influence in the kingdom. He had already sounded the mind of the patriarch and found it favorable to his own views. He therefore put an end to the wavering of factions and the hesitancy about voting by siding with those who wished a king to be appointed at once. He said, "The count of Edessa is present. He is a just man and greatly revered—a kinsman of the king, energetic, valiant in battle, and estimable in every respect. No land or province could furnish a better man. It is far wiser to take him for our king than to wait for dangerous uncertainties."

There were many who believed that the words of Lord Joscelin were spoken with sincere honesty, for they were well aware of the treatment which he had recently endured from the count, a matter which has already been described. The words of the proverb, "All praise from an enemy is true," also recurred to their minds. Accordingly, not knowing that his real purpose was far different, they had confidence in his words and agreed with him. But, as has been said, his action was taken with a different end in view. For it was with the hope that he himself might succeed to the county of Edessa in the future that he was endeavoring to place the count on the throne.[9]

Since the Patriarch Arnulf and Lord Joscelin had adopted this idea, the rest were easily led to take the same view. Baldwin was accordingly elected king by the wishes and unanimous consent of all. On the day of the Holy Resurrection, which occurred soon after, he was solemnly anointed and consecrated according to custom. The royal insignia of the diadem was then bestowed upon him.[10] Whatever may have been the purpose of the patriarch or of Lord Joscelin in this matter, God in His mercy turned the result into good. For led by the grace of God, Baldwin showed himself a just man, pious and God-fearing. In everything that he undertook he was successful.

Nevertheless his introduction to the kingship seems to have been somewhat irregular, and it is a fact that those who promoted him fraudulently excluded the legitimate heir to the realm from the rightful succession. For on the death of the king some of the great nobles had been sent to offer the throne by a common edict to Eustace, count

[9] This motive was doubtless inferred from the later outcome. This is an early instance of William's interest in probing the motives of men.

[10] The impression that Baldwin was crowned on this occasion is wrong. The coronation was solemnized at Bethlehem more than a year later (see chap. 12).

of Boulogne, brother of the illustrious Duke Godfrey and of King Baldwin. Whether this was done in accordance with the king's last wish or by the general advice of the princes of the realm we have not been able to ascertain definitely. The envoys visited Eustace and, by bringing forward legitimate reasons why it was his duty to consent, induced him to go with them as far as Apulia. This he did most reluctantly and unwillingly. He was a devout and God-fearing man, the true brother and emulator of these great men and their successor in virtues and honorable worth.

On reaching Apulia, this venerable man learned that, in the interval, his kinsman Baldwin, the count of Edessa, had been made king of Jerusalem. The envoys who had been sent to conduct him to the kingdom insisted that he should nonetheless proceed. They declared that the action which had been taken was contrary to law both human and divine. It was against the most ancient rule of hereditary succession and could by no means stand.[11] The venerable man filled with the spirit of God is said to have replied, "Far be it from me that through any action of mine strife should enter into that kingdom of the Lord which has received peace through the blood of Christ, that kingdom for whose tranquillity my brothers, those noble men of immortal memory, rendered up their splendid lives to heaven."

So the baggage was rearranged and his escort assembled. Then notwithstanding all the efforts of the envoys to induce him to go to the kingdom, he returned to his own land.

4. *Concerning the appearance, manners, and conversation of this king.*

[The new king] is said to have been tall of stature, of striking appearance and agreeable features.[12] His thin blond hair was streaked with white. His beard, though thin, reached to his breast; his complexion

[11] The story of the embassy to Eustace and his journey to Apulia is not mentioned by Fulcher. Any such embassy must have known of the selection of Baldwin du Bourg before it left Jerusalem. Hagenmeyer believes, however, that the postponed coronation of Baldwin II indicates that the arrangement of 1118 was considered temporary, subject to the decision of Eustace. In that event the only improbability of William's account would be the journey of Eustace to Apulia. (See H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 615, note 8.)

[12] The dependence upon hearsay for this description of Baldwin II is an important item in confirming the date of William's birth as not long before Baldwin's death, at least not long enough before that time to have permitted him a personal view of this king.

was vivid and ruddy for his time of life. He was an expert in the use of arms and very skilful in the management of horses. He had had much experience in the art of war and was wise in governing his men and successful in his campaigns. He was kind and merciful, given to benevolent works—a religious and God-fearing man, so constant in prayer that he had callouses on his hands and knees from frequent religious exercise and constant kneeling. Although elderly, he was indefatigable when the affairs of the kingdom called him.

After he had attained the throne, he was troubled about the county of Edessa, which had been left without a ruler. He called his relative, Joscelin, for he desired voluntarily to make full amends for the wrong he had once done him, and gave the county into his charge as to one who knew the country well. As soon as Joscelin had taken the oath of fealty he was invested with the standard and put in possession of Edessa.[13]

Baldwin then sent for his wife and daughters and all his household from Edessa. Through the assiduous care of Joscelin they soon reached him in safety. His wife, Morfia, was the daughter of a Greek nobleman named Gabriel, of whom we have spoken above.[14] He had married her while he was count and received with her as dowry a large sum of money. She had borne him three daughters: Melisend, Alice, and Hodierna. A fourth daughter named Iveta was born after he became king.

Baldwin was consecrated and crowned king in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1118, on the second day of the month of April.[15] Pope Gelasius II was at that time presiding over the holy Roman church; Bernard, the first patriarch of the Latins in Antioch, was ruling there; and over the holy church at Jerusalem was Arnulf, the fourth Latin patriarch in that city.

[13] The feudal dependence of Edessa upon Jerusalem is thus personal rather than organic. It is not clear whether the grant of Edessa to Joscelin occurred in 1118 or 1119.

[14] See Book X, chap. 24, where Gabriel is more correctly described as an Armenian of Greek faith.

[15] This date of Baldwin's accession, but not coronation, is given by Fulcher as Easter Day, which was April 14, 1118, not April 2.

5. *Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, dies. Pope Paschal and the countess of Sicily, who had once been the queen of Jerusalem, also depart from this life.*

About this same time, Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, the worst persecutor of the Latins, was removed from the affairs of this world. He was succeeded by his son John. This emperor was much more humane than his father had been, and, as his worth deserved, was far more acceptable to our people. His attitude toward the Latins was not entirely sincere, however, as the following pages will show.[16]

Paschal, the Roman pope, also went the way of all flesh, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate. He was succeeded by Gelasius, also called John Gaetanus, chancellor of the holy Roman church.

There died also the Lady Adelaide, countess of Sicily, once the wife in fact though not in law of the above-mentioned King Baldwin.[17]

6. *The Egyptian army with both land and naval forces enters the kingdom. The king marches to meet it with his troops, but no engagement results. Arnulf, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. Gormond is chosen in his stead.*

In the summer of the same year, the prince of Egypt then reigning [18] gathered out of all the territories of Egypt a great number of soldiers, both cavalry and infantry. He proposed to enter our kingdom by force with both land and naval armies. For he thought it would be an easy matter either to destroy by the sword so small a people or to defeat them and drive them as fugitives from the entire land of Syria. So with a large body of knights and a countless host of infantry trained to throw the javelin he crossed the great desert which lies between us and Egypt and encamped before Ascalon.

Tughtigin, king of Damascus, had already learned that the Egyptians were coming.[19] Either on his own initiative or at their invitation, he too had assembled a large army. He followed unfrequented routes, in order not to encounter our army, crossed the Jordan, and joined the

[16] Alexius died August 15, 1118. His son John II, 1118–1143, is mentioned frequently, especially in Books XIV and XV.

[17] See Book XI, chaps. 15, 21, 29.

[18] Al-Afdal still controlled the policies of Egypt.

[19] See Book XI, note 84.

camp of the Egyptians. By reinforcing their strength he hoped to injure us.

Some of the ships anchored at Ascalon and others went to Tyre, for that was a strongly fortified city with a commodious harbor. There they awaited orders as to the pleasure of their lord and the will of the commander of the fleet. The king of Jerusalem, however, had long ago foreseen their coming. He had already summoned auxiliary troops from the lands of Antioch and Tripoli and had concentrated his own forces at a place in the plain of the Philistines. He now went forth to meet the enemy. He passed the place which was formerly called Azot, where one of the five cities of the Philistines is known to have been situated, and encamped near the Egyptians. The two armies were so close together that each could watch the camp of its foe from day to day.

A delay of almost three months followed during which both sides hesitated to attack. The Christians feared that it would be rash to rouse so vast an army against them. The enemy, on the other hand, dreaded the reputed daring and strength of our soldiers and their experience in battle. At length, the Egyptian leader decided that it would be wiser to return home in safety rather than to expose himself and his men to the uncertain chances of battle. The expedition, therefore, returned to Egypt, and since there was no reason to suspect a sudden return, our people took leave of the king and gladly returned to their homes.

About this time, Arnulf, patriarch of Jerusalem, died. He was a man of most troublesome disposition, careless of the sacred responsibilities of his office.[20] In his stead was appointed Gormond, a straightforward, God-fearing man. He belonged to the Frankish nation and came from the town of Pecquigny, in the bishopric of Amiens. During the days of this man and, indeed, through his merits, as most people believed, the Lord deigned to accomplish many splendid works for the consolation and increase of the kingdom. These will be related in the following chapters of the present work.

7. *The military order of the Temple is established at Jerusalem.*

In this same year, certain pious and God-fearing nobles of knightly rank, devoted to the Lord, professed the wish to live perpetually in poverty, chastity, and obedience. In the hands of the patriarch they

[20] Arnulf died April 28, 1118. William's condemnation is unrelenting.

vowed themselves to the service of God as regular canons. Foremost and most distinguished among these men were the venerable Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de St. Omer. Since they had neither a church nor a fixed place of abode, the king granted them a temporary dwelling place in his own palace, on the north side by the Temple of the Lord. Under certain definite conditions, the canons of the Temple of the Lord also gave them a square belonging to the canons near the same palace where the new order might exercise the duties of its religion.[21]

The king and his nobles, as well as the patriarch and the prelates of the churches, also provided from their own holdings certain benefices, the income of which was to provide these knights with food and clothing. Some of these gifts were for a limited time, others in perpetuity. The main duty of this order—that which was enjoined upon them by the patriarch and the other bishops for the remission of sins—was, "that, as far as their strength permitted, they should keep the roads and highways safe from the menace of robbers and highwaymen, with especial regard for the protection of pilgrims."

Nine years after the founding of this order the knights were still in secular garb. They wore such garments as the people, for the salvation of their souls, bestowed upon them. During this ninth year, a council was held at Troyes in France. There were present the archbishops of Rheims and Sens, with their suffragans; the bishop of Albano, the pope's legate; the abbots of Citeaux, Clairvaux, Potigny; and many others. At this council, by order of Pope Honorius and of Stephen, patriarch of Jerusalem, a rule was drawn up for this order and a habit of white assigned them.[22]

Although the Templars had been established for nine years, they

[21] This essay on the founding of the Templars is William's own and not derived from any earlier chronicle. As this history has already abundantly demonstrated, the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem and to the other famous shrines used by the pilgrims were peculiarly hazardous during the years of Godfrey and Baldwin, who had scarcely enough troops to garrison the few towns held by the Latins. The barren hills, rocks, caverns, and valleys afforded perfect shelter to marauding Arabs, who pounced upon small bands of pilgrims. It was this condition which the small band of knights sought to correct.

[22] The real importance of the order, which was too insignificant to be noticed even by Fulcher, who lived in Jerusalem and wrote before 1127, began with the council of Troyes in 1128. Here they were given an authorized rule and international approval. Bernard of Clairvaux, the most eloquent man of the time, became their peculiar sponsor. In that year Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de St. Omer were able to recruit many knights for the order, some temporarily, others permanently.

were as yet only nine in number. After this period, however, they began to increase, and their possessions multiplied. It was in the time of Pope Eugenius, it is said, that they began to sew on their mantles crosses of red cloth, that they might be distinguished from others. Not only the knights, but also the inferior brothers called sergeants, wore this sign. The Templars prospered so greatly that today there are in the order about three hundred knights who wear the white mantle and, in addition, an almost countless number of lesser brothers.[23]

They are said to have vast possessions, both on this side of the sea and beyond. There is not a province in the Christian world today which does not bestow some part of its possessions upon these brethren, and their property is reported to be equal to the riches of kings. They are called Brethren of the Soldiery of the Temple, because, as we have said, they had their residence in the royal palace near the Temple of the Lord.[24]

For a long time they kept intact their noble purpose and carried out their profession wisely enough. At length, however, they began to neglect "humility, the guardian of all the virtues, which, voluntarily sitting in the lowest place, runs no risk of a fall." They withdrew from the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom they had received the establishment of their order and their first privileges, and refused him the obedience which their predecessors had shown him. To the churches of God also they became very troublesome, for they drew away from

[23] The white robe was adopted as the official garb of the Knights Templars not long after the council of Troyes, probably determined by the garb of the Cistercians whose leader, Bernard of Clairvaux, was so deeply interested in the order. The red cross was adopted later as a distinctive sign. The order soon developed a number of grades of membership. Besides the knights there were mounted sergeants and numerous foot soldiers. The order acquired the right to have its own chaplains. The accumulation of properties necessitated business managers as well as a peasantry employed by them. Many nobles sought merit by serving as Templars for a limited time. Others sought affiliation when on the point of death. Only the knights were privileged to wear both the white mantle and the red cross. The cross, however, was worn by several classes of its members.

[24] Some impression of the rapid spread of the order is afforded by the records in England, then a remote region (see Beatrice A. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century, passim*). Most of the records of the Templars were lost when the order was abolished in the fourteenth century. There is no recent comprehensive scholarly history of the Templars in English. The two works by Prutz still remain the most serviceable (Hans Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens, passim,* and, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden; ihre Stellung zur kirchlichen, politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Mittelalters, passim*).

them their tithes and first fruits and unjustly disturbed their possessions.[25]

8. *Pope Gelasius dies. He is succeeded by Calixtus.*

IN the following year, Pope Gelasius, also called John Gaetanus, died. He was a learned man, the successor of Pope Paschal.[26] To avoid violence, Gelasius had fled from the persecution of Emperor Henry and of Burdinus, the antipope, his own rival, and had retired to the kingdom of the Franks. There he ended his days and was buried at Cluny. He was succeeded by Guido, archbishop of Vienne, a nobleman according to the flesh. After Guido assumed the dignity of pope he was called Calixtus. He was a kinsman of Emperor Henry and high in his favor. Later, relying upon the emperor's countenance and aid, Calixtus went down into Italy with the cardinals and all his court. At Sutrium, near the city of Rome, he laid violent hands on his rival, the heresiarch Burdinus.[27] He ordered him to be clad in a bearskin, placed on a camel, and conducted ignominiously to a monastery at Cani, near Salerno. There, to extreme old age, he was forced to lead the monastic life in accordance with the rule of that place.

And thus ended the schism which for thirty years had troubled the church. It had lasted without intermission from the time of Gregory VII through the pontificates of Urban, Paschal, and Gelasius, the predecessors of Calixtus. For many years Emperor Henry had been cut off from the company of the faithful by the sentence of excommunication. Now he was restored to the fold of the church.[28]

[25] It is uncertain whether William included this final paragraph in his original sketch or added it later. His own difficulties with the Templars came to a head at the Lateran Council of 1179, where he led the attack upon their special privileges with relation to the secular hierarchy. Lundgreen, who has examined all of William's references to the Templars, concludes that William was definitely prejudiced against them because of their extreme independence from local authority (see F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, passim*).

[26] John of Gaeta, probably a member of the noble family of the Gaetani, had been chancellor of the papal court. It is of interest to note that William accords him unqualified praise for his learning, a compliment which he uses very sparingly.

[27] Calixtus II, 1119–1124, was the son of William of Burgundy and therefore widely related to the ruling families. He had been archbishop of Vienne. Burdinus, archbishop of Braga, had lent himself to the purposes of Henry V and accepted election as antipope with the title of Gregory VIII. He had crowned Henry V as emperor.

[28] William's knowledge of German affairs is relatively vague. He regularly confuses Henry IV and Henry V as here. The Investiture Struggle may be said to

9. *Gazi, a powerful Turkish satrap, invades the land of Antioch with a great host. He devastates the country far and wide.*

In that same year, Gazi [Il-Ghazi],[29] a powerful infidel prince, lord of that wretched and perfidious race, the Turkomans, and a ruler greatly feared among his own people, invaded the country around Antioch. With a large host of his subjects, he encamped near Aleppo. With him were Tughtigin, king of Damascus, and Dabais [Dubais], a most powerful Arabian satrap, who with their numerous forces had joined his army.

Roger, prince of Antioch, who had married the king's sister, had been forewarned that they were coming. He sent word of the danger which threatened him to the neighboring lords, Joscelin, count of Edessa, and Pons, count of Tripoli, and even to the king himself. Most urgently he besought them that they would not delay to come to his assistance in this pressing emergency.

The king straightway assembled from his kingdom all the troops that he could command on so sudden a call and proceeded by forced marches to Tripoli. There he found the count equally ready to set forth. They joined forces and pursued the rest of the march together.

In the meantime, the prince, like most mortals, chafed under delay. Ignorant of what the future had in store, he had already left Antioch and encamped before the stronghold of Artasium. This place was fairly well adapted for supporting an army, for there was free and easy access from our land to the army. Hence there was a great abundance of all necessities on this campaign as well as the many desirable conveniences which are usually found only in cities. Here the prince remained for several days, to await the arrival of the king and the count. Then, notwithstanding the prohibition of the patriarch who had followed him hither and the reluctance of some of his chiefs also, he ordered the army to advance. He declared stoutly that he would wait no longer. He was urged to this course by some of the nobles of that region, not that they desired to improve the condition of the army, but

have begun in 1075 and continued to 1122. Henry V succeeded his father in 1106. Neither the excommunication of the kings nor the maintenance of antipopes was continuous through all that time. The most convenient brief account of the struggle is that of E. Emerton, *Mediaeval Europe (814–1300)*, chap. viii. See also M. Manitius, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern, 911–1125*.

[29] Il-Ghazi (Gazi), son of Ortuq, had been joint ruler of Jerusalem with his brother Sukman when that city was lost to the Egyptians in 1098. Thereafter he transferred his activities to northern Syria. He became ruler of Aleppo in 1118.

that its presence might protect their own lands, which lay near the enemy's camp.

The prince followed their advice. He left the place where he had first encamped and plunged himself and his army headlong into destruction. He ordered the camp to be made in a place called the Field of Blood. On numbering the army there, it was found that he had seven hundred knights and three thousand trained infantry. In addition there were traders who were following the army to buy and sell their wares.[30]

When the enemy perceived that the prince had established his camp near them, they broke their own camp and pretended to lead their forces against the stronghold of Cerep.[31] By this maneuver, they thought their real plan might more easily be carried into effect. They arrived at their destination and encamped near by, since it was too late to accomplish anything that night.

In the morning the prince sent out scouts. He wished to know whether the enemy intended to attack the place at once or would hasten to the camp to engage our forces. He drew up his men in battle array, however, in anticipation of an immediate battle. He was thus engaged when the scouts came flying back with the report that the enemy in three divisions of twenty thousand each was approaching our army at a rapid march.[32] The prince immediately arranged his forces in four divisions. He then made the rounds of his reorganized lines and, as he galloped about, cheered his men with encouraging words. He was still busily engaged in this manner when the enemy's host with standards flying advanced very near to our troops. The battle began immediately. Both sides fought valiantly, but, because of our sins, our adversaries came off victorious.

The companies commanded by the noble and valiant leaders, Geoffrey the Monk and Guy de Fremelle,[33] were ordered to advance first against the foe. They marched forward in good order, according to military discipline. They broke up the larger forces of the foe and their

[30] The most complete account of this campaign was written by Walter, chancellor of Antioch. William's account is chiefly an abbreviation of this, though he likewise drew upon Fulcher (see H. Hagenmeyer, ed. *Galterii Cancellarii bella Antiochena*, pp. 47, 78–115).

[31] Cerep, Cerepum, modern Athsareb.

[32] These numbers of the foe are extravagant. The numbers of the Christian army, which was large, are more accurate.

[33] Guy has been identified as probably from la Ferté-Fresuel in Normandy. Little is known of either of these lieutenant commanders (see *H. Galt.* pp. 193, 233).

denser formation and nearly succeeded in putting them to flight. The next division was led by Robert of St. Lô.[34] This, according to the example set by the first contingent, should have followed up the attack even more vigorously. Most shamefully, however, it stopped short as the enemy regained strength. Then in headlong flight it broke through the center of the prince's company, which was about to carry aid to the other divisions, and swept along with it a part of that force in such fashion as to make recall impossible.

An event worthy of mention happened during this battle. In the midst of the combat, while both sides were fighting furiously, a terrible whirlwind came forth out of the north. Before the eyes of all, it clung to the ground in the very center of the battleground. As it writhed along, it swept with it such clouds of dust that the men of both armies were blinded and could not fight. Then it soared aloft in circles, bearing a close resemblance to a huge jar ablaze with sulphurous flames. Because of this unlucky occurrence the enemy won the victory. The Christians were defeated and nearly all of our soldiers fell by the sword.

10. *Prince Roger falls in battle. Our army is defeated.*

MEANWHILE, the prince was vainly striving to recall his forces. He himself, attended by a few of his retinue, was fighting manfully, like a valiant warrior, in the midst of the foe. But while he was in the very act of launching an attack against the superior forces of the foe, he received a sword thrust which killed him. The rest of our people who had been left with the baggage and impedimenta had fled to a hill near by. The fugitives who had escaped the enemy's weapons and freed themselves from the thick of the fight caught sight of their comrades huddled together on the top of this hill and made frantic efforts to reach them. They hoped that this band might be strong enough to make a resistance and that, in their company, they too might be saved. Scarcely had they reached the place, however, when the infidels, having completed the butchery in the camp, turned their attention to this company. Their cohorts were dispatched thither, and within an hour all had been slain.

Rainald Mansour [Renaud Masoier],[35] one of the great men of

[34] Robert of St. Lô had been prominent in the affairs of Antioch for some years and was noted for his generosity to religious establishments (see *H. Galt.* p. 234).

[35] This Renaud Masoier was probably the constable of Antioch at this time.

that region, with other nobles had sought safety in a tower belonging to the neighboring city of Sarmata. As soon as Il-Ghazi learned this, he hastened thither and by force of arms compelled the nobles gathered therein to surrender. Thus, because of our sins, scarcely a man of the many thousands who had followed their lord that day escaped to tell the story. On the other hand, few or none of the foe were slain.

This same Prince Roger had a very unsavory reputation. Rumor said that he was a common libertine who had no respect for the marriage tie. He was parsimonious also. During all the time that he had held possession of Antioch, he was usurping the paternal inheritance of his lord, the younger Bohemond, son of the elder Bohemond, who was then living with his mother in Apulia. For Tancred of happy memory, when on his deathbed, had entrusted the government to Roger, with the understanding that, at the demand of Bohemond or his heirs, he should not refuse to return it. It is said, however, that before the battle in which he died by the sword, he confessed his sins before God with a humble and contrite heart to the venerable Peter, archbishop of Apamea, who was present at that critical time. Moreover, he promised, with the help of God, to bring forth fruit worthy of repentance. And thus, truly penitent, he entered upon the chances of battle.[36]

11. *The king and the count of Tripoli march to Antioch to resist Il-Ghazi.*

In the meantime, the king and the count of Tripoli had arrived at the place called Mount Nigra. As soon as Il-Ghazi learned this, he sent against them ten thousand picked knights to hinder their advance. This contingent was divided into three bands. The first proceeded toward the coast to the Port of St. Simeon. The other two advanced against the king by different routes. But Baldwin chanced to fall in with one of these latter bands. Led by the mercy of God, he attacked it, killed many, took some prisoners, and put the rest to flight. He then marched on through Latorres and Casabelle [37] and came to Antioch, where he was received with great joy by the patriarch, the clergy, and all the

[36] These accusations are, according to Hagenmeyer, not merely conventional charges to account for the disastrous defeat but rest upon a more substantial basis. William has added the account of Roger's final repentance which Fulcher omitted (see *H.F.*, p. 623, note 14). The date of Roger's death was June 28, 1119.

[37] These places have not been clearly identified. Cassambella is mentioned by Walter the Chancellor (*H. Galt.*, IX, 3) and is regarded by Rey as identical with the

people. There he consulted both his own followers and the survivors of the battles just described as to the best course to adopt in so imminent a crisis.

During this time, Il-Ghazi had passed by the towns of Ema and Artasium and laid siege to Cerep.[38] He felt greater confidence in undertaking this project because it was rumored that Alan, the governor, with his knightly following had been called to Antioch by the king.[39] This proved to be the fact. Il-Ghazi approached the place and found it unprepared. Sappers were therefore immediately sent in from different directions to undermine the hill on which the fortress stood. The supporting beams were then to be set on fire and when the mound on which the walls and towers rested gave way, the stronghold would fall. Terrified lest the entire citadel might collapse when the hill had been undermined, the garrison surrendered on condition that their lives and safety be assured and that they be permitted to return without hindrance to their own people.

Il-Ghazi then led his army to the fortress of Sardona and commenced siege operations there. Within a few days, it too was surrendered by the inhabitants on the same terms. The prince was convinced that no one could resist him; therefore, impatient of delay, he treated the entire region according to his own pleasure. Thus the people of the neighboring places lost all hope of escaping the yoke of so powerful a lord.

12. *The king and the count engage in battle with Il-Ghazi. The infidel army is defeated and routed with great slaughter. The principality is put under the care of the king.*

WITH all the forces that could be mustered, the king and the count of Tripoli set out from Antioch. They directed their march toward Rugia, for they thought to find the enemy near Cerep. They passed through Hab and encamped on a hill called Danit.[40] As soon as information of

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modern Kassab. Latorres or Lator is regarded as a fief located near by (see E. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie aux XIIme et XIIIme siècles*, p. 343).

[38] Ema has not been identified. It obviously is not identical with Emesa or Hims which lay far to the south (see *H. Galt.*, p. 269, note 27).

[39] Alan was governor of the castle of Cerep. The king apparently assumed command of the remaining forces in the principality and summoned most of them to join him.

[40] Identified as modern Tell Danit, memorable as the scene of the battle which followed.

this reached Il-Ghazi, he summoned his chiefs. Under threat of death, he commanded them to forego sleep and to devote the entire night to procuring arms and horses. After the most careful preparations, they were to fall upon the king's camp at daybreak before it was light and thus surprise his men while asleep. All must be put to the sword. Not a single man must be allowed to escape.

But divine mercy had ordained far otherwise. The king and his men in no wise relaxed their diligence but passed a sleepless night, busily engaged in arranging the necessary details for the coming battle. Ebremar, the venerable archbishop of Caesarea who had followed the king into those parts with the Cross of the Lord, preached a sermon of admonition and encouragement to the people. Thus armed and prepared to engage in battle with good courage, they were awaiting the attack of the foe at break of day.

The king is said to have had seven hundred knights in that battle.[41] By his order, they were drawn up in nine battalions, according to military rule, and thus stationed in their proper ranks, they waited for the mercy of the Lord. Three battalions were sent ahead to form the vanguard. The infantry forces were placed in the center, while the count of Tripoli with his troops held the right wing and the barons of Antioch the left. The king himself with four battalions brought up the rear. This division was to act as a support to the rest.

Even as they stood thus in battle formation awaiting the enemy's approach, the foe fell upon them. With loud shouts, with blare of trumpets and roll of drums, the infidels rushed forward furiously upon the Christians. Their supreme reliance was in their countless numbers; but our strength was in the presence of the Ever-victorious Cross and in the confession of true faith—a far more reliable and unfailing hope.

Then the closely serried ranks met in bitter combat and a hand-to-hand battle with swords ensued. With scornful disregard of the laws of humanity, with burning zeal and insatiable hatred, both sides fought as if against wild beasts.[42]

[41] There is general agreement as to the approximate number of knights in the Christian army, but William seems to have refused to accept the number of twenty thousand for the enemy, though he does accept four thousand as the number of the enemy slain.

[42] Il-Ghazi was notoriously cruel, especially in his treatment of prisoners, whom he sometimes, with drunken, sadistic delight, caused to be tortured and killed before his own eyes.

The infidels perceived that the courageous daring of our infantry corps threatened great danger to their forces. They therefore put forth heroic efforts to annihilate them. The result was that on that day, God permitting, large numbers of our foot soldiers perished by the sword of the enemy.

The king soon observed that the infantry forces were being tried beyond their strength and that the vanguard also needed help. He at once galloped with his escort in close attendance straight into the center of the host. Striking fiercely about him with his sword, he broke up the enemy's lines where they were most closely massed together. His comrades in the ranks followed him loyally. Inspired to strength and courage by his words and example, these and others who had erstwhile lost courage fell as with one thought upon the enemy. They cried to heaven for aid, and divine mercy attended them. Great was the slaughter wrought upon the enemy, while the survivors, unable to resist, were put to flight.

About seven hundred of our foot soldiers and one hundred knights are said to have fallen in that battle. The loss of the enemy was about four thousand, in addition to the numbers mortally wounded or captured. Il-Ghazi abandoned his troops to death and fled with Tughtigin, king of Damascus, and Dubais, the prince of the Arabians. The Christians continued the pursuit in various directions. Baldwin himself with a few knights remained on the field during the first part of the night, but finally he was forced by need of food to retire to the neighboring castle of Hab, for the purpose of taking refreshment. On his return to the field in the morning, he dispatched messengers to his sister and the patriarch. They bore the king's own ring as the sure token of victory and were bidden to announce that, by divine help, the blessing of success had been granted to him from on high.[43] Baldwin did not leave the field that day until midnight, when a reliable report was brought that the infidels had disbanded their forces and would not return. He then assembled all the troops possible at the moment and marched to Antioch, bearing the palm of victory. There he was welcomed by the patriarch with all the clergy and the people of the city.

This victory was granted to the Christians by divine favor, in the

[43] The use of the ring as a means of identification is frequently mentioned, though the half ring so common in the romantic literature does not occur in William's account. His sister was the widow of Roger, and the patriarch here indicated is Bernard of Antioch.

year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1120 and the second year of the reign of King Baldwin II. It took place in the month of August, on the eve of the assumption of the blessed Mary, the Mother of God.[44]

The king sent the Life-giving Cross back to Jerusalem in charge of the archbishop of Caesarea and a noble escort, that upon the day of its exaltation, it might be honorably welcomed by the clergy and the people, to the accompaniment of hymns and spiritual songs.[45] He himself, because of the urgent needs of the country, was obliged to remain at Antioch.

By the unanimous wish and hearty consent of all, the patriarch and all the chief men, together with the clergy and the people, committed to the king the care of the principality of Antioch with unlimited power. He was given a free hand there just as in the kingdom to institute and remove, and to manage everything according to his own will.[46] Accordingly, he bestowed the goods of those who had fallen in battle upon their children or more distant blood relations, as reason or the custom of the land demanded. He provided widows with worthy husbands, of stations equal to their own.[47] Wherever it seemed necessary, he equipped fortresses with men, food, and arms. He then took leave of them for a time and returned to the kingdom. There, upon the solemn birthday of the Lord, he was crowned in the church at Bethlehem together with his wife.

13. *A council is held at Nablus in Samaria.*

In the same year, 1120 of the Incarnation of the Lord, the kingdom of Jerusalem, because of our sins, was afflicted with many troubles. In addition to the injury caused by the enemy, swarms of locusts fell upon the land, and a scourge of devouring mice, for four successive years, so completely destroyed the crops that it seemed as if the whole world would lack bread. Consequently, Gormond, the patriarch of Jerusalem, a devout and religious man, went to Nablus, a city of Sa-

[44] The date of the battle was August 14, 1119. William is in error as to the year.

[45] The celebration of the return of the Cross, commemorating its return from Persia in 629, took place annually at Jerusalem on September 14.

[46] The legal terminology here, as in so many other cases, reflects the language of Roman law.

[47] It must have been difficult, after the two severe battles of that year, to find men of comparable rank. Fiefs were evidently transmitted through the wives, but fighting husbands appear to have been essential. Doubtless men of lesser rank were elevated by marriage with such heiresses.

maria, where he was joined by King Baldwin, the prelates of the church, and the nobles of the realm. A public meeting and general assembly was called at which Gormond preached an admonitory sermon to the people.[48] Since it was evident to all that the sins of the people had provoked God to wrath, it was decided by common consent that they must amend their wrongdoing and restrain their excesses. When they had turned thus to the fruit of a better life and made due reparation for their ill deeds, they hoped that He who does not desire the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn again and live, would become reconciled to them.[49]

Thus, terrified by threatening signs from heaven, by earthquakes and disasters, and at the same time hard pressed by famine and exhausted by the almost daily attacks of the enemy, they sought to conciliate God by works of piety. To raise the standard of morals and maintain discipline, they established, by common consent, twenty-five articles with the force of law. Any one who desires to read these articles may easily find them in the archives of many churches.

There were present at this council: Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem; Baldwin, the second Latin king of Jerusalem; Ebremar, archbishop of Caesarea; Bernard, bishop of Nazareth; Aschetinus, bishop of Bethlehem; Roger, bishop of Lydda; Gilduin, abbot-elect of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; Peter, abbot of Mt. Tabor; Achard, prior of the Temple; Arnold, prior of Mt. Sion; Gerard, prior of the Sepulchre of the Lord; Payens, the king's chancellor; Eustace Grenier; William de Bury; Barison, constable of Jaffa; Baldwin of Ramlah; and many others of both orders, whose number and names we do not possess.

14. *Il-Ghazi makes another campaign and again invades the land of Antioch. The king marches out against him. Il-Ghazi is stricken with apoplexy and dies.*

IL-GHAZI was a determined and unwearied persecutor of the Christian faith and name. Like a gnawing worm he was ever seeking whom he might injure. In the following year, he mustered his forces and took advantage of the king's absence to besiege some of our fortresses.

[48] William is here supplementing his sources with material from the archives. The plague of mice was mentioned by Fulcher in the year 1117. Locusts were, of course, an intermittent affliction of the region, as they still are today.

[49] Ez. 33:11.

When this became known, an urgent appeal was sent to the king. Always ready to respond, Baldwin took the Cross of the Lord and, with a noble retinue of knights, made haste thither. He summoned Joscelin, count of Edessa, and the two lords, associating themselves with the chief men of Antioch, marched against the strong castle just mentioned.[50] They had expected to engage in battle immediately on arriving at their destination. But it happened that the hand of God had touched Il-Ghazi with apoplexy, and the leaders of his army, deprived of the assistance of their chief, with sane judgment prudently declined an engagement. Bearing their nearly lifeless lord upon a litter, they hurried to Aleppo. But Il-Ghazi, doomed to suffer the eternal fires, is said to have breathed forth his wretched spirit before they reached that place.

The king remained for a time at Antioch to attend to necessary matters. Then, by the will of God, he returned in safety to the kingdom. He was beloved by all and acceptable both to the realm and the principality. Faithfully and devotedly he administered the affairs of both kingdom and principality, although the two were a long distance apart. Nor could it easily be discerned for which land he felt the greater solicitude, although the kingdom was his own possession which he could legally hand down to his successors and the principality was merely entrusted to his care. He seemed, in fact, to show more concern for the affairs of Antioch. In the care of this country he continued loyally until the arrival of the younger Bohemond, as will be related in the following pages.[51]

15. *The king grants full liberty to the citizens of Jerusalem and confirms it by his own charter.*

WHILE the king was in Jerusalem at this time, he granted to the citizens of that place a valuable privilege. With pious and princely generosity, he commanded that they should have freedom from the imposts which were formerly demanded from citizens who exported or imported merchandise. This edict he ordered confirmed by a document sealed with the royal seal, that it might be valid forever. Thereafter,

[50] This castle was Sardona. William appears to have been working hastily here, omitting too much of the account of Walter the Chancellor. The date of Il-Ghazi's death was November 3, 1122. The impression given by William that it occurred in 1121 is wrong.

[51] See Book XIII, chap. 21.

no Latin who entered or left the city, whether he brought in or carried out goods, should be compelled to pay anything under any pretext whatever, but was to have the privilege of buying and selling without tax. Moreover, to the Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, and all men of whatever nation, even to the Saracens, he gave the free privilege of carrying into the Holy City without tax wheat, barley, and any kind of pulse. He even remitted the customary tax on weights and measures. By this action, he conciliated the people and gained the good will of the populace. For in kingly fashion and with praiseworthy affection, he seems to have provided for the good of the citizens in two respects. First, he caused the city to be more bountifully supplied with provisions by arranging that they could be brought in from outside without tax; secondly, following the example of his predecessor, he made every effort to increase the population of the city beloved of God.[52]

16. *Tughtigin, king of Damascus, lays waste the land of Tiberias. The king marches against him and destroys the city of Gerasa.*

In the following year, Tughtigin, the treacherous and wicked king of the Damascenes, entered into an alliance with a chieftain of the Arabs, whose forces he joined with his own.[53] Tughtigin had observed that the king was bearing a responsibility far beyond his strength in the care of both countries. Accordingly, he took advantage of this preoccupation and sent troops into our lands in the vicinity of Tiberias. These lands he began to devastate in hostile fashion.

When the king heard of this outrage, he mustered troops from all parts of his kingdom and, in his usual vigorous fashion, hastened thither. Tughtigin, however, had been forewarned of Baldwin's approach and had withdrawn to a distant part of his own realm. For he realized that if the king were at hand he himself could accomplish nothing, nor did he think it safe to risk an engagement.

Meanwhile, the king had led his forces southward and had reached Gerasa, one of the noblest cities of the province of Decapolis. It lay in the tribe of Manassas, near Mt. Galaad, only a few miles distant

[52] See Book XI, chap. 27.

[53] Who this Arab chieftain was is not indicated by any of the sources.

from the Jordan.[54] The city had long lain desolate through fear of war, but, in the year just past, Tughtigin at great expense had caused a fortress of immense hewn stones to be erected in the better-fortified part of this place. This he supplied with provisions and weapons and put it in charge of some of his own trusty people.

Immediately on his arrival, the king attacked the place with great fury. It surrendered on condition that the forty soldiers who had been left there to guard it be allowed to depart uninjured to their own people. This demand was granted. Baldwin then conferred with his advisers as to whether the fortress should be destroyed from the very foundations or kept for the use of the Christians. The opinion was unanimous that it should be completely razed, for it seemed impracticable to maintain it for our use without great expense and constant hardships. Moreover, no one could reach it without incurring extreme danger.

17. *Balak, a powerful Turkish prince, invades the land of Antioch. Count Joscelin is captured. The king also is taken prisoner and falls into Balak's power.*

THUS, by the grace of God, the affairs of the kingdom were progressing in a satisfactory manner. Meanwhile, the enemy of peace and lover of discord was endeavoring to stir up trouble. At the instigation of someone, Pons, the second count of Tripoli, refused to render homage to the king of Jerusalem and impudently declined to give the service which by his oath of fidelity he was bound to pay.[55] The king found it impossible to brook such an injury. Accordingly, he assembled knights and foot soldiers from the entire kingdom and proceeded thither to seek revenge for the wrong done him. Before either party had suffered loss, however, honorable men, beloved of God, intervened, and a suitable peace was again established between the two.

[54] Gerasa, modern Jarash, had been famous in ancient times. The archaeological information was derived by Fulcher from the *Onomasticon* of Jerome and is here repeated by William (see *H.F.*, pp. 644–46). This campaign occurred in July, 1121.

[55] Perhaps this campaign represented an effort by Baldwin II to extend his authority over Tripoli and to make himself real ruler of all the Latin states in Syria. His regency of Antioch together with the personal dependence of Joscelin of Edessa upon him created a favorable opportunity for such a move. The basis of his demand upon Pons was the homage which Bertram had shown to Baldwin I in 1109 (see LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 187 ff.).

The king then went on to Antioch. The people there had again fallen into difficulties and had called on him for help. Balak, a magnificent and powerful Turkish prince, was harassing the entire region by making frequent incursions into that country. He did this with all the more assurance, because, not long before this time, by a sudden attack, he had captured Joscelin, count of Edessa, and Galeran, his kinsman, and thrown them into prison.[56] When he learned that the king himself had arrived, however, he began to show somewhat less activity in his attacks, for he did not desire an encounter with Baldwin. The king had the reputation of being very successful in battle, and Balak knew that it would be difficult for anyone to defeat him. Nevertheless, he roamed about at a distance with his light-armed knights, so that if an opportunity offered, he might accomplish his desire to injure our troops.

So the king with the force which he had brought with him proceeded into the land of the count of Edessa. He hoped to be of some assistance to this people who had been deprived of a leader, and, as he rode about over the country, he investigated conditions with great care. He noted whether the fortresses were well defended, whether there was a sufficient force of both cavalry and infantry and abundant supplies of arms and provisions. As in duty bound, he saw to it that all deficiencies were remedied.

After passing the fortress of Turbessel, he hastened on the way toward Edessa, earnestly engaged in the same task. For he desired to ascertain with equal care the condition of the region beyond the Euphrates and, as far as possible, to improve it in all respects. One night while on the way, he started out with his own private following. Nearly all were somewhat sleepy. With no thought of danger, they were marching along rather incautiously in straggling lines, when suddenly Balak attacked them. He had received intelligence of the march and had laid an ambush. The king's escort was unprepared and heavy with sleep. Thus it chanced that Baldwin himself fell into Balak's hands and was led away captive. Meanwhile, the escort, both in the vanguard and in the rear, fled in different directions, ignorant of the disaster that had befallen their lord. This Balak, so often mentioned, caused the captured king to be bound and cast into the fortress of Quartapiert

[56] Joscelin was captured September 13, 1122. This Balak was one of the Ortuqid dynasty, a nephew of Il-Ghazi (see note 29).

[Kharpart] beyond the Euphrates river. It was here that Count Joscelin and Galeran were also imprisoned, as has been related above.

When news of the king's terrible misfortune reached our leaders in the kingdom, great concern for the welfare of the realm overwhelmed them. As one man, they assembled in conference with the patriarch and the prelates of the church at the city of Acre. Here, by unanimous consent, Eustace Grenier, a wise and prudent man, with great experience in military matters, was appointed as ruler over them.[57] This man, because of his great worth, held by hereditary right two cities in the kingdom, namely Sidon and Caesarea, with all their dependencies. To his care, therefore, was entrusted the responsibility and general administration of the kingdom, until the Dayspring from on High should visit the king and restore him to liberty. When this happened, he would be able once more to preside over the affairs of the realm.

But now let us turn back and resume the account of the king's mishap.

18. *Certain Armenians expose themselves to great danger in an effort to help the king. They seize the fortress in which the prisoners are detained. Count Joscelin is freed.*

After the king and the count had been bound and cast into the above-named fortress, certain Armenians heard that these great chiefs of the Christian faith were being held in captivity there.[58] They resolved to attempt a rescue. Giving no thought to their own danger if their plans should not prove successful, they adopted a novel scheme. Another story is, however, that they came at the call of Count Joscelin and were induced by the hope of a very liberal reward to expose themselves to this danger.

These fifty men, strong and hardy, entered into a loyal compact

[57] Baldwin was captured April 18, 1123. It was circumstances such as this which kept the nobles of Jerusalem reminded of their responsibilities and privileges in the conduct of affairs and prevented both the development of absolute power by the king or hereditary succession. Perhaps the fact that the queen was an Armenian kept the nobles from consulting her wishes in the matter (see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 8–9). Eustace Grenier, who is claimed as a native of Thérouanne in Belgium, may have come with Godfrey's army, though he did not bcome prominent until 1102. He was constable of the kingdom at this time (see *H.F.*, p. 660, note 7).

[58] This incident, which has all the appearance of legend, is supported by Armenian and Arab as well as Latin accounts. The Armenian historian of the period, Matthew of Edessa, gives the number of the Armenians as fifteen, rather than fifty (see Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, p. 100).

and bound themselves together by an oath. Their plan was to go to the castle and try to liberate those distinguished men, at whatever risk to themselves. Disguised in the habit of monks, but carrying daggers under their loose robes, they journeyed to that fortress as though to attend to some business for the monasteries. By words and sighs and mournful looks, they made it appear that they had suffered injury and violence from certain individuals. They declared with tears that they desired to protest to the governor of the place about the treatment they had received, for on him devolved the duty of maintaining good order so that no outrage might occur in that vicinity. Still another story is that they gained admittance into the fortress as merchants selling cheap wares.

When they were finally permitted to enter the place, they drew their swords and cut down all who opposed them. Is it necessary to add more? They gained possession of the citadel, released the king and the count, and fortified the place as well as they could. The king then resolved to send Count Joscelin to bring aid as quickly as possible for the rescue of himself and those companions by whose efforts they had apparently been freed.

When the Turks who lived in the places round about discovered the trick by which the king and his comrades had gained control of the citadel, they seized their arms and hurried thither. They were determined that at least until the arrival of Balak their lord, no one should enter or leave the place. In spite of this, however, and at the risk of exposing himself to the ambuscades of the enemy, Count Joscelin set out immediately. He took with him three companions, two of whom were to accompany him on the journey. If the attempt succeeded, the third was to be sent back to inform the king of the fact. Thus, unknown to those who were blockading the citadel he and his two companions, protected by the mercy of God, started out as had been arranged. The third man was sent back to the citadel. He bore Joscelin's own ring in proof that the enemy's lines had been successfully passed. During Joscelin's absence, the king and the men by whose aid he had been freed applied themselves to strengthening the citadel in every possible way, for they hoped to be able to hold out until the arrival of aid. This they trusted would not be long delayed.

19. *Balak retakes the citadel by force and puts the Armenians to the sword.*

THAT same night, Balak was disturbed by a terrible vision. In a dream he seemed to see Count Joscelin blinding him with his own hands. Panic-stricken, he dispatched emissaries at daybreak to the fortress to cut off Joscelin's head without delay.[59] As these men approached the citadel, however, they perceived that it had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. They retraced their steps, therefore, with all possible speed and informed their lord accurately of all that had taken place there. The prince at once summoned troops from every part and without delay hurried thither. He stationed his forces around the place and blockaded the refugees in the stronghold. He then communicated with the king through intermediaries and solemnly promised that, if the citadel were restored to him without trouble, he would allow Baldwin and all with him to depart without hindrance and would assure them safe conduct to Edessa.

The king, however, felt confidence in the strength of the citadel and hoped that, with the assistance of those who had joined him there, he might be able to hold the place by force until aid arrived. He therefore rejected the offered terms and continued to defend the fortress vigorously. The rejection of his terms greatly angered Balak. He at once summoned workmen and ordered them to prepare the many kinds of machines which are wont to be used in attacking an enemy's citadel. With great vigor he pressed on the work and made skilful use of every ingenious scheme by which he might injure the besieged.

The citadel was built on a hill, the cretaceous nature of which rendered it easily penetrable. Balak perceived that it would be an easy matter to destroy the place by undermining it. Accordingly, he set sappers to work. Their orders were to dig great tunnels in the interior of the hill and shore them up with beams and other material. As soon as the workmen finished digging, fire was applied to combustible material which had been placed inside the tunnels. Then when the supports had burned away, the hill caved in, and a tower which had rested upon it fell with a great crash. Thereupon the king at once surrendered to Balak without conditions, for he feared that the entire citadel might

[59] This story of Balak's vision was circulated very early, for Fulcher, who ceased writing in 1128, includes it in his own account of the death of Balak (see *H.F.*, p. 727).

fall in a similar manner. Satisfied at having obtained the fortress, Balak granted life to the king and his nephew and also to Galeran. He ordered them to be bound and carried off to Haran, a city near Edessa, there to be kept under close guard. But the valiant and faithful Armenians who had exposed themselves to such dangers in order to release the king and their own lord from captivity were delivered over to tortures of various kinds. Some were flayed alive; others sawn asunder; and still others buried alive. Others Balak handed over to his men to serve as targets in archery practice. Yet, though they suffered torture in this world, these men had a sure hope of immortal life; though they were tried in a few things, yet, from another point of view, their reward was great.[60]

20. *Count Joscelin collects a large force for the relief of the king. Alarmed at the untoward disaster which had befallen Baldwin, however, he disbands his forces and sends them back to their own land.*

In constant fear Count Joscelin and his travelling companions proceeded on their way with great caution. They had only a moderate supply of food and two skins [of wine] which they had by chance brought with them. They came at last to the great river Euphrates. Here Joscelin consulted with the companions of his perils as to how he might most easily cross. It was finally decided that the skins should be filled with air and fastened to him by ropes.[61] In this manner, guided by an experienced swimmer on each side, by the will of God, he reached the farther bank safe and sound. Thence with no less danger he continued his journey, barefoot. He was suffering from his unusual exertions and exhausted by hunger, thirst, and weariness; finally, however, by the mercy of God, he reached the famous castle of Turbessel. Burdened by anxiety over the task entrusted to him, he proceeded thence to Antioch, accompanied by a temporary escort, which was necessary for him in view of the exigency. Then, by the advice of the Patriarch Bernard, he went on to Jerusalem. There he explained to the patriarch and the princes of the realm the circumstances of the disaster which had befallen the king and related all the details of the matter. He

[60] Balak's cruel treatment of the Armenians in Kharpart is confirmed by other sources.

[61] This device of using inflated goatskins in crossing the Euphrates was a more or less regular practice of the region and is still used.

begged them to send relief at once, for the king's precarious situation admitted of no delay. Speedy counsel and assistance were needed and that without delay.[62]

As the result of his entreaties, the people of the entire kingdom assembled as one man. Taking the Cross of the Lord upon them, they set forth at once. From the cities through which they passed, they gathered reinforcements to swell their numbers until they reached Antioch. Here they were joined by the fathers and people of that city also, and, under the leadership of the count, they marched on as one body to Turbessel. At this place they received accurate information of all that had happened to the king during the interval. Since it was apparent that to proceed farther would be useless, it was decided by unanimous consent that each and all should return home. But that the campaign might not seem to have been wholly in vain, it was agreed that as the contingents passed by Aleppo, some injury should, if possible, be wrought upon the enemy. All happened according to their plan, for, as they were passing by that city, the citizens issued forth with the intention of fighting. By force of arms, however, the Christians compelled them to retreat to the city, and for four successive days, notwithstanding the efforts of the townspeople, our forces remained before that city.

On the return march, the people from the kingdom separated from the others and proceeded on their way alone. After crossing the Jordan they made a sudden foray into the enemy's country near Scythopolis. Since the people there were entirely unprepared, the Christians fell upon them at once. As a result, many were killed by the sword, and a large number of prisoners, both men and women, were taken. Then, laden with a vast amount of booty and the best of spoils, the Christians returned in joy and exultation to their own country.

21. *The Egyptians with immense forces again enter the kingdom. The Christians meet them with a strong army and defeat them in wondrous wise.*

THE prince of Egypt had good reason to distrust the kingdom of Jerusalem. At this time, because of the king's captivity, a favorable op-

[62] Joscelin's entreaties might well have been treated as commands, for he was in a sense the ranking official of the region.

portunity to invade that realm seemed to present itself.[63] He accordingly ordered auxiliary troops to be summoned from all parts of Egypt and also directed the prefects of the coast cities, whose special duty this was, to make ready the galleys and arm the fleet. All else necessary for naval warfare was to be made ready without delay.

As soon as the seventy galleys were ready, the prince crossed the desert with an immense land army and encamped near Ascalon. Here he remained with his legions while the fleet sailed on to Jaffa and anchored before the city. The naval forces were landed in large numbers and at once began to surround the city on all sides. These kept up a constant succession of skirmishes in hostile fashion for the purpose of annoying the enemy. Since the number of defenders was but small, the besiegers could safely approach near enough to undermine and weaken the wall in many places. If they could have continued the assault on the following day as well, the walls would without question have been battered down, and, as there were but few to resist, the city would have been taken by storm.

Meanwhile, the patriarch, Eustace Grenier, the royal constable, and other great men of the realm had concentrated all the available troops in the plain of Caesarea at a place called Caco. Here the legions were arranged in battle formation and sent on toward Jaffa. When the news of their advance reached the besieging force before the city, the men hastily retreated to the ships, for they feared the coming of our troops. There they rested on their oars ready for action, while they waited to see what would happen to their land forces, which they knew were near the enemy. Meanwhile, the Christians advanced, led by the Cross of the Lord. Armed with faith and aided by the favor of the Lord, they were strong in the hope of victory. With ordered ranks and lines drawn up in military array, they encountered the enemy near a place called Ibelin. The infidels came on with well-arranged cohorts, according to their custom, as if without question they intended to engage the Christians. But when they saw our splendid array and recognized the sure evidence of our courage, they weakened. Though they had advanced like lions, now, more timid than hares, they wished to decline battle, or rather, regretted that they had undertaken it at all.

[63] Al-Afdal was no longer responsible for Egyptian policy. He had been murdered December 11, 1121, according to Qalanisi, who attributed the assassination to the caliph, Amir (see Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 163–64).

Our forces as a whole and including all sorts of common people were said to be about seven thousand. The enemy was reported to have sixteen thousand troops equipped for battle, in addition to those on board the ships serving in the fleet.[64] Yet the Christians were intrepid of spirit and contrite in heart. In the fear of the Lord, they invoked aid from on high and made a furious charge on the foe with their swords. Though in peril of death, for the fighting was at close quarters, they scarcely gave the infidels a chance to breathe.

The Egyptians were amazed at the strength and daring of the Christians. They now witnessed with their own eyes and experienced by the blows rained upon them the truth of the reports which they had heard rumored. Nevertheless they were prepared. Valiantly they strove to resist and to return our blows with like vigor. Both in courage and strength, however, they were wholly unequal to us. Their attempt failed, and they were compelled to flee. Their camp, which was full of all kinds of riches and comforts, was abandoned, and their only thought was to save their lives by flight.

The Christians pursued them eagerly as far as they could and cut down many with the sword so that few of that great multitude escaped either death or captivity. Seven thousand infidels are said to have perished that day.

Our forces then turned back as victors to the enemy's camp. There they found the treasures of the Egyptians, immense quantities of gold and silver, precious utensils of various kinds, pavilions and tents, horses, breastplates, and swords in great abundance. The spoils were divided according to the laws of war, and the troops returned home rich beyond belief.

When the news of the disaster to the land army reached those who were with the fleet, they set sail for Ascalon. This city was still in the power of the Egyptians and would provide a safe harbor for them. Here they received more complete details of the army's defeat.

About this time, Eustace Grenier died. He was a wise and discreet man, who had been placed in charge of the realm during the king's absence. The distinguished William de Bury, lord of Tiberias, a man worthy of praise in every respect, was chosen to fill his place.[65]

[64] The account of this battle is derived from Fulcher, whose numbers are accepted, though still too great. The date of the battle was May 29, 1123.

[65] Eustace Grenier died June 15, 1123. William de Bury had been given the fief

22. *The doge of Venice sails for Syria with a large fleet.*

THE doge of Venice, Dominicus Michaelis [Domenigo Michieli],[66] had learned of the straits in which the kingdom of the East was placed and had ordered a fleet to be made ready. With forty galleys, twenty-eight *chatz,* and four larger ships suitable for carrying baggage, he set sail at this very time for Syria. Some of the great lords of his province accompanied him. On arriving at the island of Cyprus, they learned that the Egyptian fleet, already apprised of their coming, had sailed to the coast of Jaffa in the land of Syria. It was still there and was regarded with much suspicion by the maritime cities. This information led the doge to order an immediate departure, and with his fleet in battle formation he set sail in haste for the shore near Jaffa. Later news arrived presently, however, to the effect that the Egyptian fleet had left Jaffa and retired to the vicinity of Ascalon. Sinister reports concerning the disaster which had befallen their land army in an engagement with the Christians had led them to retreat to a city under their own control. When this information reached the Venetians through their emissaries, the course of the fleet at once turned toward Ascalon. For in case the Egyptian fleet was still there they eagerly hoped to try an engagement with it, and since they were men of much experience and training in such affairs, they arranged their ships in battle formation in the best possible order.

There were in this fleet certain beaked vessels larger than galleys, which were called *chatz.* Each ship was equipped with an hundred oars, for each of which two oarsmen were required. In addition, there were, as we have said, four larger boats for carrying equipment, machines, weapons, and the necessary provisions. These, together with the *chatz,* were placed in front so that if the enemy happened to catch sight of them from a distance, he might take them for merchant ships rather than an enemy's fleet. The galleys followed. In this formation, then,

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of Tiberias when Joscelin was transferred to Edessa in 1119. Little is known of his earlier career (see *H.F.*, p. 675, note 5).

[66] This was Domenigo, son of Michieli, who had commanded the Venetian fleet of 1099. He was doge of Venice from 1117 to 1128. An appeal had been made to the Venetians by Pope Calixtus II in 1121. The appeal from Baldwin II may have come somewhat later. Preparations for the expedition were started in 1121. It sailed for Corfu in the late fall and spent the winter there, moving to Cyprus in the early spring of 1123. The importance of the venture for Venice is indicated by the fact that her ruler and many of the magnates went with the fleet while the government at home was entrusted to lesser men.

the naval force proceeded toward the shore. The sea was very calm, the wind was in their favor, and the enemy's fleet was near at hand. When at length the morning light began to appear and Aurora announced the coming of the day, the Egyptians perceived that the Christian fleet was coming toward them, and as the day grew brighter and brighter, they saw that it was close at hand. Dazed with terror and astonishment, they seized their oars, certain that an engagement was about to take place. With cries and gestures they shouted to the sailors to cut the ropes and pull up the anchors, then to station the rowers and snatch up their weapons.

23. *The doge finds the enemy's fleet near Jaffa. He attacks it furiously. The enemy is forced to retreat. Many galleys remain in the hands of the Christians.*

IN the tumult of confusion and panic, the enemy's order was entirely broken up. At this crisis, a Venetian galley bearing the doge sailed swiftly ahead of the others. By chance this vessel struck the ship which was carrying the commander of the Egyptian fleet. The impact was so violent that the enemy's ship with its oarsmen was almost entirely engulfed in the waves. The other Venetian galleys followed with equal speed, and nearly every one succeeded in overturning one of the enemy's vessels. A desperate battle followed in which each side fought with bitter fury. Terrible was the slaughter. Although it is scarcely credible, those who took part in this conflict insist stoutly that the victors were completely covered with the blood of the slain. For a circuit of two miles around, the adjacent sea became blood red from the bodies thrown therein and from the blood of the slain which flowed from the ships. The shores were so thickly covered with corpses thrown up by the sea that the air was tainted and the surrounding region contracted a plague from the putrefying bodies of the dead.

The fight was carried on at close quarters, for the one side fought with burning zeal and the other strove with equal energy to resist. Finally, however, by the will of God, the Venetians conquered. The enemy turned and fled. Four galleys were taken with as many *chatz* and one immense ship, the commander of which was killed. Thus a victory memorable forever was won.[67]

[67] The description of the fleet and this battle of the first days of June, as well as many other details of the campaign which followed, owe much to William's use of

As soon as this triumph had been granted to our people by divine favor, the doge gave orders to proceed without loss of time in the direction of Egypt. He hoped they might chance to meet some of the enemy's fleet. Accordingly, they sailed along the shore as far as al-Arish (Rhinococura), an ancient maritime city on the edge of the desert. All happened exactly as they wished, and just as if some reliable messenger had informed them of what was to happen. For while they were toiling at the oars in that sea, they caught sight of ten enemy ships not far away. As swiftly as possible the course was directed thither and the ships taken by force at the first encounter. Part of those on board were slain and the rest made prisoners. They were ships laden with merchandise from the Orient, namely, spices and silken stuffs. The division of the spoils, according to their custom, made the Venetians rich indeed. Towing the captured vessels with them, they then directed their course to the city of Acre, where they landed.[68]

24. *The agreement made between the doge of Venice and the barons of the realm in the matter of the siege of Tyre.*

THE news that the doge of Venice had landed on our shores with a naval force and had gloriously triumphed over the enemy soon reached Jerusalem. Accordingly, Gormond, the patriarch of Jerusalem, William de Bury, the royal constable and procurator of the realm, and Payens, the king's chancellor, together with the archbishops, bishops, and other great men of the kingdom sent to him a deputation of wise and honorable men.[69] The envoys carried salutations from the patriarch, the barons, and the people to the doge and the leading men of Venice and to the captains of the army as well. They were to express the joy with which the people of Jerusalem looked forward to the coming of the Venetians and to invite them to make use of all that the realm could offer as though they were citizens of the city. All were ready and eager to treat them with full hospitality as the laws of hu-

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oral sources and archives. (For a detailed account of ship construction and types of ships at this time see Romola and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship*, chap. 6 *passim*.).

[68] The importance of the business side was never lost to sight by the Italian fleets, almost none of the expeditions having been solely military in purpose. William's sympathetic appreciation of commerce is here well illustrated.

[69] The ceremonial here described is such as might grace the arrival of the head of a state.

manity fittingly demanded. The doge desired to visit the holy places, a devout wish conceived many years before; he also longed to converse with the princes who had sent him so cordial an invitation. Accordingly, he left wise and efficient men in charge of the fleet and repaired to Jerusalem, attended by his principal lords. In that city he received a cordial welcome and was treated with the highest honor and distinction. There he celebrated the natal day of our Lord. The princes of the realm earnestly besought him to devote himself for a time to the service of Christ and the advancement of the kingdom. In reply, the doge said that he had come with that purpose especially in view and intended to give himself entirely to that. Since the patriarch and other great lords of the realm were present, it was determined by common consent to attack one of the coast cities, under a definite agreement. It was to be either Tyre or Ascalon, for all the other cities from the river of Egypt as far as Antioch had already, by the grace of God, come under our power.

On this point, however, our wishes were at variance and the matter came near resulting in a dangerous quarrel. The representatives from Jerusalem, Ramlah, Jaffa, Nablus, and the environs of these cities, strove with all their might to direct the campaign against Ascalon. It was nearer and seemed to demand less outlay of labor and money. The people from Acre, Nazareth, Sidon, Beirut, Tiberias, Jubail, and other cities on the coast, on the contrary, urged that the expedition should be led against Tyre. They said that since this was a noble and well-fortified city, all possible efforts should be put forth to bring it under our domination lest, otherwise, the enemy might have access to our land through its territory and thus regain the region and, in fact, the entire province.

Thus it was, therefore, that through this difference of opinion the matter came near being fatally delayed. Finally, however, through the efforts of certain intermediaries it was deemed expedient to end this controversy by lot. Moreover, the method of determining the lot was entirely impartial. Two slips of parchment, one containing the name of Tyre, the other that of Ascalon, were placed on the altar. Then an innocent orphan boy was brought forward and allowed to choose between the two, it being understood that the army should proceed without dispute against the city named in the lot drawn. The choice fell upon Tyre. These details were learned from certain old men who

steadfastly declare that they were present at all the events just related.[70]

After the ratification of this plan, the lord patriarch and the principal men of that region assembled with the entire body of people at the city of Acre, where the Venetian fleet was lying at safe anchorage in the harbor. Solemn oaths were exchanged by which both parties agreed to keep faithfully to the terms of the covenant into which they had entered. All the preparations necessary for an expedition of this kind were made, and on February 16 they laid siege both by land and sea to the city of Tyre.[71]

25. *A copy of the treaty containing the agreement made between the Venetians and the princes of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the matter of the siege of Tyre.*

THAT no document bearing on events that happened in olden times may be omitted, there should be inserted here, as important evidence of what was done, a copy of the privileges containing the substance of the agreement between the Venetians and the chief men of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This is as follows.

"In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. When Pope Calixtus II and Henry IV,[72] the august emperor of the Romans, were ruling, the one over the church at Rome, the other over the empire, in the same year when, at a council held at Rome, peace was concluded, by the will of God, between the church and state in the controversy over the ring and the staff, Domenigo Michieli, doge of Venice, of Dalmatia and Croatia, and prince of the empire, accompanied by a great host of knights and a mighty fleet of vessels, came as a conquerer to the much-needed defense of the Christians. He had come directly from his victory over the pagan fleet of

[70] William's account is greatly enriched by such investigations. Though Fulcher has elaborated the story of the campaign leading to the capture of Tyre, his account is not as complete as that of William. He does, however, mention one item which might have significance as to the choice of the city to be attacked. This was the election of Odo as archbishop of Tyre in 1122 (*H.F.*, p. 647) in evident anticipation of its capture and presumably done after the news of prospective Venetian aid had been received. Nevertheless this does not invalidate the story of the drawing of lots, for the southern towns and feudatories would still be hoping to divert the expedition to Ascalon.

[71] February 16, 1124.

[72] *Quartus* is the word used by William, but the ruler was Henry V, 1106–1125.

the king of Babylon,[73] upon which he had wrought terrible havoc as it lay before the harborless shores of Ascalon.

"Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, was at that time, because of our sins, held captive with many others in the toils of the pagans, a prisoner of Balak, prince of the Parthians.[74] Therefore, we, Gormond, by the grace of God patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem, being assembled at the city of Acre, in the church of the Holy Cross, with the suffragan brethren of our church, with William de Bury, the constable, with Payens, the chancellor, and in conjunction with the allied forces of the whole kingdom, we, I say, have confirmed the promises of the said King Baldwin according to the propositions made in his own letters and messages which the king himself had previously sent by his own envoys to Venice to this same doge of the Venetians.[75] This we have given by our own hand and by the hand of the bishops and the chancellor, with the kiss of peace also, as our rank required. All the barons also whose names are written below have decreed and confirmed on the holy scriptures to the blessed apostle Mark, to the aforesaid doge and his successors, and to the people of Venice, the conditions of the treaty as written below; that, without any contradiction, these promises just as they are written below, so shall they remain unalterable and inviolate in the future to him and his people forever. AMEN.

"In every city of the above-mentioned king, under the rule of his successors also, and in the cities of all his barons, the Venetians shall have a church and one entire street of their own; also a square and a bath and an oven to be held forever by hereditary right, free from all taxation as is the king's own property.

"In the square at Jerusalem, however, they shall have for their own only as much as the king is wont to have. But if the Venetians desire to set up at Acre, in their own quarter, an oven, a mill, a bath, scales, measures and bottles for measuring wine, oil, and honey, it shall be permitted freely to each person dwelling there without contradiction

[73] Meaning Egypt, whose ruler at this time was the caliph, Amir.

[74] Balak was at this time ruler of a region formerly held by the Armenians and was himself of Turkish origin. The language of this document is somewhat stilted.

[75] This direct allusion to preliminary negotiations corrects the impression of a more casual adventure by the Venetians implied by William's earlier statements. The appeal of Calixtus II in 1121 and the election of Odo as archbishop of Tyre in 1122 fit in well with such preliminary agreements.

to cook, mill, or bathe just as it is freely permitted on the king's property. They may use the measures, the scales, and the measuring bottles as follows: when the Venetians trade with each other, they must use their own measures, that is the measures of Venice; and when the Venetians sell their wares to other races, they must sell with their own measures, that is, with the measures of Venice; but when the Venetians purchase and receive anything in trade from any foreign nation other than the Venetians, it is permitted them to take it by the royal measure and at a given price. For these privileges the Venetians need pay no tax whatever, whether according to custom or for any reason whatsoever, either on entering, staying, buying, selling, either while remaining there or on departing. For no reason whatever need they pay any tax excepting only when they come or go, carrying pilgrims with their own vessels. Then indeed, according to the king's custom, they must give a third part to the king himself.

"Wherefore, the king of Jerusalem and all of us on behalf of the king agree to pay the doge of Venice, from the revenues of Tyre, on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul, three hundred Saracen besants yearly, as agreed upon.

"Moreover, we promise you, doge of Venice, and your people that we will take nothing more from those nations who trade with you beyond what they are accustomed to give and as much as we receive from those who trade with other nations.

"In addition, that part of the same place and street of Acre which has at one end the house of Peter Zanni and at the other the monastery of St. Dimitrius, and also another part of the same street having one wooden house and two of stone, which were formerly reed huts, the same which King Baldwin of Jerusalem originally gave to the blessed Mark and to Doge Ordolafo and his successors in consideration of the acquisition of Sidon; these places, I say, we confirm to St. Mark and to you, Domenigo Michieli, doge of Venice, and to your successors by this same document. To you we give the power in perpetuity of holding and possessing it, and of doing with it whatever you please. Over the other part of the same street extending in a straight line from the house of Bernard de Neufchatel, which formerly belonged to John Julian, as far as the house of Gilbert of Jaffa, of the family of St. Lo, we give you exactly the same power which the king had. In addition, no Venetian in the whole domain of the king, or in the domains of his

barons, need give any tribute whether in entering, or staying there, or going out for any pretext; but may be as free as in Venice itself.

"But if a Venetian shall have a lawsuit or any litigation over any business against a Venetian, it shall be decided in the court of the Venetians. Again, if anyone feels that he has a quarrel or lawsuit against a Venetian, it shall be determined in the same court of the Venetians. But if a Venetian makes complaint against any other than a Venetian, the case shall be decided in the court of the king. Also when a Venetian dies, whether testate or intestate (which we call without a tongue), his property shall accrue to the control of the Venetians. If any Venetian shall be shipwrecked, he shall not suffer loss of any of his property. If he dies in the shipwreck, the property which he leaves shall be sent back to his heirs or to other Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians shall have the same powers of justice and the same rights over the burghers of any people dwelling in the street and houses of the Venetians as the king has over his own people.

"Finally the Venetians shall have a third part of the two cities of Tyre and Ascalon, with their appurtenances, and a third part of all the lands belonging to them from the feast day of St. Peter. This applies only to lands which are now subject to the Saracens and are not as yet in the hands of the Franks. If, through the aid of the Venetians or by any other means, the Holy Spirit shall give either of these cities or, God willing, both of them into the power of the Christians, a third part of such city or cities, as has been said, freely and with regal powers the Venetians shall hold with hereditary right forever, without let or hindrance, just as the king holds two parts.

"Therefore, we, Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, will cause the king himself, if ever, by the help of God, he shall come forth out of captivity, to confirm the above agreement in its entirety. But if another shall be raised into the place of king over the kingdom of Jerusalem, we will cause him to ratify the promises set forth above, before he is promoted, as has been said before; otherwise we will not consent in any way to his being elevated to the throne.[76] The successors of the barons, likewise, and any new barons in the future, shall ratify the same agreement and in the same way.

"As to Antioch, we know full well what King Baldwin II promised

[76] This statement constitutes a strong refutation of the notion that the kingship was already hereditary.

that he would give to you Venetians in the principality of Antioch under the same treaty: namely, that there should be in Antioch the same arrangement as in the rest of the cities belonging to the king if, indeed, the people of Antioch should be willing to confirm the royal agreement made with you.[77] We, the same Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, with our bishops, clergy, and the barons and people of Jerusalem, give you our advice and aid and promise to carry out in good faith all that which the pope shall write to us concerning this, and to observe all the above matters for the honor of the Venetians.[78]

I, GORMOND, by the grace of God patriarch of Jerusalem, by my own hand, confirm the things above written.

I, EBREMAR, archbishop of Caesarea, likewise confirm these same things.

I, BERNARD, bishop of Nazareth, likewise confirm it.

I, ASCHETINUS, bishop of Bethlehem, likewise confirm it.

I, ROGER OF LYDDA, bishop of St. George, likewise confirm it.

I, GILDUIN, abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, likewise confirm it.

I, GERARD, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, likewise confirm it.

I, AICARD, prior of the Temple of the Lord, likewise affirm it.

I, ARNOLD, prior of Mt. Sion, likewise affirm it.

I, WILLIAM DE BURY, constable of the king, likewise affirm it.[79]

Given at Acre, by the hand of Payens, chancellor of the king of Jerusalem, in the year 1123, in the second indiction."

[77] The position of Baldwin II in 1121 as regent of Antioch justified his offer of such inducements and likewise justified the elaborate efforts of the Venetians, who thus had so much to gain.

[78] This whole document is one of the most interesting items in the commercial history of western Europe. The extreme care with which even minute details of the Venetian privileges are stipulated evidently reflects a long background of experience. The commercial colonial empires of the Italian city states had already begun. It is also of interest to note the importance of the pope's position as a guarantor of the commercial and political privileges.

[79] It is of interest to note that the Venetians are apparently content to have only the constable and chancellor sign for the secular authority, while requiring every important prelate of the church to sign. Evidently the Venetians regarded Jerusalem as a state of the church and doubtless counted upon the papacy for ultimate security.

HERE ENDS THE TWELFTH BOOK

A History of
DEEDS DONE BEYOND THE SEA

By WILLIAM
Archbishop of Tyre

VOLUME TWO

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THE THIRTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

CAPTURE OF TYRE; EXTENSION OF ROYAL INFLUENCE TO OTHER LATIN STATES

1. *The antiquity and renown of Tyre is described.*

THE city of Tyre dates from very remote times, according to the statement of Ulpian, a man learned in the law who was born there. In the *Digest* under the heading "De censibus," he writes: "It is well known that certain colonies have Italian rights, as, for example, the magnificent colony of Tyre, in Syria of Phoenicia, my birthplace. This city, with its commanding position, great antiquity, and prowess in arms, held tenaciously to the treaty which she had made with the Romans. The divine Severus, our emperor, granted Italian rights to this city as a reward for its signal loyalty toward the republic and the empire of Rome." [1]

To this city, if we hark back to ancient stories, belonged King Agenor and his children, Europa, Cadmus, and Phoenix. It is from the latter, as the Phoenicians claim, that the whole region derives its name. The other son, Cadmus, founded the city of Thebes and was also the inventor of the Greek alphabet. Thus he bequeathed a distinguished name as an inheritance to his descendants. The remaining child, a daughter, gave her name to the third part of the globe, which is called Europe.[2]

The citizens of Tyre were noted for keenness of mind and vivacity of disposition. They were the first who tried to designate by suitable characters the separate elements of the spoken word. They also claim the distinction of being the first of mankind to build treasure houses for the memory and to bequeath to posterity through the visible symbols of thought a knowledge of writing and speech. This fact is stated in histories of ancient times, and Lucan, the distinguished historian of the civil wars, mentions it as follows: "The Phoenicians were the first,

[1] *Corpus juris civilis, Digest*, L. XV. I.

[2] These statements hark back to the *Polyhistor* of Solinus and to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, with both of which William was familiar.

if report may be trusted, who ventured to mark the length of tones by rude signs." [3]

Tyre was also the first to make known the wonderful purple color made from the powdered conch and the precious murex. This color, famous there even today, is called Tyrian from the name of the city itself.

From here also are said to have come Sychaeus and his wife, Elisa Dido, who founded in the diocese of Africa that wonderful city Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire. They called it the Punic kingdom, Phoenician as it were, in remembrance of the land from which they had come. For the Carthaginians, ever mindful of their origin, always desired to be called Tyrians. Thus, in the first book of Maro we read, "There was an ancient city inhabited by colonists from Tyre"; [4] and also, "Trojan and Tyrian alike shall be treated by me with no discrimination." [5]

In the beginning, Tyre had two names: Sor,[6] in Hebrew, the name more generally used now, and Tyre. The latter name seems to be of Greek origin (it is, being interpreted, Angustia, or straits). This was certainly taken from the name of the founder, for, according to very ancient traditions, it is clear that Tyras, the seventh son of Japhet, the son of Noah, founded this city and gave it his own name. How famous was the renown of this city in early times may be readily inferred from the words of Ezekiel, to whom the Lord said: "Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus; and say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles . . . O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy ship boards of fir trees of Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." [7]

Isaiah also has written of Tyre: "Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl,

[3] Lucan *Pharsalia* III. 221. [4] Virgil *Aeneid* I. 12. [5] Virgil *Aeneid* I. 574.

[6] Or "Sur," which is used by the Arabs in our own time. Much of this antiquarian material was collected by Fulcher.

[7] Ez. 27: 2–7.

ye inhabitants of the isle. Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days? her own feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn. Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth?" [8]

Hiram, who aided Solomon in building the temple of the Lord, was king of Tyre, as was also Apollonius, whose deeds are of widespread renown. To this city also belonged Abdimus, son of Abdaemon. He it was who with marvellous subtlety solved the sophistries of the many riddles and parables which Solomon used to send to Hiram, king of Tyre. In the eighth book of the *Antiquities* of Josephus one may read: "Menander, who translated the Antiquities of the Tyrians from the Phoenician into the Greek tongue, also mentions these two kings as follows: 'On the death of Abibalo his son Hiram succeeded to the throne. He lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. At that time Abdimus, son of Abdaemon, was in prison, he who used to solve the riddles which the king of Jerusalem sent.' And again farther on we read, 'Moreover, Solomon, the king of Jerusalem, had sent to Hiram, king of Tyre, certain riddles which he begged him to solve, with the understanding that if Hiram was unable to do so, he would pay a certain sum of money as a forfeit. And when Hiram acknowledged that he could not solve them and was about to suffer great pecuniary loss, the riddles which had been propounded were solved by a certain Abdimus, a Tyrian. This man in turn proposed other riddles with the condition that if Solomon could not guess them he, in his turn, must pay a large forfeit to King Hiram.' " [9] Possibly this is the man who in popular and fabulous stories is called Marcolfus, of whom it is said that he used to solve the enigmas of Solomon and in return propounded others of equal difficulty for the king to guess.

This same city still guards the body of Origen, as may be proved by the testimony of one's own eyes. Jerome, writting to Pammachius and Oceanus in the letter which begins, "The schedules which you have sent" states the same thing: "It is now about a hundred and fifty years since Origen died at Tyre." [10]

To refer to scriptural history also, this is the native city of that admirable Canaanite woman whose great faith when she pleaded for her daughter, who was troubled by an evil spirit, the Saviour com-

[8] Is. 23:6–8.
[9] Josephus *Ant.* VIII. 5.
[10] Jerome *Ad Pammachium et Oceanum.*

mended, saying, "O woman, great is thy faith." [11] She left a memorial of wondrous faith and praiseworthy patience to the daughters of her fellow citizens, for she was the first to teach them to pray to Christ the Saviour with the gifts of faith, charity, and hope, according to the words of the prophet who said, "and the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift." [12]

Tyre is the metropolis of all Phoenicia, which has always held the first rank among the provinces of Syria, both because it is rich with blessings of every description and also because of its large population.

2. *The lands and extent of Syria.*

It should be observed that the name Syria is used, sometimes in a broad sense as applying to the whole province, and again in a more limited way to designate only a part of the same. At times also, with the help of an additional word, it denotes some particular province. Thus Greater Syria contains many provinces within its boundaries. Beginning at the Tigris river, it extends as far as Egypt and from Cilicia to the Red sea. The first province of the lower part between the Tigris and the Euphrates is Mesopotamia, so called because it lies between two rivers. In the Greek language a river is called *potamos,* in the Latin *fluvius.* And because this is a part of Syria, it is often called in the scriptures Mesopotamia of Syria.

The next largest province of this same Syria, after Mesopotamia, is Coelesyria, which contains the noble city of Antioch with all its dependent cities. The two Cilicias, both of which are parts of Syria, lie next to this on the north. To the south it borders on Phoenicia, distinguished among the divisions of Syria. This country was for many years one single province, but now it is divided into two parts. The first of these is Phoenicia Maritima. Its metropolis is Tyre, the city of which we are now speaking, with its fourteen dependent cities. It extends from the river of Valenia which flows by the castle of Margat, to the Pierced Rock now known as *Districtum,* near the very old city called Ancient Tyre. The cities which lie within this province are as follows: on the south, the first is Porphyrion, also called Haifa, and in the vernacular Caifas. The second is Ptolemais, also known as Acre. The third, to the east, is Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi. The

[11] Mat. 15:28.

[12] Ps. 45:12.

fourth, on the north, is Sarepta; the fifth is Sidon; the sixth is Beirut; the seventh, Jubail; the eighth, Botrium [Botron]; the ninth, Tripoli; the tenth, Artusia; the eleventh, Arka; the twelfth, Arados; the thirteenth, Tortosa; and the fourteenth, Maraclea.

The other Phoenicia is called Phoenicia Libanica. The capital of this is Damascus. It is sometimes called Syria also, as, for example, "the head of Syria is Damascus." [13] This Phoenicia was also later divided into two parts: Phoenicia of Damascus and Phoenicia of Emisena.

The two Arabias are also parts of Syria. The capital of the first is Bostrum and that of the second is Petra of the Desert. Syria Sobal with its capital Sobal is also a part of Greater Syria.

The three Palestines likewise form a part of Syria. The first, properly called Judea, has as its capital the city of Jerusalem; the capital of the second is maritime Caesarea; and of the third, Scythopolis, also called Bethsan. The site of this latter city is now occupied by Nazareth.

The last province of Greater Syria, toward Egypt, is Idumea.

3. *Describes the environs of Tyre and the advantages which it offers.*

Not only was Tyre extremely well fortified, as has been stated, but in addition it was famous for its unique beauty of location and the fertility of its soil. Although lying in the sea itself, entirely surrounded by the waves like an island, yet it had before its gates extensive arable fields, excellent in every respect, while a level plain of rich and productive soil stretched out from the city itself and furnished the people of Tyre with abundant supplies.

Although this area may seem small compared with that of other regions, yet its great productivity compensates for its limited extent, and its exceeding fertility makes it equal to acres of boundless extent. Nor is it, in fact, contained within narrow limits. On the south it extends toward Acre to the place now called the District of the Scandalium, four or five miles distant from Tyre, while in the other direction it stretches out toward Sarepta and Sidon for about the same distance. At its narrowest extent it is about two miles wide, at its widest about three. There are many springs in this plain from which flow clear and salubrious streams, whose cooling waters afford delightful refreshment in hot weather.

[13] Is. 7: 8.

The most celebrated of these and the one best known to the world is believed to be the one of which Solomon speaks in the Song of Solomon: "A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon." [14]

These waters have their origin in the lowest part of the plain and do not rise in the mountains as do many other springs. They seem in fact to gush forth as from the very depths of the abyss. Yet they have been artificially raised into the upper air by the care and skill of man, so that they water abundantly all the surrounding region and in their beneficent course render the plain available for many purposes. By means of an admirable structure of stonework rivalling iron in its strength, the water has been raised and conducted aloft to the height of ten feet. Thus, the spring which in its natural low position was of little use, when elevated by artificial means contrary to nature, has become a benefit to the whole surrounding country and pours forth its waters in abundance for the production of crops.

As one draws near to examine this remarkable work, the outer tower looms up prominently but no water is visible. On reaching the top, however, one sees that a great reservoir of water has been brought together here which is distributed thence to the adjacent fields by means of aqueducts of equal height and massive structure. For the convenience of those who wish to ascend to the top of the tower, a staircase of solid stone is provided, the incline of which is so gradual that even those on horseback can ride without difficulty to the top.

All the country round about derives immense benefits from these waters. Not only do they supply gardens and delightful orchards planted with fruit trees, but they irrigate the sugar cane also. From this latter crop sugar (*zachara*) is made, a most precious product, very necessary for the use and health of mankind, which is carried from here by merchants to the most remote countries of the world.

A very fine quality of glass, also, is marvellously manufactured out of sand which is found in this same plain. This is carried to far distant places and easily surpasses all products of the kind. It offers a material suitable for making most beautiful vases which are famous for their transparency. In this way, also, the fame of the city is spread abroad among foreign peoples and the profit of the merchants is increased manifold.

[14] Ca. 4: 15.

Tyre possessed not only all these rich resources, but in addition, it had the advantage of incomparable fortifications, which will be spoken of in the following pages. Because of its many advantages and its strong defenses, Tyre was most precious and agreeable to the prince of Egypt, who was practically the most puissant of all [Oriental potentates]. The entire country from Laodicea in Syria to the Libyan desert was under his absolute control. He regarded Tyre as the bulwark of his kingdom and as the seat of his empire. He had therefore carefully provided it with food and arms and had garrisoned it with stalwart warriors, for he believed that if he could keep the head uninjured, all the other parts of the body would remain safe.

4. *Relates how in earlier time it had often been besieged.*

On the sixteenth of February, therefore, as we have said above, our two armies arrived before the city of Tyre and blockaded it as far as was possible. But, in the words of the prophet, this city lay "at the entry of the sea," [15] and was surrounded by water on all sides except for a strip of land equal to the distance that an arrow could be shot. Ancient writers say that it was once really an island entirely separated from the mainland. They state that when Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful Assyrian prince, was besieging it, he wished to connect it with the land but did not finish the work. The prophet Ezekiel mentions this siege as follows: "Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up a buckler against thee," and so on.[16]

Josephus also mentions this siege in the tenth book of the *Antiquities*, as follows: "Diocles also mentions this king in the second book of the *Colonies;* and Philostrates has said in his histories of India and Phoenicia, that this king besieged Tyre for three years and ten months at the time when Jotabel was ruling over Tyre. After this man, Alexander of Macedon connected Tyre with the land and then seized the city by force of arms." [17]

Josephus speaks of this siege in the eleventh book of the *Antiquities*

[15] Ez. 27:3. [16] Ez. 26:7–8. [17] Josephus *Ant.* x. 11.

also, saying: "So Alexander came to Syria and took Damascus, and, after subjugating Sidon, he besieged Tyre." [18] And further on: "Because he persevered vigorously in the siege he took that city and after he had taken it, he went on to the city of Gerasa." And again: "After besieging Tyre for seven months and Gerasa for two, Sanballat died."

Before this time, Salmanassar had also besieged it and had invaded the whole of Phoenicia. Of him also, Josephus speaks in the ninth book of the *Antiquities* saying: "For he made an expedition against Tyre in the reign of Eluleus. Menander, who wrote the history of the times and translated into Greek the *Antiquities* of Tyre, also speaks of this, as follows: 'Eluleus reigned thirty-six years. On the revolt of the Scythians he sailed to them and reduced them to submission, but Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, rose against them a second time and invaded all Phoenicia. But after he had made peace with all of them, he retired. Then the cities of Sidon and Arka and Ancient Tyre and many others deserted Tyre and surrendered to the same king of the Assyrians. And since Tyre had not submitted, the king again proceeded against her, the Phoenicians furnishing him with sixty ships and eighty galleys with oars. The Tyrians sailed against them in twelve ships, and, having scattered the enemy's fleet, they took five hundred prisoners, whereby the prestige of Tyre was greatly increased. But the king of Assyria returned. He placed guards over the river and the aqueducts of the city and thus prevented the Tyrians from obtaining water. This condition of affairs lasted five years during which time they had to drink from wells which they dug. These things were written in the archives of Tyre concerning Salmanassar, king of Assyria.' " [19]

5. *The city is described and the status and condition of the citizens explained.*

THIS city, as we have said, is like an island, for it is surrounded by a stormy sea, dangerous because of hidden rocks of varying height. It is hazardous, therefore, for pilgrims and others unacquainted with the locality to approach Tyre by water. For unless they have a pilot who is familiar with the surrounding sea they cannot reach the city without danger of shipwreck.

[18] Josephus *Ant.* XI. 8.

[19] Josephus *Ant.* IX. 14.

On the sea side, Tyre was surrounded by a double wall with towers of goodly height at equal distances apart. On the east, where the approach by land lies, it has a triple wall with enormously high and massive towers so close together that they almost touch one another. There was a broad mole also, through which the citizens could easily let in the sea from both sides. On the north, its entrance guarded by two towers, was the inside harbor which lay within the walls of the city. The outer shore of the island received the first violence of the waves and broke the force of the raging sea. Thus a safe harborage for vessels was formed between the island and the land, which was entirely sheltered from all winds except that from the north.

Into this harbor the fleet was directed and stationed in a sheltered place. The army was already in possession of the orchards near the city and had established the camp in a circle round the town. This position prevented the citizens from going in and out and compelled them to remain within the walls.

The city was subject to two lords: the caliph of Egypt held two parts of it as overlord and had granted the third part to the king of Damascus, because he was near at hand. He trusted that the latter would not molest it but would, on the contrary, assist the citizens in dangerous crises.

There were in Tyre many noble citizens of great wealth. Through their constant trading voyages to most of the provinces along the Mediterranean sea, these merchants had brought back vast riches and a great amount of foreign merchandise to swell the resources of the city. Moreover, rich and distinguished citizens from Caesarea, Acre, Sidon, Jubail, Tripoli, and other coastal cities which had now fallen under our power, had fled to Tyre to seek the protection of its fortifications. These people had bought homes for themselves in the city at a high price. For it seemed inconceivable that a city so strongly fortified could, under any circumstances, fall into the hands of the Christians. Then, as now, it was regarded as a matchless bulwark, an incomparable tower of strength, without an equal in the entire region.[20]

[20] It is difficult to appreciate the fact, in view of his sympathetic account, that William is here speaking of Muslim merchants. The description of Tyre and its surroundings is that of an eyewitness, and the account of the siege is derived largely from eyewitnesses. None of William's written sources is nearly so full or vivid. The division of ownership between the Egyptians and the Damascenes was an emergency arrangement to procure the help of Damascus, according to Qalanisi (H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 170), and had been made just before the siege.

6. *The blockade is established and the leaders assigned to special positions therein. The city is besieged in hostile manner.*

AFTER placing the baggage in order and making all other arrangements to the best possible advantage, the Christians drew up all their ships on dry land near the harbor, with the exception of one galley that was kept ready for any emergency which might arise. They then dug a deep ditch from the sea outside to that within, thus enclosing and protecting the entire army. From the large stores which the Venetians had brought with them, suitable material for building engines was brought, and workmen were summoned to build machines of various kinds.

The patriarch and the nobles of the realm, acting in the place of the king, called together carpenters and skilful builders, provided the necessary materials, and directed them to build a tower of great height. From the top of this, the fighters could engage in close combat with the defenders in the towers on the walls and could overlook the entire city. Machines capable of hurling huge stones which would shatter the walls and towers and carry consternation to the hearts of those within the city were also ordered built.

The doge and his company, in emulation of the king's party, also built similar machines and set them up in strategic positions. They carried on the work with the utmost diligence and pressed on without flagging. Their enthusiastic efforts gradually hemmed in the citizens more and more, while the engines never ceased to work havoc upon the place. Constant attacks and skirmishes gave the defenders no chance to rest. The latter, however, anxious to defend themselves, strove to repulse the attacks of the Christians and, in turn, to inflict injury on their adversaries. They, too, built machines within the city from which they launched huge rocks that fell without intermission upon our towers. The fear inspired by these flying stones enabled the foe to become masters of that particular section, for none of the Christians dared to remain in that vicinity. Even those whose lot it was to guard the engines ventured to approach them only at the utmost speed, nor could they remain within except at extreme peril. From their stations in the high towers, the enemy, armed with bows and ballistae, poured forth showers of javelins and arrows; and meanwhile a never-ceasing

torrent of huge rocks hurled from within the city pressed the Christians so hard that they scarcely dared to thrust forth a hand.

Nevertheless, our people in the siege towers returned blow for blow with equal fury and repelled force by force. Thus the defenders upon the walls and in the towers were compelled to put forth such intense efforts that, though often relieved during the day, they were unable to endure the burden of the conflict. Meanwhile, those who were manning the machines, instructed by experts in the art of throwing missiles, continued to hurl great stones with such effect that the towers and walls were nearly demolished by the force of the blows. Dust rose in clouds from the shattered stones and loosened mortar and formed a screen between the fighters, so that it was imposible for the defenders on the walls and towers to see the Christians. Whatever flying missiles passed beyond the ramparts and towers crashed with force into the city and reduced to minute fragments great buildings and their inhabitants.

In the country outside, both cavalry and infantry forces fought with manly courage in almost daily skirmishes against the enemy who sallied forth from the city to engage them. Frequently it happened that our men challenged those within the city to battle, and again it was the citizens who took the initiative in attacking the besiegers.

7. *The Damascenes in the city fight with fiery courage, but the citizens themselves are somewhat remiss.*

Thus day by day in a doubtful contest the Christians and the townspeople continued to try each other's mettle, now by attacks from the machines and now by fighting around the gates, for each side was exerting itself to the utmost to provoke the other. At this juncture, Pons, count of Tripoli, who had been summoned by the princes of the realm, arrived with a noble retinue. His coming seemed to double the strength of the Christians and to reanimate their courage. To the enemy, on the other hand, it brought fear and a sense of the futility of resisting.

There were in the city seven hundred knights of Damascus, whose example inspired the citizens with courage to resist, for the latter, though noble, were weak and effeminate in character and not at all accustomed to warfare. These Damascenes, by their example, tried to animate the townspeople to resistance and to furnish them the aid they so sorely needed. Nevertheless, even they finally lost interest

and wisely declined the burden which they could not carry alone. For they saw that our strength was daily increasing and our efforts succeeding, while the resources of the besieged were gradually lessening and their forces were daily imperilled. Although they did not advise the citizens to surrender, still they did not encourage them to place much reliance on their strength.

Then, as now, there was but one entrance to the city and a single gate. As we have said before, the entire city was almost an island, surrounded by water on all sides, except at a certain narrow place through which was the approach to the gate. At this point, various engagements both of cavalry and infantry were continually going on, as is usual under such circumstances.

8. *The people of Ascalon march to Jerusalem to attack the city. But on the return they meet with harsh treatment from the citizens.*

THIS, then, was the situation at Tyre. In the meantime, the people of Ascalon perceived that the kingdom was stripped of its troops and that the entire strength of the land was fully occupied in the siege of Tyre. Accordingly they at once took advantage of the opportunity. Crossing the intervening plain with all their forces, they hurried toward the mountains on which Jerusalem was built. They expected to find the Holy City almost deserted and hoped to carry off as prisoners any of the inhabitants who might incautiously venture forth. Their arrival was entirely unexpected, and they killed about eight of the townspeople who were taken unaware in their fields and vineyards.

But the Christians, though few in number, were yet glowing with faith and afire with righteous zeal for their country, their wives, and their children. They seized their arms and, issuing forth from the city, rushed as with one mind against the foe. For the space of three hours the two hostile forces gazed upon one another. The Christians dared not attack their adversaries, for their forces were foot soldiers only, while the Ascalonites, for their part, realized that it was impossible without great danger to remain long in that position. Nor was it safe so near the city to engage a courageous and obstinate people who were determined to resist to the utmost. Accordingly they prepared to beat a hasty retreat. The Christians followed them cautiously for a short distance and succeeded in killing forty-two men, besides captur-

ing four knights and seventeen horses. Then, having successfully accomplished their purpose, they turned back to Jersusalem in entire safety.[21]

9. *Tughtigin, king of the Damascenes, arrives to relieve the siege. The Christians march against him. He abandons his purpose in terror.*

IN the meantime, the Tyrians, wearied by repeated vigils, constant skirmishes, and endless hardships, began to come forth to fight less often and performed their allotted duties less vigorously. They were amazed beyond measure that a city to which crowds of people flocked almost daily both by land and by sea, a city which was usually filled to repletion with all sorts of merchandise brought thither by both routes, should be reduced to such straits that neither citizens nor strangers could enter or leave it. Moreover, the food supply was giving out, and scarcely any provisions now remained. After taking counsel together, therefore, they wrote to the caliph of Egypt and also to the king of Damascus to inform them of the desperate situation that prevailed. Most earnestly they begged their lords to hasten to their aid, for affairs at Tyre were now almost hopeless. They set forth the perseverance of the enemy, whose strength was increasing day by day; they described their own weakness, the lack of food supplies, and their intolerable situation. This action roused their spirits somewhat, and while awaiting the hoped-for aid they encouraged each other to keep up the usual resistance. Many who were so dangerously wounded that they were unable to fight themselves yet urged the others with all their might to resist.

Word was presently received that Tughtigin, king of the Damascenes, moved by the letters and messages of the besieged, had left Damascus with an innumerable force of Turks and a large number of knights. He was now encamped in the vicinity of Tyre on the banks of a river about four miles from the city. It was furthermore rumored that an Egyptian fleet, much larger than usual and equipped with more than the ordinary number of armed soldiers, would arrive within three days with reinforcements of men and the necessary food supplies for the Tyrians. The king of Damascus was said to be expecting still more

[21] This effort to distract the army from the siege of Tyre by an attack on Jerusalem is told by Fulcher, who was there at the time, and is copied by William.

reserves. For that reason he had prudently deferred crossing the river and attacking the Christians until the fleet should arrive, in order that, while he was fighting with us, the naval force might have free and unhindered entrance to the city.[22]

When this news reached our camp, the leaders conferred together and, after careful deliberation, decided to divide the entire host into three sections. The entire cavalry forces and the mercenary infantry were to issue forth from the camp under command of the count of Tripoli and William de Bury, the king's constable and administrator of the realm. If it should be necessary to fight with the Damascene, this division was to engage him with the help of the Lord. The doge of Venice and his forces were to set sail in the galleys, and, if they encountered the fleet of the Egyptians, they were to try the fortune of war and, as valiant warriors, put the enemy to the test of the sword. The third division consisted of the people who had come thither to take part in the siege from all the cities of the realm and the greater part of the Venetians. To this contingent was assigned the duty of guarding the machines and movable towers. They were to see to it that the fighters in the siege engines did not slacken their efforts, that the hurling machines continued their usual assaults, and that the fighting before the gate was not interrupted.

This plan seemed good to all, and it was deemed expedient that it be put into immediate execution. Accordingly, the count of Tripoli and the king's constable with all the cavalry squadrons rode out of the camp against the enemy. They advanced two miles, yet the foe did not venture to appear. Nevertheless, it was evident that Tughtigin had originally placed his camp by the river with heart and soul intent on crossing the stream. But when he learned through reports that our army had adopted such prudent plans, he decided that it would be dangerous to risk an encounter with men so wise and valiant. Accordingly, he ordered the trumpet to sound the summons calling his men together and gave the command to return home.

The doge arranged his fleet in battle formation and sailed down to Alexandrium which is about six miles from Tyre. This city is generally known today as Scandalium. Here he learned that the king of Damascus had returned home. As there was no sign of the Egyptian fleet which

[22] The participation of the Damascenes in the effort to defeat the besiegers is in general confirmed by Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 170–72).

he was expecting, he again drew up the galleys on the shore, and all returned to the camp to press forward the siege more vigorously than ever.

10. *The townspeople set our machines on fire. Our troops put up a vigorous resistance. The leaders send to Antioch for a man skilled in the art of throwing missiles.*

ONE day it happened that some young men of Tyre bound themselves together by a solemn pledge and determined to steal into our camp to set fire to our machines and movable towers. In this way they hoped to win the esteem of their fellow citizens and acquire undying fame in the eyes of posterity. In pursuance of this plan, they stealthily left the city and succeeded in setting fire to an engine which was of great use to us. The act was seen by the Christians, however, who immediately flew to arms and tried to quench the flames by pouring on quantities of water. An admirable deed was wrought there which is worthy of record. A certain young man of unusual character and courage saw that the machine was on fire. He mounted to the top and kept pouring on water as fast as it was brought to him by others. The defenders who were stationed in the towers with bows and ballistae noticed him at once and immediately directed all their efforts toward him. But, although his position made him a target, as it were, for their arrows, yet their efforts were in vain. Not a single wound did he receive during the whole day. But the young men who had set the fire were caught by our soldiers and to a man perished under the avenging sword in the sight of their friends.

Presently the Christians noticed that a machine within the city was aiming enormous stones so accurately against our siege towers that both were being seriously injured. Since there was no one in camp who possessed the expert skill necessary for aiming and hurling the mighty missiles, they sent to Antioch for a certain Armenian named Havedic, who was said to be very proficient in that art. He came immediately and displayed so much skill in directing the machines and hurling the great stone missiles that whatever was assigned to him as a target was at once destroyed without difficulty. As soon as he reached the army, he was granted an honorable salary from the public treasury, so that he might maintain himself in his customary magnificence. He applied himself earnestly to the work for which he had been summoned

and showed so much skill that the war seemed to be carried on with renewed strength. In fact it assumed the aspect of a new war in the eyes of the Tyrians, whose woes were greatly increased by his coming.[23]

11. *Balak is slain at Hierapolis. The news causes great joy in the Christian army, and the siege of the city is pressed on with even more vigor.*

WHILE these events were happening at Tyre, Balak, the powerful Turkish satrap in whose chains the lord king was still held, was besieging the city of Hierapolis. During the progress of the siege, he summoned the governor of the city to him with conciliatory but crafty words. The latter, a simple and credulous man, trusted Balak's words and at once repaired to his presence. But even as he stood before him Balak ordered him to be beheaded.

Now when the elder Joscelin,[24] count of Edessa, learned that Balak was besieging a city in his own neighborhood, he feared that if the present ruler were driven out, another, far more dangerous to him, might be placed there. He therefore assembled a large force from the land of Antioch and from his own domains as well and hastened against the satrap's army. After locating the enemy, he drew up his own lines in battle formation and made a sudden attack. The foe had been routed and forced to flee, when Joscelin happened to fall in with Balak himself. Entirely unaware that this was the commander of the army, he slew him with the sword, threw him to the ground, and cut off his head. This was clearly the fulfillment of Balak's dream. For he who cuts off a man's head and puts an end to both his sight and his life may be said with truth to have torn out his eyes.[25]

Joscelin was a man of foresight and very wide experience. He immediately charged a young man to carry the head of the prince to the army, that it too might rejoice over the news of this good luck. The messenger was directed to go by way of Antioch, that the townspeople as well as the troops might be informed of this great success. The arrival of the youth rejoiced the hearts of all and raised the happiness of the Christians to the highest point.

[23] Fulcher does not mention this expert artillery service, but William's account is too specific to be denied.

[24] William's awareness of both Joscelin II and Joscelin III led to the qualification of Joscelin I, for which the reader is not yet ready.

[25] See Book XII, chap. 19.

Pons, count of Tripoli, with his following was present in the camp. He was ever obedient to the patriarch and the other leaders as one of the lowest servants and always showed himself modestly zealous for the public welfare. That he might show his respect for the count who had sent the messenger and also because of the importance of the mission, he raised the young man to knighthood and conferred upon him the arms of that rank.[26]

When those who were with us on the expedition heard of this act they raised their hands to heaven and began to praise, bless, and glorify God who "is terrible in His doing toward the children of men." [27] Then, indeed, were our troops fired with more ardent enthusiasm. With courage and strength renewed, they pressed on still more earnestly the work which they had undertaken and, by keeping up continual skirmishes, refused to allow the beleaguered city any respite. The citizens, on the other hand, were suffering desperately from famine, for their provisions were now entirely exhausted, and since no hope of aid supported them, they began to relax their efforts somewhat.

One day a noteworthy event happened. Some young men of the city, expert swimmers, ventured out from the inner harbor to the one outside and succeeded in reaching the galley which, as we have mentioned before, was always lying on the sea outside ready for any emergency. They had brought with them a rope which they fastened firmly to the vessel. They then cut the moorings and began to tow the boat after them to the city. But the lookouts guarding the towers saw the attempt and gave the alarm. Our men, roused by the summons, hurried to the shore. Before they could decide what to do, however, the youths had already towed the vessel inside the city harbor. The galley was manned by five men who had been assigned to guard it. One of these was killed, but the other four leaped into the sea and swam safely to shore.

12. *While the Christian army is engaged in the siege, the people of Ascalon again invade the country around Jerusalem.*

THE Ascalonites, like persistent gnats, were ever on the alert to injure the Christians. They were well aware that the flower of the army was still engaged in the siege of Tyre, and that, consequently, the whole

[26] This is an early instance of such reward for such service. [27] Ps. 66:5.

land was without defenders, exposed to the incursions of the enemy. Accordingly, they once more assembled their forces and went up to the hill country of Judea. There they made a sudden attack on a place called Bilin,[28] about five or six miles to the north of Jerusalem, better known today as Mahumaria. They took the town by force and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. The old men, however, with the women and children, retreated to the tower and thus escaped death.

The Ascalonites spread unchecked over all the adjacent country. They slaughtered or took captive all whom they encountered, for no one hindered them in their mad course as they raged according to their own good pleasure against all who dwelt in that vicinity.

13. *The citizens struggle with grievous famine. They prepare to surrender. Tughtigin hastens to their aid but in vain. The city capitulates to the Christian army.*

MEANWHILE, the Tyrians, driven beyond endurance by the terrible straits of famine, began to consider other plans. Gathering in groups they began to discuss how to put an end to the miseries which they were suffering. Far better would it be, they thought, to surrender the city to the enemy, and thus liberated, flee to other cities of their nation, than to waste away through hunger at Tyre—to look on, helpless to aid, while their wives and children perished of starvation.

After the situation had been discussed by groups in this way, the matter was finally carried by unanimous consent to the elders and governors of the city and to the people in general. The entire city assembled in a public meeting where the facts were laid before them and carefully considered. The opinion was unanimous that conditions so terrible must be brought to an end and peace obtained, no matter at what risk or on what terms.

In the meantime, the king of Damascus had learned of the misfortunes of the Tyrians and was moved by their desperate plight. He summoned his allies from every direction and went down to the sea, where he had been before. Again he encamped near the river close to Tyre. When the Christians heard of this, they rightly feared the purpose of his coming and again drew up their lines in battle forma-

[28] Fulcher and the documents of the time call this place *Birrum* or *Bire* (see H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 731, note 4).

tion, in anticipation of an engagement before the gates. Yet they did not swerve from their purpose and continued to press on the siege without interruption.

The king of Damascus now sent wise and discreet men as envoys to the chiefs of our army, namely, the patriarch, the doge of Venice, the count of Tripoli, William de Bury, and the other lords of the realm. They bore proposals of peace couched in conciliatory language. After much discussion and many disputes, an agreement was reached between the two parties: the city was to be surrendered to the Christians on condition that those citizens who wished be allowed to depart freely with their wives and children and all their substance, while those who preferred to remain at Tyre should be granted permission to do so and their homes and possessions guaranteed to them.[29]

But the common people and those of the second rank among the Christians, on learning the character of the negotiations which the barons were considering, became very angry that the city should be surrendered on such terms, for, in that case, they would be deprived of the plunder and spoils which would fall to their lot were the place taken by force. Accordingly, utterly disagreeing with the wishes of their superiors, they unanimously determined to seize upon the results of their labors under the necessity of war. The saner will of the more prominent men finally prevailed, however; the city was taken over and an opportunity of leaving without hindrance was given to the townspeople, as provided in the pact.

Then, in sign of victory, the king's standard was raised on the tower over the city gate; in like fashion, the banner of the doge of Venice was placed over the one called the Green tower; while from the tower of Tranaria floated gloriously the colors of the count of Tripoli.

Long before the city was taken or even besieged, however, the greater part of the diocese of Tyre had already passed into the hands of the Christians. All the hilly country near the city, extending nearly to Lebanon, both strongholds and fields, was held in peaceful possession by a very powerful nobleman who lived in the mountains. Humphrey of Toron, father of the younger Humphrey who has since been made

[29] Qalanisi accords Tughtigin credit for the extremely favorable terms granted to the Muslim inhabitants of Tyre. He also states that only the extremely old or the rich remained in Tyre, but there is reason to believe that a considerable number remained (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 171–72).

the royal constable,[30] held in undisputed right all the lands as far as the fourth or fifth milestone from Tyre. In these same mountains, he possessed a castle, strongly fortified both by its location and by artificial means, and from it he often made sudden sallies against the citizens of Tyre. Moreover, the lord of Tiberias, William de Bury, the royal constable, and Joscelin, count of Edessa, who had been his predecessor as lord of Tiberias, also held large estates in these mountains, from which they often laid dangerous and unexpected pitfalls for Tyre. To the south also, on the shore six or seven miles from Tyre, near a clear and beautiful spring, King Baldwin of precious memory, the predecessor of Baldwin II, had built a castle called Scandalium.[31] For a long time, Tyre had suffered greatly from recurring attacks proceeding from these points and consequently was less able to resist the importunity of the Christians.

The venerable Odo is said to have died on this expedition. He had been ordained metropolitan of the church at Tyre while the city was still in the power of the enemy and is said to have been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem.

14. *After the surrender of the city, the townspeople go out to visit the camp. The Christians take possession of the city.*

THEN the townspeople, worn out by the long siege, emerged from the city and hastened to our camp. They were eager to relieve their weariness and to see what manner of men these Christians might be. For as if made of iron, so patient in hardships and so trained in the practice of arms were they that, in a few months, they had reduced Tyre to the extremity of destitution and had compelled that splendid city, with its magnificent fortifications, to submit to the hardest of terms. It gave them great delight to examine the form of the machines, to gaze at the height of the movable towers and the variety of weapons; they admired the position of the camp and even desired to know the names of the leaders. Every detail was investigated with the utmost care, that an accurate and trustworthy narrative might be compiled for posterity.

[30] Humphrey of Toron, the younger, was constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1152 to 1179. This statement clearly indicates that William wrote this passage before 1178, perhaps before 1174, for Humphrey was already dead when William resumed writing toward the end of 1180.

[31] See Book XI, chap. 30.

When the Christian forces entered the city, they too, in their turn, marvelled. They admired the fortifications of the city, the strength of the buildings, the massive walls and lofty towers, the noble harbor so difficult of access. They had only praise for the resolute perseverance of the citizens who, despite the pressure of terrible famine and the scarcity of supplies, had been able to ward off surrender for so long. For when our forces took possession of the place they found only five measures of wheat in the city. And although at first the common people felt it hard that the city should surrender under the terms named above, yet afterwards they rejoiced. For the great efforts which they had put forth were commended, and they realized that an achievement worthy of remembrance forever had been attained largely through their efforts and at their expense.

The city was now divided into three parts, two parts being assigned to the king and the third to the Venetians in accordance with the provisions previously made. Then all with joy and gladness returned, each to his own land. This city was taken and restored to the Christian name on June 29, in the year 1124 of the Incarnation of our Lord, which was also the sixth year of the reign of Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem.[32]

15. *The king is released from captivity. He invests Aleppo, but, after an engagement with the enemy, he raises the siege. He returns to Jerusalem. Pope Calixtus dies. Honorius is chosen in his stead.*

For about eighteen months or a little longer, King Baldwin of Jerusalem had been held prisoner by the enemy. On August 29 of this same year, on promise of paying a fixed sum of money and giving hostages, he was released and returned to Antioch under the protection of the Lord. It is said that the sum fixed for his ransom was one hundred thousand micheles, a kind of money chiefly used in those countries in transactions of commerce and in buying and selling in the markets.[33]

The king returned to Antioch, much perplexed as to the means of

[32] It seems strange that William should have erred in the date of the capture of his archiepiscopal city. The astronomical statement of Fulcher yields July 7, 1124, with which most of the Arabic sources, including Qalanisi, agree (see *H.F.*, p. 735, note 7; Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 172).

[33] The date of Baldwin's release is correctly stated, but the interval of his captivity was about sixteen, rather than eighteen, months. The sum of the ransom is variously stated by different writers (*H.F.*, p. 750; see also Book XI, note 44).

raising money for the ransom pledged and of redeeming his hostages. He consulted some of his wise men on the best method of procedure and was advised to besiege Aleppo. That city was then struggling under a lack of supplies and was almost without inhabitants. The citizens, when hard pressed by a siege, might easily be brought to restore the hostages or to pay a sum equal to that which he had agreed to give for his own ransom. The king agreed to the project. He summoned all his cavalry from the entire realm, surrounded the city with the usual blockade, and began siege operations. Thus the citizens could neither go in nor out and were forced to depend upon their scanty stock of food.

Thereupon, the people of Aleppo sent out repeated letters to the princes of the Orient, and above all to those beyond the Euphrates, to inform them of the critical situation. They stated that unless aid came at once the city would soon fall. The princes, filled with the solicitude for an allied city, at once assembled troops and united their forces to render aid. They crossed the Euphrates and advanced in all haste to relieve the city from the perils of siege. The relieving force consisted of seven thousand cavalry, besides those in charge of the baggage and impedimenta and the servants who rendered to their liege lords the obedience which they owed.

Perceiving that the enemy was arriving with such vast forces, the king and those with him deemed it wiser to retreat and thus secure their own safety and that of the army rather than incautiously to risk an engagement with the foe's superior forces. Before the hostile army reached the city, therefore, the Christians had retired to one of their fortified castles called Cerep. From there they proceeded together to Antioch where they separated. The king with his own following returned to Jerusalem. He was received with high honor by the entire body of clergy and people, and his presence, long desired, for he had been absent about two years, was most welcome both to the city fathers and to the common people.[34]

That same year, Pope Calixtus II, of precious memory, departed from this life. He was succeeded by Lambert, bishop of Ostia, a native of Bologna, who is known as Honorius. Lambert was elected over his competitor, Theobald, a cardinal-priest of title St. Anastasia. As the

[34] Baldwin II reached Jerusalem April 3, 1125, after an absence from Jerusalem of more nearly three years, though in this error William is following Fulcher's statement (see *H.F.*, p. 757).

election had not been conducted in strict canonical order, however, Honorius resigned at the end of twelve days, and in the presence of his brethren voluntarily laid aside his miter and mantle.

But at this evidence of humility, the brethren, bishops and priests, cardinals and deacons, feared for the future, lest some innovation be introduced into the Church of Rome. They therefore remedied the errors made in the original election and a second time elected Honorius as pope. They then fell at his feet and showed him the customary obedience as shepherd and pope over all.[35]

16. *Bursequinus, a Turkish prince, lays waste the lands of Antioch. The king proceeds against him. A battle is fought. The enemy is defeated.*

WHILE the king was still at Jerusalem, he was informed by frequent messengers that Bursequinus [Bursuqi],[36] a powerful Oriental potentate, with a mighty host gathered from the countries of the East, had crossed the Euphrates and was now in the territory of Antioch. Since there was no one to hinder him, he was overrunning the land according to his own good pleasure. Whatever he found outside the cities and fortified places he consigned to the flames, and he allowed his soldiers to pillage the whole country. The leading men of Antioch had tried to resist him, but, after several unsuccessful attempts, they realized that they could do nothing. They therefore made known their straits to the king, who long ago had been charged with the care of the principality, and besought him to come to their aid without delay. Burdened as he was with the dual responsibility of the kingdom and the principality, the king nevertheless felt little anxiety about the realm although he was bound to it by closer ties. For, often called upon to act in the difficulties of the principality, he had devoted nearly all his efforts and means to its welfare during a period of ten years. It was while thus engaged that he had been taken prisoner and for almost two years had suffered the indignity of the enemy's chains and dungeons. In the kingdom, on the contrary, protected by the divine hand,

[35] Election of Honorius II occurred in the midst of local political interference, which all regretted. It was corrected as William here indicates.

[36] Bursuqi was not a relative of Bursuq but a mamluk in his service. He was, however, known by that name. The possessive form of the name is used in this translation to distinguish him from his patron.

he had met with no misfortune, for God, the Comforter of His chosen kings, had in all things guided him to prosperity and success. Eager faithfully to carry out his promises, however, he assembled all available troops and marched in haste to Antioch.

Meanwhile, Bursuqi, a very powerful prince who had much experience in war, had formed an alliance with Tughtigin, king of Damascus, and before the arrival of the king, who, as he knew, had been summoned by the people of Antioch, the two laid siege to a fortress called Kafartab. By dint of many attacks, they compelled the besieged to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared. Then, in the hope of obtaining other like successes, Bursuqi crossed Syria Minor and laid siege to the stronghold of Sardona. For several days he put forth great efforts against this place, but, finally convinced that he could not succeed, he turned his attention to blockading the famous town of Ezaz, which was not as strongly fortified.

He was engaged in setting up his engines, making ready the apparatus of war, and testing out his strength for the destruction of the besieged, when the king arrived, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and the count of Edessa. They had come with large forces, at the command of God, to render immediate aid to the besieged. As they approached the enemy, the Christians formed into three divisions. The first, on the right wing, was composed of the chief men of Antioch; the second, which formed the left wing, was placed under the command of the two counts, each with his own army; while the center was held by the king. Their force consisted of eleven hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry.

As the Christians advanced, Bursuqi recognized with certainty that like wise men they were prepared for an immediate engagement. As he could not honorably decline battle, he also drew up his forces—which were said to number fifteen thousand knights—in twenty battalions. When the two armies had been thus disposed in military formation, they advanced precipitately upon each other with more than ordinary violence. Sword clashed against sword with equal ardor, causing terrible carnage and death in many a form. "For in conflicts of this nature, resentment inspired by sacrilege and scorn of laws always acts as an incentive to bitter hatred and enmity. War is waged differently and less vigorously between men who hold the same law and faith than it is between those of diverse opinions and conflicting traditions.

For even if no other cause for hatred exists, the fact that the combatants do not share the same articles of faith is sufficient reason for constant quarreling and enmity."

So the two armies engaged in furious combat with each other. Our side finally prevailed, however, for the God of mercy, who can easily overcome many with a few, was on our side; He who hath said concerning His chosen people, "How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up?" [37] The enemy was routed and the Christians triumphed most gloriously, for the victory was granted them from on high. It is said that the infidels lost two thousand men in that battle, but our people, only twenty-four.[38]

Bursuqi, covered with confusion and fear (for the expedition had turned out far otherwise than as he had anticipated), now crossed the Euphrates and returned to his own land. His retreat, however, was not attended by the same haughty assurance which characterized his advance.

The king paid his ransom with a large sum of money, collected in part from the spoils of the enemy and in part through the generosity of his friends and loyal adherents. In return, his five-year-old daughter, whom he had given as hostage, was sent back to him. He then took leave temporarily of the people of Antioch and returned in safety to Jerusalem, a conqueror. That same year he built a fortress in the mountains above the city of Beirut and called it Mt. Glavianus.

17. *The king defeats the people of Ascalon and the Egyptians who had come to assist them.*

The period of temporary peace and truce, which had been concluded between the king and Tughtigin in consideration of a sum of money, had now passed. Accordingly, the king assembled all the knighthood of the realm and invaded the land of Damascus. He overran that country without hindrance, destroyed some places in the surrounding fields, and carried away as prisoners some of the people. Then, laden with a vast amount of plunder, the richest spoils of the enemy, he returned home safe and sound.

[37] De. 32: 30.
[38] This battle was fought June 11, 1125 (see *H.F.*, p. 767). These numbers, also given by Fulcher, may indicate relative losses but cannot be accepted as literally true.

Three days had hardly passed, however, and the troops had not yet been demobilized, when news came that an Egyptian army in magnificent array had arrived before the city of Ascalon. The Egyptians were accustomed to send yearly four fresh expeditions to that city, that the strength of the Ascalonites might be continually renewed.[39] Thus they were enabled to sustain the ever-present conflicts with the Christians and the continual losses so incurred. The new arrivals were generally eager to try an encounter with our forces, for they desired to test our strength and at the same time to give conclusive proof of their own valor. It frequently happened in these skirmishes that many were captured or even slain by the sword, for the Egyptians were not acquainted with the country and had not attained full experience in warfare. The citizens, older and more experienced, prudently avoided encounters with our men, although they occasionally pursued them rather indifferently if the Christians took to flight.

When this information arrived, the king, rather continuing than renewing his campaign, hastened thither. As soon as he arrived, he selected a place well adapted for the purpose and, with some of the strongest and most valiant of his followers, placed himself in ambush. Some of the light-armed cavalry were sent on with orders to rove here and there over the country in order to irritate the people of Ascalon and draw them out in pursuit.

At sight of the Christian forces roaming freely about on the outskirts of the city, the citizens could not restrain their wrath over such bold presumption. Eagerly they seized arms and, regardless of consequences, issued from the city in separate detachments. Our men of their own accord turned their backs and fled. The Ascalonites, still utterly without caution, pursued the retreating foe until the place was reached where the king with his picked knights was lying in ambush. He did not disdain the offered opportunity. With the help of his comrades who sustained him loyally, he rushed out, stopped the infidels, and cut them off as they tried to retreat to the city. A fight at close quarters followed; the Christians attacked the infidels vigorously with their swords, and before the latter could regain the city in safety forty of their number were slain. The rest escaped into the town but could scarcely believe themselves safe even when they were within the walls.

[39] The Egyptians had practiced this policy of changing the garrison at Ascalon for many years. According to Wiet, the changes took place twice each year and did not involve a complete change of garrison each time.

The wailing and lamentation which arose from within the city was so unprecedented that it was evident that those who had fallen were among the bravest and noblest of their people.

Then the king ordered that his men be recalled by the sound of trumpet and roll of drum. With heartfelt joy he made camp near the city and there as victor passed the entire night in peace. He then returned safe and sound to Jerusalem.

18. *The king invades the land of the Damascenes. Tughtigin marches out against him. Battle is joined. Our army returns in triumph.*

In January of the following year (which was 1126 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the eighth of the reign of this same King Baldwin) the king and the lords gave orders that all the people, from the least even unto the greatest, be assembled. Through every city of the realm these orders were proclaimed by the voice of the herald. Thus within a few days, the entire military strength of the kingdom was levied and the entire body concentrated near the city of Tiberias, prepared to invade the land of Damascus.

As soon as the troops had assembled at the place appointed, the military signals were given, the baggage was arranged, and the ranks formed in order of march. They then traversed the country of Decapolis and entered the country of the enemy. Thence they crossed a narrow valley called Cavea Roab and arrived at the plain of Medan. This plain is of wide extent with unobstructed view. Through it, between Tiberias and Scythopolis, formerly called Bethsan, runs the river Dan on its way to unite with the Jordan. Some think—and the name itself supports their theory—that it is this river which furnishes the last syllable of the name Jordan; for the waters which descend into the sea of Galilee and flow out thence to the confluence of this same river, are called Jor. But when the two streams of the Jor and the Dan mingle the river so formed is called the Jordan. On the other hand, Bede and certain others of our learned men whose authority is not to be disputed, say that both streams have their origin near Caesarea Philippi, which lies at the foot of Mt. Lebanon.[40] One of these rivers is called Jor and

[40] Bede did not include this book, *Libellus de situ Hierusalem sive de locis sanctis*, in the list of his works, perhaps because he felt himself to be only a copyist. His copy, however, became famous as a guidebook for pilgrims. It was a somewhat abridged

the other Dan. From the union of the two is formed the flood of Jordan, which then descends as one stream into the sea of Gennesaret, which is the sea of Galilee. From this it again emerges as one river, and after flowing for almost a hundred miles through the famous valley, it empties into the lake of Asphalt, which is also known as the sea of Salt.

Crossing this plain our army came to the village which is called Salome. Then, as today, it was entirely peopled by Christians. Our men spared it, therefore, and treated the inhabitants like brethren. From there, with battalions arranged in good order and all the forces assigned to suitable places, they hastened on to a place called Mergisafar. It was here, according to the story, that Saul, the persecutor of the Church of God, that ravening wolf, heard the voice of one saying, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" [41] and so on. It seemed indeed divinely ordained that the army of the faithful should have arrived at that place on the anniversary of the day when these things are said to have occurred: namely, when from a persecutor of the Church, Saul was converted to a chosen vessel of the Lord.

At Mergisafar the assembled host remained for two days.[42] Opposite them and not far away they beheld the camp of the enemy. On the third day, the two forces met in battle. Careful preparation for fighting had been made by each side, and now, with troops marshalled in battle array, both infidels and Christians fought fiercely. Since both sides advanced to the conflict with equal force, the result of the battle was for a long time doubtful. In accordance with his usual custom, the king pressed the enemy hard. Calling his valiant men by name, he cheered them to the onslaught by word and example and promised them assurance of victory. In return, they strove valiantly as best they might to imitate their leader. Endued with the fervor of faith, they fell upon the enemy with drawn swords and endeavored to avenge at one and the same time not only their own wrongs but also those that had been committed against the Lord.

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version of the description of the Holy Land which Adamnan made from the recital of Arculf, the Frankish bishop who was shipwrecked on the western coast of Britain on his return from the pilgrimage. Bede's version was the one most frequently cited.

[41] Ac. 9:4.

[42] The place of this battle in the last week in January, 1126, is spelled Marj al-Suffrar by Gibb. The fluctuations of fortune during the battle are confirmed by Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 175–77).

Tughtigin, on his part, inspired his men with no less ardor by his words and roused their fighting spirit by his promises. He reminded them that they were fighting a just war for the sake of their wives and children; nay, more, they were striving for liberty, an even nobler task, and for the defense of their fatherland against robbers. Cheered by these words, they pressed on with courage not less and with strength not unequal to ours.

Inspired by the example of the king and the knights, the infantry forces launched a fierce attack upon the enemy's ranks and pressed them hard. They instantly dispatched with the sword any wounded or fallen infidel whom they chanced to find and thus prevented all possibility of escape. They lifted up those who had been thrown down and restored them to the fray. They sent the wounded back to the baggage train to receive care. Others devised a scheme which is believed to have been most destructive that day to the enemy's hordes; they turned their attention to wounding the horses of their adversaries and thus rendered the riders easy victims to the Christians who were following.

The king, followed by some of his valiant and illustrious knights, hurled himself like a lion against the serried ranks of the foe. Destruction on the right and on the left attended his progress, a massacre terrible even in the eyes of the conquerors. Our annals, even to the present time, contain no account of such a desperate and uncertain battle. Although the conflict was prolonged from the third to the tenth hour, it was scarcely possible to decide even in the eleventh hour which side had won. Finally, by divine favor at the intercession of the great teacher of the Gentiles, the infidels were put to flight. They had suffered a massacre which will be memorable forever, for more than two thousand of their number are said to have fallen on that day. When a count was taken of the Christian forces, both cavalry and infantry, it was found that only twenty-four knights and eighty foot soldiers had been lost.

Thus victory was conferred on the Christians from on high, and the king held the field as conqueror. With great joy and thanksgiving, he led his army thence and began the return march to his own land. On the way, he found a tower to which ninety-six Turks had retreated in the hope of saving their lives. He attacked this vigorously, seized the fugitives, and put them to death by the sword. A little farther on,

another tower was taken by assault, but since it was surrendered without difficulty, the privilege of life was granted to the twenty Turks who had been sent there to protect it. The Christians undermined this tower and it was soon so completely wrecked that it fell to the ground with a mighty crash.

Then, after obtaining several victories worthy of remembrance forever, the troops returned in exultation to their own country.

19. *The count of Tripoli seizes the city of Raphania. Henry, emperor of the Romans, dies. Lothair reigns in his stead.*

About this time, Pons, count of Tripoli, determined to besiege Raphania, a city near his own dominions, for he perceived that this could be easily accomplished. In order to carry out his plan more effectively he sent numerous letters and messages to the king of Jerusalem, begging that he would come and help him. The indefatigable king, ever ready to participate loyally in any enterprise for the common welfare of the Christians, at once repaired thither with an honorable escort. On his arrival, he found the count fully prepared for the campaign. Machines and everything necessary for besieging a city, including provisions sufficient for several days, were taken with them from Tripoli; the infantry was sent on ahead, and the two leaders conducted their own troops to the vicinity of their proposed activity.

On reaching the place, they at once placed a blockade around it, a maneuver which effectually prevented the citizens from going in or out. Because of its natural situation and the small number of inhabitants, Raphania was poorly fortified. Moreover, it had become so exhausted by repeated attacks that it was unable to hold out very long. For Count Pons had built a fortress in the mountains near his own lands, and the constant attacks made by the garrison from that place had reduced the city to dire straits, in fact almost to the last extremity. Accordingly, after the siege had been carried on vigorously for eighteen days, the citizens were forced to surrender. They were granted the privilege of departing freely with their wives and children and were promised security.

Raphania is one of the dependent cities of the province of Apamea in which it is situated. It was taken on the last day of March. After the surrender the king returned to Jerusalem and there celebrated Easter with much devotion.

About the same time, Henry, emperor of the Romans, died.[43] In his stead reigned Lothair, duke of Saxony, a man commendable in every respect. Lothair afterwards went down into Apulia with a large army and took forcible possession of the entire country as far as Farum. He compelled Count Roger, who had seized Apulia by force, to flee into Sicily and placed as ruler in Apulia a wise and discreet man called Renaud. After the emperor had departed, however, Roger returned to Apulia. He fought with Renaud, slew him, and regained the duchy. Later he became king of Sicily and of the entire province of Apulia.

20. *Bursuqi again invades the land of Antioch. He is finally stabbed by his own men and dies. The Egyptian fleet proceeds to Syria. There it suffers defeat and is forced to return without completing the campaign.*

WHILE the king was still lingering at Tyre, a messenger arrived in haste from Antioch. He brought the news, both by letter and word of mouth, that Bursuqi, that unspeakable persecutor of our faith, had entered Coelesyria with a large force of cavalry. Since there was no one to oppose him, he was besieging cities and burning places everywhere on the outskirts according to his own good pleasure. At the same time, he was carrying off the people as his prisoners and reducing women and children to slavery.

The king distrusted the Egyptians and had no doubt that they would soon arrive with the immense fleet which they had prepared. Yet, at this news, "like the wise physician who hastens to apply his remedies when he perceives that the disease is becoming worse," he at once laid aside all other cares and hastened thither to cope with the most pressing need. But as soon as Bursuqi learned of this movement, he at once raised the blockade which he had carefully placed around the noble fortress of Cerep and retired to the most remote part of the enemy's country. Before the king arrived, however, Bursuqi had seized by force a certain town of no great renown and had captured some women and their children. The men of the besieged town had with much difficulty and danger escaped the hand of the enemy. They had chosen to seek safety alone rather than to be caught in the wretched bonds of

[43] Henry V died May 23, 1125. Fulcher, who was writing in Jerusalem, probably learned of it from pilgrims at the Easter festival following and inserted it in his account, which William follows. The further information about Lothair's policy in southern Italy was added by William, but from what source is unknown.

captivity with their wives and children. Some time later, however, the wicked Bursuqi, a son of perdition, was stabbed to death by his servants and other members of his household.[44] Thus by his own acts he brought upon himself the natural consequences of his wickedness and reaped the fruit of his impiety.

This, then, was the situation in the lands of Antioch. Meanwhile, as rumor had forecast, the Egyptian fleet of twenty-four galleys was sailing along the shore, seeking an opportunity to inflict injury upon some of our cities, and had reached Beirut. They were ever on the alert, also, as if emerging from ambush, to surprise and seize any Christians who might be passing without due caution or approaching Syria. Finally, however, their water supply gave out and they were compelled to land near a river to seek means of satisfying their thirst. Thereupon, the citizens of Beirut issued forth and, with the help of others from the neighboring towns, drove them with violence from the stream. This action utterly deprived the Egyptians of the opportunity of using the water. Making vigorous use of their weapons, the townspeople forced the enemy back to the ships, whither they were forced to retire with a loss of one hundred and thirty men who had fallen by the sword.

21. *Bohemond the Younger arrives at Antioch. The king restores the lands which belonged to the prince by ancestral right and gives him his own daughter Alice to wife.*

IN the following autumn,[45] the younger Bohemond, prince of Taranto, son of the older Bohemond, made an alliance with his paternal uncle, William, duke of Apulia, and concluded a treaty with him in regard to the future succession, by which it was stipulated that the one who died first was to be succeeded by the other in entirety. A fleet of ten galleys and twelve other vessels suitable for carrying the baggage and equipment as well as arms and provisions had been made ready. With this Bohemond started for Syria, for he felt confident of the good faith of

[44] Bursuqi was killed in late November or early December, 1126, according to Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 177).

[45] Bohemond II arrived in September, 1126. The fact that the marriage of Bohemond II and Alice, daughter of Baldwin II, occurred so soon after his arrival suggests the probability that negotiations had been going on for some time and the marriage was a real condition to Baldwin's relinquishment of Antioch.

the king, who had promised that, when he came to claim the heritage left him by his father, it would not be refused.

When the king learned that the fleet of the prince had safely entered the mouth of the Orontes river, he went forth with the great lords of the land to meet him. And as soon as Bohemond had entered Antioch, Baldwin with all kindness restored to him the city and the whole land, the burden of which he himself had borne with watchful care and anxiety for eight years.

After the principality had been thus restored, all the leading men and the chiefs of the land, in the presence of the king and at his behest, swore fealty to Bohemond in his own palace. Then through the offices of certain friends of both parties, the king gave Bohemond his second daughter Alice in marriage. This alliance was arranged under conditions approved both by the king and the prince, that the friendly relations and esteem between them might be increased.

Bohemond was about eighteen years old. He was rather tall and of fine figure. He had blond hair and well-made features. His whole bearing plainly showed the prince even to those who did not know him. His conversation was agreeable and easily won the favor of those who listened to him. He was of a generous nature and, like his father, truly magnificent. In respect to high lineage according to the flesh, he was second to none. His father, Bohemond the Elder, was the son of the illustrious Robert Guiscard, a man whose name will live forever. His mother, Constance, a daughter of Philip, the excellent king of the Franks, was a woman conspicuous among illustrious women for her admirable and noble character.[46]

The nuptials were celebrated according to custom and the princess with due ceremony united to the prince in the bonds of lawful marriage. Then the king, relieved of the greater part of his burden, returned to Jerusalem safe and sound.

In the following year, Bohemond laid siege to the fortress of Kafartab, which had been subjugated several years before by the strong hand of the enemy. Military forces were summoned from the entire principality, and the engineers were ordered to build the machines necessary for storming a stronghold. The place fell a short time after siege operations were begun. Bohemond spared none found therein,

[46] Book XI, chap. 6.

but slew all, regardless of the bribes offered by those who endeavored thus to secure life and safety. Such were the first fruits of his youthful prowess which this noble and distinguished prince offered as proofs of his natural ability.

22. *A serious enmity arises between Bohemond II and Joscelin, count of Edessa. The king hurries thither and settles the strife. The Africans make a fierce attack on Syracuse, a city of Sicily.*

Before long, a serious enmity arose between this prince and the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. The reasons for this are unknown, at least to us, but they were assuredly hateful in the eyes of God, for contrary to the honorable custom and laws of our times, Joscelin called to his aid bands of infidel Turks, an act which established a vicious precedent for his descendants.[47] Aided by them, he ravaged the land of Antioch with fire and sword and forced its inhabitants, true servants of Christ, to bow beneath the yoke of unmerited servitude. This conduct seems all the more extraordinary and deserving of divine censure, because it is said to have happened while Bohemond, ignorant of what was going on, was fighting in the service of Christ against the enemies of the Lord. Hence the aforesaid Joscelin merits the execration of all to whom this story, fraught with hate and indignation, comes.

Rumors of this trouble reached the king and caused him much anxiety. He was concerned, in the first place, lest this discord might afford the enemy a favorable opportunity to molest the Christians, because, according to the word of the Lord, "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation." [48] In the second place, both parties were closely related to him by blood, for the one was his cousin, the son of his mother's sister, and the other was his son-in-law, to whom he had recently given his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, he set out in haste for Antioch to try to bring about a reconciliation. With the devoted and loyal coöperation of Bernard, the patriarch of Antioch, he was successful in establishing most cordial relations between the

[47] The alliance of Christian leaders with Turks was no new policy, for William has recounted earlier instances. Either this marks a resumption of writing after a considerable interval during which he forgot those earlier instances, or he has in mind the later careers of Joscelin II and Joscelin III. This quarrel occurred in the summer of 1127.

[48] Lu. 11:17.

two lords. Luckily for the king's purpose, the count in the meantime had contracted a serious illness. It was while he was suffering from this and in great danger of death that he repented of his evil deeds and made a vow that if God would grant him life and health, he would give satisfaction to the prince, become reconciled to him, and pay rightful homage. And this came to pass. For after Joscelin was fully recovered, the two were reconciled in the presence of the king and the patriarch. Good will in full measure now existed between them. Joscelin swore fealty to him and observed it thereafter as in duty bound. After thus happily ending this affair, the king returned to Jerusalem.

Just about this time, Count Roger of Sicily is said to have set sail for Africa with a fleet of forty galleys which he had caused to be prepared with great care. The news of his coming had preceded him, however, and the people of that province, forewarned, had prudently taken precautions, so that he might have no opportunity of injuring them. On the contrary, with zeal equal to his own, they armed all their galleys and swiftly gave chase. The Christians were forced to flee without accomplishing their object, for the pursuit was continued to the very shores of Sicily. On arriving there with eighty galleys, the enemy made an unexpected attack upon Syracuse. This ancient and noble city had become enervated from long-continued peace, and, in its fancied security, was wholly without apprehension of such danger. It at once succumbed. Without regard to age or sex, the Africans massacred a large number of citizens, while the few who were spared had to suffer a slavery worse than any form of death. The bishop of the place with a few clerics escaped with much difficulty by fleeing to the country outside the city.[49]

23. *The first archbishop of the Latins at Tyre is appointed.*

In the following spring, which was the fourth year after Tyre had been restored to the Christian faith, the king and the patriarch met with the leading men of the realm at the city of Tyre to choose an archbishop over the church there. William, the venerable prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, was finally appointed. He was

[49] This episode, which has no direct connection with the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, is another instance of William's familiarity with the affairs of southern Italy.

an Englishman by birth, and a man of most exemplary life and character.

At this point, we are entirely unable to restrain our lamentations; for, as the proverb says, "Where love is, there are the eyes; where sorrow abides there is the hand." This matter weighs heavily upon us, and the pain it inflicts permits our heart no rest. For although we admire the prudence of that time, yet we are perplexed and regard it rather as rashness. For those, who two years before this city was restored to Christian liberty had consecrated a bishop over them, afterwards, with dilatory and crass prudence neglected to provide a head for that same church until four years later. Consequently, during that time, the churches were broken up and the cathedral church, although it ought to have received attention first of all because it had the responsibility of governing, was curtailed of its own members. Thus, like one accursed, it received the worser lot; for it is written, "Cursed is the man who causes his own portion to deteriorate."

Nevertheless, that predecessor of ours and all of us who have followed him in that same church have with justice escaped the effect of that curse.[50] For it was not we who brought about the deterioration of our lot; on the contrary, we were forced to enter upon conditions that had been made worse by others. May the Lord spare those who so mishandled the church and not consign them to Gehenna.

After receiving the gift of consecration from the patriarch of Jerusalem, William, our predecessor of good memory, started for Rome to receive the pallium. This he did in direct opposition to the wishes of the one who had consecrated him, and in spite of the latter's efforts. William was kindly received at Rome by Pope Honorius II, who granted his request and sent him back to his own land with much honor, the bearer of an apostolic letter. The tenor of this was as follows:

"Honorius, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his brethren the venerable suffragan bishops, to the clergy, and to the people of Tyre, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"We have received with due affection on the occasion of his coming to us, your archbishop, our very dear brother William. Upon him,

[50] This is the first definite indication that he was writing after June, 1175, when he was made archbishop. Whether this material was inserted after 1180 or written during the period from 1175–1178 is not clear.

elected according to canonical rules and consecrated by our venerable brother Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, we have conferred the dignity of the pallium, that is, the full pontifical powers. We believe that from him, by the aid of divine mercy, will come much fruit to your mother church at Tyre. Hence we deem it well to send him back to you with the favor of the apostolic see, as the bearer of our letter. We command you as a whole to receive him kindly and to render him in all humility subjection, obedience, and reverence as your own metropolitan and the bishop of your souls. . . ."

"Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"Having received your letter of brotherly affection, we have welcomed with kindness our brother William, whom you have consecrated archbishop over the church at Tyre, and we have invested him with the dignity of the pallium, that is, with the fullness of the pontifical office. Moreover, we have commanded the suffragans of his church to render to him subjection, obedience, and reverence as to their own metropolitan.

Given in the territory of Bari, July 8." [51]

With the archbishop the pope sent also, as legate of the apostolic see, Giles, bishop of Tusculum, an eloquent and very learned man, whose famous letters to the people of Antioch are still extant. By Giles the pope sent a letter to Bernard, the patriarch of Antioch, in which he admonished the latter to restore to the lord of Tyre the suffragans belonging to that church, whom Bernard was withholding. Among other things, he said, "Wherefore, we command you by the apostolic letter and by our venerable brother Giles, bishop of Tusculum and legate of the apostolic see, that you restore to William the suffragans of the church at Tyre, that, unless they show the rightful submission to him within forty days after the reading of the letter which we have sent you, we suspend them from that time from the episcopal office."

How it happened that William had been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem and owed obedience to him, although from the time of the apostles even to that day it is certain that the church at Tyre was

[51] July 8, 1128, according to R. Röhricht (see *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani,* no. 123).

subject to the see at Antioch, will be related in a suitable place in the following history.[52]

24. *The count of Anjou arrives at the invitation [of the king]. Melisend, the king's eldest daughter, is given to him in marriage.*

About midspring of the following year Fulk, the magnificent and illustrious count of Anjou, landed at Acre. By the unanimous advice of all the princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, the king had invited him hither to wed the lady Melisend, his eldest daughter. He came attended by an honorable retinue of nobles and with a magnificence and pomp which surpassed that of kings.

With Fulk came William de Bury, the royal constable, who, on the king's release from captivity, had been sent with some other nobles to invite the count thither.[53] On setting forth upon this mission, William had been instructed to take a solemn oath by the soul of the king and of the princes of the realm that within fifty days after the said count reached the kingdom in safety he would be given the king's eldest daughter in marriage, with the expectation of succeeding to the throne at Baldwin's death. At soon as he landed, therefore, and even before the celebration of Holy Pentecost which was near at hand, the king gave him his eldest daughter in marriage, according to the terms of the agreement.[54] At the same time he endowed the pair with the cities of Tyre and Acre, to be held by them during the king's own lifetime. These cities continued to be in their possession until the king's death.

Fulk showed himself a wise and discreet man. During Baldwin's lifetime, he devotedly fulfilled all the duties of a son. He was faithful and active in attending to matters of the realm, and in his deference to the lord king he proved that he was not lacking in those qualities which ordinarily win friends.

[52] William's implication that it was wrong to have the archbishopric of Tyre subject to Jerusalem suggests a point of view which he may have developed more strongly after 1180. He has already recounted the circumstances which led to this arrangement.

[53] This mission must have been sent some time later, for William de Bury was still in Palestine in 1126 (*R. Reg.*, no. 115), perhaps not until 1127. The proposal had the approval of Pope Honorius, whose letter commending Fulk to Baldwin II is dated May 29, 1128 (*R. Reg.*, no. 122).

[54] Just before June 2, 1129.

25. *Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. Stephen is chosen in his place. Difficult questions arise between the king and the patriarch.*

THAT same year, Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem of precious memory, was besieging a fortress in the district of Sidon called Belthasem, which at that time was held by bandits. There he contracted the seeds of death and was stricken with a serious illness. He was carried to Sidon, where, as his illness increased, he finally paid the debt of mankind and went the way of all flesh. He had ruled over the church at Jerusalem for nearly ten years.[55] In his place was chosen a man, noble according to the flesh indeed, but far more noble in life and character, Stephen, abbot of St. John of the Valley, in the city of Chartres. He was a native of Chartres and a kinsman of King Baldwin. Of knightly rank and mode of life, he had been before his conversion viscount of that city. Later, he renounced the world, put on the habit of religion in the monastery just mentioned, and finally, because of his merit, was made head of that church. In his youth he had been thoroughly instructed in the liberal arts.

Abbot Stephen had come on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer and devotion and was waiting there to make the return passage. It happened to be the very time when, after the obsequies of the Patriarch Gormond, the clergy and people were engaged in choosing a new shepherd. By common consent their choice fell upon Stephen, and he was elected.

After his consecration, however, he began to raise troublesome questions in opposition to the king. He alleged that the city of Jaffa belonged by right to him and to the church of the Resurrection of the Lord. He even claimed that, after the capture of Ascalon, the Holy City itself should by right submit to the church in the same way. He was a man of lofty spirit and honorable character, unswerving in everything he undertook and zealously insistent upon his own rights.[56]

[55] The reference to "the same year" is misleading. Gormond had become patriarch in 1118, his ten-year reign thus ending in 1128. This accords with other evidence (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 184, note 8).

[56] The assertion of such claims by the patriarch against the king evidently meets with William's approval. Compare the claims of Daimbert and William's justification of them (Book IX, chaps. 17 and 18).

Consequently, a serious enmity arose between him and the king; but his premature death, according to the story, put an end to this. For he died before he had completed a term of two years. Some think that he was poisoned, but we have no definite information as to that. It is said, however, that while he was lying on his deathbed the king came to see him and inquired how he was. His response was, "Sire, I am now in the condition which you desire."

26. *In company with the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and the count of Edessa, the king invades the land of Damascus. He is compelled to retreat in disorder, however, with the loss of a part of the army. The patriarch Stephen dies. William is chosen in his stead.*

In the following year, Hugh de Payens, the first master of the Knights of the Temple, and several other men of religion returned. They had been sent by the king and the chief men of the kingdom to the princes of the West for the purpose of rousing the people there to come to our assistance.[57] Above all, they were to try to induce men of influence to come to help us besiege Damascus. Led by their persuasive words, many companies of noblemen had arrived in the kingdom. Accordingly, relying upon the powerful assistance of these newcomers, all the Christian princes of the East convened as by agreement. There were present King Baldwin; Fulk, count of Anjou; Pons, count of Tripoli; the younger Bohemond, prince of Antioch; and the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. After taking counsel together, all these leaders levied military forces from every direction and summoned their allies. Then, in zealous emulation of each other, they marched in battle array to besiege the renowned and noble city of Damascus. It was their hope that they might take the city by fighting at close quarters, or by laying siege to it force it to surrender. Divine providence, however, with just though unseen judgment, blocked this great enterprise. Until they entered the land of Damascus, they had been attended by good fortune under the leadership of God. At a place called Mergisafar, however,

[57] Hugh de Payens, who had attended the council of Troyes in 1128, where the rule of the order of the Templars was approved, had recruited followers both for the order and for the needs of the kingdom (see Book XII, chap. 7). The sum total of the knights and other troops who came from the West with Hugh de Payens and with Fulk of Anjou must have been considerable to permit such an ambitious undertaking as the siege of Damascus.

men of lesser rank separated from the main army. It was the customary duty of these men to spread here and there through the fields in search of the provisions and fodder necessary for the use of men and beasts. William de Bury with a thousand knights was in charge of this party. As is usual on such forays, the contingent separated into small parties, which began to roam recklessly over the country. They purposely kept apart from one another, that each band might claim for itself whatever it found and not share with the rest. Intent upon this and busy in devastating the fields, all bent on carrying away plunder for their own companies, these forces began to conduct themselves very imprudently and soon passed beyond the bounds of military discipline.

News of this reckless behavior soon came to the ears of Tughtigin, the prince of Damascus.[58] Well aware that these troops were unacquainted with the locality, the prince hoped that by making a sudden attack with only his best and most experienced warriors, he might succeed in destroying them. His hopes were realized. While they were incautiously roaming about in search of food, he made a sudden attack upon them and easily put them to flight, for they were intent upon other things and wholly unprepared for danger. Dispersed as they were through the fields, many fell by the swords of the infidel. The prince continued the pursuit until he had put to flight not only the rank and file but also the flower of the army who had been detailed to guard the foraging party. Many of these picked soldiers were also slain.

When news of this disaster reached the army, the hearts of all were kindled with wrath. Eager to resent such a wrong and to seek revenge against the enemy, they snatched their weapons and, with resolute and fiery courage, prepared to move against the foe. But against the will of divine power, the purposes of man can make no progress. Suddenly a violent rainstorm accompanied by fog descended upon them from on high. The roads were rendered impassable by the downpour, and the fury of the tempest alone was such that it was hardly possible to hope to escape alive. Long before this, the dense clouds and the fog, the winds rushing from every direction, the constant thunder and lightning had given unmistakable warning of the storm. But the mind of man, ignorant of the future, heeded not the divine forbearance which would have recalled them. On the contrary, the forces strove to pro-

[58] Tughtigin had died February 11, 1128. His son, Taj al-Muluk Buri, was now in charge of affairs.

ceed against the will of God, a thing which is impossible. At length, they realized that the tempest had been sent upon them because of their sins. Reluctantly they were obliged to abandon their purpose. Conditions were now entirely changed. When they first set out, they were greatly feared by the enemy as a terrible menace. Now these same men were a burden to themselves. Merely to return in safety to their own land, would, they felt, be a great victory. The enemy, on the other hand, was now quite at ease and had even become superior.

This disaster occurred eight days before the Ides of December (December 6) in the year 1130 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the twelfth year of King Baldwin's reign. It happened at almost the very place where four years before the king had obtained a notable and ever-memorable victory over the same enemy.[59]

Marvellous is it, O eternal Saviour, truly marvellous and far beyond the conception of man, how Thou bringest low those who presume on their own merits! Thou piercest the hearts of those who trust in man and in the arm of their own flesh by hurling Thy malediction against them as they indeed deserve. Thou seekest no helper or sharer in Thy glory. For Thou hast said, blessed God, "I will not give my glory unto another." [60] "Vengeance is mine; I will repay." [61] "I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." [62] Truly, O Lord, hast Thou spoken! For as long as the king committed himself entirely to superabounding divine grace and employed only the forces of his own realm, he often announced unhoped-for victories over the enemy. When, however, he began to rely upon numbers and presumed on his power to exalt himself by the work of men, when he began to multiply his allies and to trust in human valor, Thou didst withdraw Thy favor and didst abandon him to his own resources. For, when he trusted in the aid of the Lord, he was wont, even with small forces, to triumph easily over the enemy; but now, even though accompanied by a multitude, he was forced to retreat discomfited.

[59] The date of this defeat was late in 1129. Qalanisi, who was presumably in Damascus at the time and wrote a lengthy account of it, placed it in November of that year instead of December 6, as William has it. It is strange that William omitted the highly interesting events which preceded the campaign. The Assassins had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Damascenes and had given Banyas to Baldwin as a means of saving it from Damascus. This omission illustrates William's difficulty in carrying on historical research without written guides and with many distractions of public office (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 187–99; also *R.K.J.*, pp. 186–87).

[60] Is. 48:11. [61] Ro. 12:19. [62] De. 32:39.

So, at this time, the very heavens fought against them. Driven back by the storm sent from on high, they were unable to accomplish their purpose and could not avenge their comrades who had fallen by the sword of the enemy.

After these unfortunate occurrences, our leaders separated, for it was evident that the work which they had undertaken could not be carried out successfully. Consequently, all returned home.

During this time, Stephen, patriarch of Jerusalem, of precious memory, died.[63] He was succeeded by William, prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. William was a plain, sincere man, handsome of appearance and commendable for his noble character, although but slightly versed in letters. He was Flemish by birth, a native of Malines. He proved very acceptable to the king, to the princes of the realm, and to the people in general.

27. *Bohemond, prince of Antioch, is killed in Cilicia, near Mamistra. The king repairs to Antioch in haste. Bohemond's widow tries to prevent her father from entering the city, but, by the efforts of the citizens, the state is entrusted to the king and the princess is exiled.*

Soon after Bohemond, prince of Antioch, the king's son-in-law, returned to his own province from that campaign, Ridwan, prince of Aleppo,[64] a very powerful Turkish ruler, a son of Satan, invaded the land of Antioch. Bohemond, hoping thereby to keep him out of his own territory, hastened against him into Cilicia. Other reasons also relating to private and domestic affairs called the young prince thither. While encamped there in a broad plain called the meadow of the Mantles, he was suddenly attacked by a great number of the enemy. His men deserted, and Bohemond was slain by the foe.[65] He would have been a great prince, beloved of God, had not premature death and invidious fate snatched him from the world. This misfortune utterly overwhelmed the people of Antioch. Since he was young, they had felt that they might be safe for a long time under his rule, and consequently they had ventured to undertake more than was expedient.

[63] His death occurred late in the year 1130 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 133).

[64] This is an error. Ridwan of Aleppo, who had been prominent during the siege of Antioch in 1098, had died in 1114. Zangi had acquired Aleppo, and it was now ruled by him directly or through a lieutenant named Sawar.

[65] The death of Bohemond II occurred in February, 1130. His headless body is said to have been found and given proper burial in Antioch.

Again they renewed their lamentations, complaining that without the help of a prince they were in danger of falling a prey to the enemy; and again, after holding a council, they called on the king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin was greatly disturbed at the news of this fresh calamity, for he feared that, deprived of a leader, some worse misfortune might befall the principality. Since he regarded nothing that happened to the Christian princes as alien to himself, he at once laid aside his own concerns and began to assume the burdens of others. Anything that he could do for a Christian people seemed worthy of his attention. Accordingly, he proceeded to Antioch as speedily as possible.

But as soon as his daughter [Alice] learned of her husband's death, and, in fact, before she was aware of her father's intention to come to Antioch, an evil spirit led her to conceive a wicked plan. In order to make her position more secure and to carry her plan into effect, she sent messengers to a certain powerful Turkish chief, called Sanguis [Zangi].[66] By his aid she hoped to acquire Antioch for herself in perpetuity, despite the opposition of her chief men and the entire people. For Bohemond of happy memory had left an only daughter, who apparently did not stand high in the favor of her mother. Whether she remained a widow or remarried, Alice was determined to disinherit her daughter and keep the principality for herself in perpetuity. By one of her own servants she sent to the nobleman just mentioned a present of a snow-white palfrey shot with silver. The bridle and other trappings were likewise of silver and even the silken saddle cloth was white, so that uniformity prevailed throughout. By chance this messenger was intercepted on his way and, when brought into the presence of the king, confessed all the details of the plot. As the fitting consequence of his evil doings, he was put to death with extreme torture.[67]

On learning of the unfortunate events which have just been related, the king hurried to Antioch. When he reached there, however, he was refused admission to the city by his daughter's orders. The pangs of conscience had laid hold on her and she feared her father's decision.

[66] This is Zangi, whose father had been governor of Aleppo under Malik Shah. When the father was killed in 1094, Zangi, then ten years old, had been sent to Mosul. His military career began quite early and with good fortune. He became governor of Mosul in 1126–1127 and extended his sway to Aleppo in 1128.

[67] Some of the details of this story appear legendary. Alice's efforts to bring about peace with Zangi even at the cost of the marriage of her daughter with a Muslim prince, provided she herself could continue to rule at Antioch, has confirmation in Arabic accounts.

She accordingly entrusted the place to her accomplices and to those whom her money had corrupted, and made every effort to resist, that she might be free to exercise her tyrannical will. But the result proved to be far other than as she had planned. For there were God-fearing men in that same city who scorned the bold insolence of a foolish woman. Among these were Peter Latinator, a monk of St. Paul, and William Aversa. With the consent of others, they secretly sent messengers to summon the king and, by a prearranged plan, placed Fulk, count of Anjou, at the gate of the Duke and Count Joscelin at the gate of St. Paul. The gates were then unbarred, and the king entered the city.

When the princess learned of this, she at once retreated to the citadel. Later, however, in response to the summons of the wiser men of Antioch and by the advice of those in whom she had full confidence, she presented herself before her father, prepared to obey his will. Baldwin was very indignant at her conduct, yet he was not without paternal feelings and was finally induced to give way to the pleading of those who made intercession for her. Antioch was surrendered to him, and, lest she might at some other time make a similar attempt, the king granted her the coast cities of Laodicea and Jabala. For her husband, in his last will, had destined these cities for her, because they had formed her dowry at the time of her marriage.

When the king had thus arranged the affairs of Antioch, he entrusted it to the care of the principal men and returned to Jerusalem, where private matters called him. Before he left, however, he caused all, both great and small, to take the solemn oath that during his own time and thereafter they would faithfully keep Antioch and its dependencies for Constance, the minor daughter of Bohemond the Younger. For he feared the wicked malice of his own daughter, lest she should make a second attempt to disinherit her minor daughter.

28. *The king returns to Jerusalem. He is attacked by a serious illness from which he dies. He is buried with the other kings in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord.*

On his return to Jerusalem, the king was attacked by a serious malady and perceived that the day of his death was at hand. Thereupon he laid aside his royal state and, as a humble suppliant in the sight of the Lord, went forth from the palace. He caused himself to be carried into

the palace of the lord patriarch, because that was nearer to the place of the Lord's resurrection. For he had full hope that the One who had overcome death in that place would make him a sharer in His own resurrection. He then summoned to him his daughter and his son-in-law and the boy Baldwin, who was now two years old.[68] To them, in the presence of the patriarch and the prelates of the church and some of the nobles who happened to be present, he committed the care of the kingdom with full power. Then, as a devout prince, he bestowed upon them his fatherly benediction.

After this, having assumed the garb of religion as a true confessor of Christ and professed the religious life, if he should live, he rendered up his spirit to Him who is the Father of spirits and by the will of God departed to receive his reward with the other princes who had gone before. He died on the twenty-first day of August, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1131, and of his own reign the thirteenth. He was buried with his predecessors, those kings of pious memory, at the foot of Mount Calvary, before the place which is called Golgotha. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by his people, with all the magnificence befitting a king. Even unto the present time, his memory is held in veneration by all, because of his exemplary faith and illustrious deeds.

[68] This is the future Baldwin III. William's unusual phrase *jam bimulo* seems somewhat ambiguous, for unless Baldwin had been born in 1129 he could hardly have been two years old by August 21, 1131.

HERE ENDS THE THIRTEENTH BOOK

THE FOURTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

FULK OF ANJOU AS KING OF JERUSALEM: TROUBLES IN NORTHERN SYRIA

1. *The lineage and character of Fulk, the third king of Jerusalem.*

When Baldwin du Bourg, the second Latin king of Jerusalem, was called from this world, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk, count of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, to whom, as we mentioned above, he had given his eldest daughter, Melisend, in marriage. This Fulk was a ruddy man, like David, whom the Lord found after His own heart. He was faithful and gentle, affable, kind, and compassionate, unusual traits in people of that complexion. In works of piety and the giving of alms, he was most generous. Even before he was called to guide the affairs of the kingdom, he was a powerful prince, according to the flesh, and very successful in ruling his own people. He was an experienced warrior full of patience and wisdom in military affairs. He was of medium height and was already well advanced in age, a man of more than sixty years.[1]

Among other failings from which he suffered because of human frailty was that of a poor memory, so fleeting that he seldom remembered faces or names, not even those of his own domestics. If someone on whom he had recently conferred the high honor of his friendly favor appeared suddenly before him, he was obliged to inquire carefully who he was. This often proved embarrassing to those who, presuming on their acquaintance with him, offered to act as mediators for others and found that they themselves needed a patron with him.

His father, likewise called Fulk, surnamed Rechin, was the count of Touraine and Anjou. He married Bertelea [Bertrada], sister of Amaury de Montfort. They had two sons, the Fulk of whom we are speaking and Geoffrey Martel; also a daughter, Hermengarde,[2] who

[1] It is possible, even probable, that William had seen Fulk. Actually Fulk was barely forty years old when he became king and only fifty-three when he died, but to a lad of ten he must have seemed a very old man. This impression remained with William, who thought of Fulk always as an old man.

[2] Fulk IV, le Rechin, had had three wives (A. Fliche, *Le Règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France, 1060–1108*, pp. 44, 233) or four wives (L. Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*

married as her first husband William, count of Poitou. Spurned and cast off by him, she fled to the count of Brittany, to whom she clung with the affection of a wife. To this pair was born Conan, count of Brittany, who was called the Fat.

After bearing these three children to her lawful husband, Fulk the Elder, Bertrada deserted him and took refuge with Philip, king of the Franks. He put aside his legitimate wife and took Bertrada as the sharer of his couch and the companion of his cares. Contrary to the law of the church and despite all the efforts of the bishops and nobles of his realm, he continued to keep her with him and later treated her with the affection of a husband.[3] By her, he had two sons, Florus and Philip, and a daughter, Cecilia, who was mentioned above. Cecilia married as her first husband Tancred, prince of Antioch, and, after his death, she espoused Pons, count of Tripoli.

Fulk's younger son and namesake married, after his father's death, Guiberg [Eremberge], the daughter of Elia [Hélie], count of Maine.[4] She bore him two sons and two daughters. His mother brought about this marriage. In his youth, Fulk was serving as cupbearer at the court of his lord, the count of Poitou, when the news of the death of his elder brother arrived.[5] The count immediately seized the young man

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au XIe siècle, pp. 169–70) before he married Bertrada. The last two had been repudiated by him and were still living when he married her. This marriage occurred probably in 1090, certainly no earlier than 1089. Her son, Fulk, could therefore have been born no earlier than 1089 nor later than 1092. She fled to, or was abducted by, Philip at Orléans on the night of May 15, 1092 (Halphen), which might indicate that her son had been born no later than 1091. Mlle Chartrou, who has assembled all the available information on this problem (Josèphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151,* p. 77), prefers either 1090 or 1092 as the date of his birth. Fulk was therefore no older than forty-one years and may have been only thirty-nine when he became king of Jerusalem. The other children mentioned by William were of the earlier marriages. The name of the daughter suggests that she, like Geoffrey, was the child of the second wife, Ermengarde de Bourbon.

[3] Various stories arose to explain the separation of Bertrada from Fulk IV. Fliche, after examining all of them, concludes that it was her irresistible charm which led Philip to abduct her, repudiate his wife, Bertha, who had grown flabby, and marry Bertrada. The marriage took place very soon after the abduction in 1092. This violation of the marriage sacrament was the chief cause for the excommunication of Philip (see Fliche, *Philippe Ier,* pp. 40–77).

[4] Her name was Eremberge rather than Guiberg, and through her Fulk received the inheritance of Hélie de la Flèche, count of Maine (see Fliche, *Philippe Ier,* p. 231).

[5] When his oldest son, Geoffrey, died in 1106, Fulk IV asked to have his other son, Fulk, then at the court of France with his mother, succeed him. William IX, duke of Aquitaine, leader of the crusade of 1101, happened to be at the court at the time and was entrusted with the task of taking young Fulk to his father. Instead, William kept Fulk for a year or more until his father agreed to give up some disputed border country (see Fliche, *Philippe Ier,* pp. 232–35).

and put him in prison. His object was to wrest from Fulk by force certain castles located in his own domain which had long been held by Fulk's father and brother by hereditary right, although in fief to himself as count of Poitou.

Long before this, his mother had separated from his father and had fled to the king of the Franks. When she learned of her son's imprisonment, her maternal feelings were aroused. She went to the king and, as a suppliant, implored him to order her son's release from prison and to restore his paternal inheritance. She obtained her request and also succeeded in persuading the king to bestow upon Fulk in marriage the only daughter of Count Hélie, mentioned above, with her entire heritage. By Eremberge, Fulk had, as we have said above, two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Geoffrey, succeeded his father as count, and to him Henry the Elder, the powerful king of the Angles, gave as wife his only daughter, Matilda, the widow of Henry, emperor of the Romans.[6]

By this marriage Geoffrey had three sons: Henry, who now wisely and vigorously administers the kingdom of England; Geoffrey, surnamed Plantagenet; and William, known as Long Sword.

Fulk's second son bore the name Hélie for his maternal grandfather. To him Rotrou, count of Perche, gave his only daughter in marriage. He promised that he himself would not remarry, but would, on his death, transfer to Hélie in all integrity her entire inheritance. Regardless of this agreement, however, and of his lavish promises, he married a sister of Count Patritius, an English lord, by whom he had several children. Thus Hélie, contrary to his expectations, lost his wife's inheritance.

Sibylla, one of Fulk's daughters, married the noble and distinguished Thierry, count of Flanders.[7] Of this marriage was born Philip, who

[6] Matilda was the daughter of Henry I, king of England, whom William calls "Elder" to distinguish him from his grandson, Henry II, who ruled England in William's time. She had been sent to Germany before she was ten to become the wife of Henry V. Her English companions were dismissed, and she was brought up in the strict etiquette of the imperial court. Her marriage took place when she was twelve. She was a widow at twenty-three. She was much beloved in Germany, but her father wanted her to become his heir in England. Her ways were doubtless strange there, and she was always referred to as "the empress" even after her marriage to Geoffrey of Anjou, ten years her junior and scarcely seventeen at the time of the marriage. Even her son, Henry II, was called Henry Fitz-empress (son of the empress).

[7] Sibylla had originally been married to William Clito, the natural son of Robert of Normandy, older brother of Henry I. The latter took the initiative in having this marriage annulled on the grounds of consanguinity. Fulk was very angry when the

today holds the county of Flanders. The second daughter, Matilda, had been betrothed to Henry, son of the king of England. Before the marriage took place, however, her betrothed, while sailing to England, suffered shipwreck and was drowned. Matilda vowed perpetual celibacy, and in the abbey of Fontevrault she led a holy life until her death.[8]

2. *How, before he was summoned by King Baldwin, Fulk had visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage; and how he was raised to the throne.*

AFTER the death of his wife and before he was summoned by the king, Fulk went to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. There he devoted himself nobly to the service of the Lord and gained, as he well deserved, the favor of all the people as well as that of the king. He lived on terms of intimate friendship with all the barons. For the space of a year, he maintained in the kingdom, at his own expense, an hundred knights.[9] At length he returned in safety to his own land, where he arranged marriages for his sons and daughters and put the affairs of his domain in splendid condition. Some years after his return, while he was administering his affairs with wisdom and energy, an embassy arrived from the king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin was anxious to arrange a marriage for his eldest daughter so that he might provide for the succession. Accordingly, after long deliberation, by the unanimous advice of the nobles and with the approval of the people also, he had sent some of his chief men, namely,

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pope acceded to Henry's request, burned the papal edict, and defied the pope. Excommunication for himself and an interdict on Anjou, however, finally brought him to terms in 1125. Sibylla was to figure in the affairs of the Holy Land.

[8] The son of Henry I was named William. He was drowned in the famous tragedy of the White Ship, November 25, 1120, in which so many young nobles lost their lives. Fulk's daughter, Matilda, was thought by some to have drowned with him. The convent of Fontevrault was a famous refuge for many a titled woman, and Henry II is known to have donated generously to its maintenance.

[9] This first journey, according to Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, was undertaken after Fulk had made peace with Henry I and arranged the marriage of William and Matilda. He is thought to have left Anjou in the spring of 1120 and to have returned in the fall of 1121. While in the East he associated himself with the Templars and on his return arranged to give them an annual revenue of thirty livres of Anjou (see Ordericus Vitalis XII. 29). Mlle Chartrou says that he left shortly after April 25, 1120, and was back before January 29, 1122. She refers to his grant of "thirty livres" to the Templars (Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, pp. 14–15).

William de Bury and Guy de Brisebar, to invite Fulk to espouse his daughter and become the heir to the throne.

The count accordingly arranged his own affairs and set the county in order. He then blessed his children and, in response to the call of the king, set forth on the journey, attended by a splendid retinue of his nobles.[10] Within a few days after his arrival in the kingdom, the king gave him his oldest daughter to wife, as had been provided in the agreement, and conferred upon him as her dowry the two coast cities, Tyre and Acre. These Fulk held for nearly three years and continued to be called count as before. Then, on August 21, in the year 1131 of the Incarnation of our Lord, the king died. On September 14, the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, Count Fulk and his wife Melisend were solemnly crowned and consecrated, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of happy memory.

3. *Joscelin the Elder, count of Edessa, though sick and lying on a litter, meets the enemy and puts them to flight. He then dies. Also concerning his son, Joscelin.*

At this time, Joscelin, count of Edessa, exhausted by a long illness, was lying on his bed awaiting the day of his death, which was imminent. In the year that had just passed, while he was in the country near Aleppo, a tower built of sundried bricks had fallen upon him. To facilitate the capture of the place with some of the enemy who were shut up within it, he had ordered it to be undermined. But, since he did not

[10] The date of Fulk's final departure for the Holy Land revolves around the date of his son Geoffrey's marriage with Matilda, "the empress." This marriage was mutually vital to the peaceful relations of Anjou with its formidable neighbor, Henry I of England. Fulk remained to see that marriage concluded and left shortly after it occurred. Historians of Western Europe—Stubbs, Ramsay, G. B. Adams, and even Luchaire—have been inclined to date that marriage in 1129, whereas historians of the crusades have as a rule preferred 1128, perhaps to permit Fulk's marriage to Melisend at Jerusalem in 1129. Miss Norgate, however, reached the conclusion that the marriage of Geoffrey and Matilda took place in 1128 (Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevins*, p. 258). Mlle Chartrou, scrutinizing local records, fully supports Miss Norgate, dating the betrothal of the pair at Rouen May 22, 1127, the knighting of Geoffrey by Henry I June 10, 1128, and the marriage June 17, 1128 (Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, pp. 20–23). Fulk formally took the cross at Le Mans on May 31, 1128. He remained in the West for some months after the marriage, engaged in the settlement of his affairs, and, after a final visit to his daughter at Fontevrault at the beginning of 1129, he started for the East (Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, pp. 226–27). This accords with William's account and definitely dates the marriage of Fulk and Melisend as in 1129.

exercise due caution, he was himself caught in its sudden fall and almost buried alive. His people rescued him with much difficulty, and he was found to be suffering from many fractures. For a long time he had been ill from his injuries, but as yet had succeeded in detaining his spirit, which was struggling to depart. One day a messenger arrived in haste. He brought the news that the sultan of Iconium had laid siege to Cresson, one of Joscelin's fortresses.[11] At this, the high-spirited man, feeble and weak of body but still strong of heart, at once ordered his son to be called. He bade him take all the forces of the country and go forth to meet the enemy valiantly in the place of his helpless father. The son, however, began to make excuses. He urged, as an objection, that the above-named sultan was reported to be advancing at the head of a great host, in comparison with which his own soldiers were but few. The father reflected with bitterness on his son's pusillanimity, well understanding from his reply what manner of man he would be in the future. Then he himself ordered the army and all the people of the locality to be called out. When this had been done, he directed that a litter be made ready for himself. Regardless of his suffering and weakness, he placed himself upon it and advanced against the foe. He had accompanied the army in this manner for some distance when one of the great barons of the land, Geoffrey, surnamed the Monk, came to him with the information that the sultan, on hearing of his advance, had abandoned the siege of Cresson and beat a hasty retreat.

On learning this, the count ordered the litter on which he was being carried to be placed on the ground. He then raised his hands toward heaven and, with tears and sighs, gave fervent thanks to God that in his last days the Lord, in His gracious mercy, had visited him with such favor; that he, though half dead and on the very verge of the grave, was still formidable to the enemies of the Christian faith. While in the very act of giving thanks thus, he rendered up to heaven his last breath. His son, who bore the same name but was far inferior to his father in glory, was left as the sole heir to all his property.

The mother of Joscelin the Younger was a sister of Leo the Armenian, a very influential man among his own people.[12] Though small

[11] Qilij Arslan was forced to seek another capital after the crusaders took Nicaea in 1097. Iconium was finally selected and his successors were usually referred to as sultans of Iconium or Rum.

[12] This was Leo, brother of Constantine, whose daughter Arda had married Bald-

of stature, Joscelin was stout of limb and very robust. His skin and hair were dark, his face broad and covered with scars from the disease called smallpox. He had bulging eyes and a prominent nose. Although of a generous disposition and distinguished for military prowess, he was yet given to excessive revelry and drunkenness. He was devoted to licentiousness and uncleanness of the flesh to the point of infamous notoriety. He married Beatrice, the widow of William de Saône, a woman of noble rank but of still more noble character. By her he had a son, Joscelin the Third, and a daughter [Agnes], who became the wife, first of Renaud of Marash and later of Amaury, count of Jaffa, afterwards king of Jerusalem. Of this latter union was born Baldwin, the sixth king of Jerusalem, and Sibylla, his sister. But, through his lack of energy and in punishment for his sins, this Joscelin [13] lost the entire land over which his father had ruled so ably, as will be explained later.

4. *The people of Antioch appeal to the king; the wickedness of the princess is revealed.*

During the first year of Fulk's reign, both the city and the entire land of Antioch were without the support of a prince, for Bohemond the Younger had died before King Baldwin, leaving as his heir an only daughter. The great men of the country, fearing that the province through lack of a protector might be exposed to the wiles of the enemy, appealed to the king. They begged him to assume the responsibility of Antioch and to take everything under his own care. The widow of the late prince, a daughter of King Baldwin and sister of Queen Melisend, was an extremely malicious and wily woman. With the help of certain accomplices in her designs, she was intriguing to wrong the principality. Her plan was to disinherit the daughter whom she had borne to her husband and thus secure for herself the entire kingdom. Then, after obtaining possession of the principality, she intended to marry again according to her own pleasure. But immediately after the death of her husband, King Baldwin, who was then living, had frustrated these plans. He ordered her to be expelled by force from Antioch and admonished her to be content with the portion which her husband had

win I. He succeeded his brother as ruler of the Armenians in 1123 and ruled until 1135.

[13] Joscelin II (see Book XVI, chaps. 5, 16, and Book XVII, chap. 11).

given her as dowry at the time of her marriage, namely, the two cities on the coast, Jabala and Laodicea.

On the death of her father, Alice thought that a favorable time to carry out her original plan had come. By lavish gifts and promises she had secured certain powerful nobles as accomplices in her plot: namely, William de Sehunna, brother of Guarenton; Pons, count of Tripoli; and Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa.[14] This was the very thing which the nobles of the land had dreaded, and therefore they were striving with all their power to counteract her wicked intentions. Hence, as was mentioned above, they appealed to the king, that they might have his assistance and guidance in this matter.

5. *The count of Tripoli tries to oppose the king as he is hastening to Antioch but is worsted. The affairs of Antioch are put in good condition.*

THE king listened with much concern to the statement of the deputation from Antioch in regard to the disturbance there. The situation seemed to him very serious. Accordingly, he at once responded to the call and proceeded on his way as far as Beirut. As the count of Tripoli refused to allow him to pass through his land, the king took with him Anselm de Brie, one of his own loyal noblemen, and went by sea to the Port of St. Simeon. There he was met by some of the noble and influential men of Antioch, who led him into the city and placed the whole country under his command.

The count of Tripoli hastened after him to Antioch, that he might oppose whatever he did; for, although his wife was the king's sister as has often been mentioned, rumor said that Pons had been bribed by the princess to assist her. He possessed in that vicinity two fortressses, Arcicanum and Rugia. These he held in right of his wife[Cecilia], widow of Tancred of pious memory, who on his deathbed had given them to her as her dowry. These Pons now fortified with arms and soldiers and used as bases from which to molest the king and his men. This roused great indignation among the people of Antioch, and they urged the king to march against the count to check his insolent aggres-

[14] The wiles of a foolish and power-loving Alice are insufficient to explain the support of Pons and Joscelin II. Baldwin II as regent of Antioch and personal overlord of Joscelin I had indicated the possibility of a Latin empire under the king of Jerusalem. Pons had resisted that. Now, when conditions again presented a similar opportunity to Fulk, both Pons and Joscelin II resisted.

sion. Mindful of the affront offered him on his journey when Pons refused to allow him to pass through the land of Tripoli, the king agreed to their request. He mustered as large a force as possible and proceeded toward his adversary. The forces met near Rugia. Both sides were drawn up in battle array, and a fierce combat ensued.[15] For a long time the result was doubtful. Finally, however, the king gained the advantage and put the count and his men to flight. Many of the latter's soldiers, exhausted by the fight, were captured and led in chains to Antioch. Eventually, however, through the earnest efforts of loyal advocates of peace, the king and the count were reconciled. The captured knights were restored to the count, and the affairs of the land of Antioch seemed to have been put into better condition. Nevertheless, the wiser men of the province feared that after the king returned to his own land the country might be shaken by internal sedition, which would afford the infidels a better chance to attack it. They therefore earnestly implored him to remain longer among them. To this the king graciously consented, for he felt that through the mercy of God his own realm was rejoicing in a state of perfect security, while Antioch, where he was now sojourning, was in great need of a protector.

Accordingly, with the advice and assent of the chief nobles, he set in order by his judicious management the affairs both of the city and of the adjacent lands. In order to bring everything into the best possible condition, he expended upon this task as much care as he gave to his own affairs, or rather far more. This course of action won for him the ever-increasing gratitude of all the citizens and also of the loyal party among the nobles. He remained at Antioch as long as the situation seemed to demand. Then, having placed all the affairs of that land in safe condition and arranged everything in good order, he returned to the kingdom, where his own responsibilities called him. The principality was left in charge of a capable man of high birth, Renaud Masoier.[16]

[15] These events must be dated in the summer of 1132. William offers very few dates for the events of the next two books. He has no contemporary written guides, and his own distractions with current affairs prevented him from pursuing systematic investigation. He was therefore more or less dependent upon oral tradition for the events of Fulk's reign.

[16] Now constable of Antioch. He had been prominent in the campaign of 1119.

6. *The king is again summoned by the people of Antioch. Zangi lays siege to a fortress in the land of Tripoli. At the earnest request of his sister, the king relieves the place.*

An interval passed during which King Fulk was actively engaged in the affairs of the kingdom committed to him by God and, like Martha, was constantly occupied in carefully ministering to its needs. Then came a messenger from Antioch with the news that a vast host of Turks from the Persian gulf and the entire Orient had crossed the great river Euphrates and invaded the land of Antioch in large numbers. This news caused the king to fear greatly for the principality which had been given into his care. He was anxious about the safety of those dwelling there, especially because they had placed all their hope in him. He was also worried because he remembered the common saying, "When your neighbor's house is burning, your own property is in danger too," [17] and he knew that the downfall of his neighbors would be fraught with danger to himself. Realizing that it was a noble work to minister to brethren in need, he summoned forces, both foot and horse, from all over the realm and prepared to march thither in haste. He had reached Sidon with his army when he was met by his sister, the Countess Cecilia, the wife of Count Pons of Tripoli. She brought the deplorable news that Zangi, prince of Aleppo, a powerful Turkish satrap, was vigorously besieging her husband in one of his castles, called Montferrand.[18] Most urgently and persistently, as women will, she begged and besought the king to lay aside everything for the present which did not imperatively demand his attention and to hasten at once to relieve the desperate situation of her husband. The king, moved by her plea, put off temporarily the matter upon which he had set forth and directed his march toward the castle. With him went certain knights of the county who had not accompanied the count on his expedition. As soon as Zangi learned that the king was on his way to relieve Pons, however, he took counsel with his people and voluntarily abandoned the siege. He then returned with his legions to his own land.

[17] Horace *Ep.* XVIII. 84.

[18] Zangi made his first attack on Montferrand (Barin) in 1133. The capture of Banyas by the Damascenes, which took place before this, is not mentioned by William until Chapter 17.

7. *The king hastens to Antioch. He puts to flight the infidels who had assembled there. The citizens are enriched by the spoils taken from the foe.*

THUS the count was freed. The king, relieved from that anxiety, now returned to his original purpose and proceeded by forced marches to Antioch, as he had at first intended. The people heard that he was on the way and went out to meet him. With the utmost joy they welcomed their royal guest, for they hoped that through his energetic efforts they might be enabled to withstand safely the violence of the foe, now said to be close at hand. For numbers, however large, are of little avail without a leader, and numerous cohorts without a commander, like sand without lime, will hardly hold together.

Meanwhile, frequent rumors and reports all pointed definitely to the fact that the infidels had crossed the Euphrates with a strong, well-equipped army. They had associated with their own forces others whom they had encountered on this side of the river, men who were well acquainted with the locality. They were now encamped near Aleppo, whence they were making sudden raids and laying waste the entire country. Furthermore, troops from all the neighboring territory had been concentrated at a place called Canestrivum.[19] From there, by the advice of those who knew the country, they proposed to make sudden forays with all their multitude upon the land.

The king therefore levied the full strength of the principality and, with the knights who had come with him, left Antioch and encamped near the fortress of Harim. Here he waited for a few days, like a prudent man (for "impetuosity often ruins everything"), on the chance that the infidels, whose forces were said to exceed his own, might challenge him to fight or in some way disclose their intended plan of action. They did nothing of the kind, however, but quietly remained safe in their camp, perhaps waiting for larger reinforcements. Accordingly, Fulk made a sudden attack upon them. They were taken by surprise, and before they could seize their weapons he had fallen upon them with sword and lance. A few, thanks to their horses, suc-

[19] This is Qinnesrin (ancient Chalcis). Stevenson dates the battle January, 1133 (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East,* p. 132), while Qalanisi dates it a year later (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle,* pp. 220–23).

ceeded in escaping; the rest were slain. About three thousand of the enemy perished in that affair. The camp, filled with all kinds of commodities and furnishings, was abandoned.

Our victorious troops returned to Antioch in exultation. They were laden with marvellous spoils, even to the point of satiety, so that they desired no more. With them they brought a great variety of booty—slaves, horses, herds, flocks, and tents, in fact, riches of all kinds.

From this time, the king enjoyed full favor with the people of Antioch, lords and common people alike. The princess hated him and resented his presence at Antioch, and, up to this time, some of the nobles who favored her cause by reason of the lavish gifts which she distributed had been opposed to him. Now, however, the hearts of all were completely won over to him.

8. *The patriarch of Jerusalem and the nobles of the realm build a greatly needed fortress and call it Castle Arnold.*

THUS the king was detained in the land of Antioch, for, until a prince should be chosen there by common agreement, he had again undertaken the administration of that country, as if it were his own. Meanwhile the Christians left in the kingdom, namely, the patriarch and the citizens of Jerusalem, putting their trust in the Lord, assembled in full strength at a place near the ancient Nobe, which today is generally called Bettenuble [Bait Nuba].[20] There, on the slope of the hill at the entrance to the plain, on the road leading to Lydda and from there to the sea, they built a fortress of solid masonry to ensure the safety of pilgrims passing along that route. In the narrow mountain pass, among defiles impossible to avoid, pilgrims were exposed to great danger. Here the people of Ascalon were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly. The work, when successfully accomplished, was called Castle Arnold. Thus, by the grace of God and also because of this fortress, the road became much safer and the journey of pilgrims to or from Jerusalem was rendered less perilous.

[20] Castle Arnold was about five miles north and slightly west of Bait Nuba on the road to Jaffa.

9. *By the advice of the king, Raymond, son of the count of Poitou, is invited to marry Constance, the daughter of Bohemond.*

THE fact that the king had obtained such a signal victory and was successfully managing the affairs of Antioch according to his own good pleasure gained for him a distinguished reputation. It seemed plain that he had been appointed by divine providence to administer the government of the two kingdoms and to ensure peace and safety for the people.

Accordingly, the nobles of Antioch and particularly those who ardently desired to observe loyalty to the late Lord Bohemond and to his daughter, who was still a minor, came to consult him confidentially. Since he had a wide acquaintance with illustrious young nobles in the lands beyond the mountains, in the course of a friendly conversation they begged him to suggest the name of that one who, among so many princes, would be best fitted to wed the daughter of their lord, the heiress of her father's estate. The king listened graciously to their request; he commended their loyal solicitude and began to consider the matter with them. After many names had been discussed, it was finally decided by general consent to invite for this purpose Raymond, son of Count William of Poitou, a noble youth of distinguished ability.[21] He was said to be at the court of Henry the Elder, king of the English, from whom he had received the arms of a knight. Meanwhile, William, his elder brother, was governing Aquitaine by hereditary right. After weighing all aspects of the matter, they decided that the wisest course would be to send a secret embassy. Gerald, surnamed Jeberrus, a brother of the Hospital, was accordingly sent on this mission with letters from the patriarch and all the nobles.[22]

It was feared that if Raymond were summoned with ceremony by envoys of higher degree, the princess, a woman full of malicious wiles, might interpose obstacles. It would be easy to hinder anyone from coming. For Roger, who was then duke of Apulia and who later became king, desired to succeed Bohemond, his kinsman, and was claiming

[21] Raymond was the son of William IX, duke of Aquitaine, who had led the crusade of 1101 and who also had held Fulk a captive in 1106. Apparently the captivity had not been unpleasant.

[22] This is an early instance of the use of members of the military orders in diplomatic missions. The practice was to become quite common.

Antioch with all its possessions as belonging to him by hereditary right. Robert Guiscard, father of the elder Bohemond, and Roger, count of Sicily, surnamed Bursa, father of this King Roger, were own brothers, born of the same father and mother. The younger Bohemond, however, son of the elder, was the father of the maiden whom the young Raymond was to be invited to marry.[23] It was necessary to use caution, therefore, in presenting the invitation, for if his rivals learned of the affair, violence or intrigue might be used to prevent his coming. When the matter had been arranged in this manner, the king went back to Jerusalem, followed by the good will of all.

10. *Bernard, patriarch of Antioch, dies. Ralph, archbishop of Mamistra, succeeds him amid much disturbance.*

About this time, Bernard, the first Latin patriarch of Antioch, an aged man of precious memory, sincere and God-fearing, went the way of all flesh, in the thirty-sixth year of his pontificate.[24] After his death all the suffragans of that extensive see, bishops as well as archbishops, assembled according to custom, to provide suitably for the consolation of the church, thus bereaved of its pastor. While they were giving careful consideration to this important matter, as is the custom in such cases, one Ralph, archbishop of Mamistra, from Castle Domfront, on the confines of the dioceses of Normandy and Maine, was elected. He was a military man, very magnificent and generous, a great favorite both with the people and with those of knightly rank. He was chosen, it is said, by the vote of the people alone, without the knowledge of his brethren and fellow bishops, and was placed on the throne in the cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles.

When this became known, those who had assembled for the purpose of placing a patriarch over themselves, by the will of God, at once dispersed. They feared the attack of the shouting, frenzied mob, but they refused to show obedience to one whom they themselves had not chosen. Notwithstanding this, Ralph took possession of the church and palace and at once assumed the pallium from the altar of St. Peter,

[23] The Normans of Sicily naturally felt a continuing claim upon Bohemond's principality of Antioch. Despite all the precautions, there is little evidence of any real interference in the accession of Raymond of Poitou. Perhaps the fact that the title was conveyed through the daughter of Bohemond II was of some consolation to the Normans of Sicily.

[24] The death of Bernard and the election of Ralph occurred in 1136.

without regard for the church at Rome. In the course of time, he drew into his own communion some of the suffragans of the church. We have been informed by many that, if he had kept on good terms with the canons of the church and had not presumed in a spirit of pride to disturb their possessions, he might have passed his life there in peace. But as the proverb truly says, "It is difficult for things which have a bad beginning to come to a good end." As punishment for his sins, Ralph became so overbearing because of his great riches that he esteemed himself superior to all others and carried himself rather as a prince of Antioch than as the successor of Peter or Ignatius. Some of the elders of the church he removed by force; others he bound and threw into prison as if they had been guilty of capital crimes. Among his victims was a certain Arnulf, a learned man of noble birth, a native of Calabria; and likewise Lambert, an archdeacon of that same church, a man of wonderful simplicity and noble life, moreover a learned man. Like men of blood they were thrust into the dungeon of a certain fortress and lodged in a room filled with lime. There they were tortured for many days under the pretext of having conspired for the death of Ralph. By these and similar acts of savage cruelty committed against his subordinates he incurred universal hatred. Finally, constantly pricked by the stings of a guilty conscience, he felt that he was safe nowhere, not even among his followers and servants.

But enough of this subject for the present; in the following chapters, at the fitting time and place, we shall speak of his end.[25]

11. *Pope Honorius dies; Innocent is elected in his stead. A dangerous schism arises. William, archbishop of Tyre, dies; Fulcher is put in his place. He goes to Rome to ask for the pallium and receives it.*

WHILE these events were transpiring in the Orient, Pope Honorius paid the debt ordained by fate and came to the end of his days. A meeting was held to select his successor, but the wishes of the cardinals were widely diverse. Since they were unable to agree, two candidates were chosen; Gregory, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, who, after his consecration was called Innocent; and Peter, surnamed Leo, cardinal-priest of title St. Mary beyond the Tiber, which is called Fundens Oleum. The latter, after his consecration, was called Anacletus by

[25] Book XV, chaps. 16 and 17.

those who had chosen him. Out of this division there arose a very dangerous schism which imperilled the churches of the city and caused the death of people in civil strife. In fact, it shook practically the entire world, and through the partisan zeal which it roused kingdoms were brought into conflict with one another.[26] After many hardships and great dangers, Innocent was finally triumphant, for Peter, the rival pope, passed away first.[27]

About the same time, William, our predecessor, laid aside the burden of the flesh and departed to the Lord.[28] He was the first Latin archbishop of Tyre after the liberation of the city (for one Odo, who had been ordained incumbent of this church while Tyre was still held by the enemy, died prior to the liberation of the city, as has been mentioned), and was succeeded by Fulcher of good memory, an Aquitanian from the county of Angoulême. Fulcher was religious and God-fearing, possessed of little learning, but a faithful man and a lover of discipline. He had been abbot of the convent of Celles, presiding over his brethren, the regular canons. At the time of the schism mentioned above, which arose between Pope Innocent and Peter, son of Peter Leo, the legate of the apostolic see was Gerard, bishop of Angoulême. He favored Peter and consequently visited many annoyances upon the partisans of the other side. Fulcher, a man of revered life, could not endure this treatment. He took leave of his brethren and went to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. He professed the regular life with constant attendance in the cloister of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord and was finally called to the church at Tyre.

For twelve years, he ruled that church vigorously and well and was

[26] This double election to the office of pope occurred in 1130. Innocent II was chosen by a small number of the cardinals, Anacletus II by a majority. The latter was a member of the wealthy Pierleone family of Rome and was trained at Cluny. The cause of Innocent II was espoused by Bernard of Clairvaux, leader of the Cistercians. Ultimately Lothair of Germany, Louis VI of France, and Henry I of England were all won to support Innocent II, but Anacletus continued to claim the office and to hold Rome most of the time until his death in 1138. An extended account of this election is given by Gregorovius (see F. Gregorovius, *A History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. IV, Part II, chap. 3 *passim;* see also "Innocent II," *Catholic Encyclopedia*).

[27] Anacletus II died in 1138, and though his cardinals chose a successor, they were persuaded to end the schism and recognize Innocent II. Bernard of Clairvaux was largely responsible for this decision. Innocent II ruled until 1143.

[28] The death of William I, archbishop of Tyre, may be dated 1134 or early 1135 at the latest by subtracting the twelve years of Fulcher's incumbency from 1146 or January, 1147, when the latter became patriarch of Jerusalem.

the fourth incumbent before us, who now preside over that same church, not as deserving it by merit but solely by the will and long-suffering of the Lord. After he had received the gift of consecration from the hand of William, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher desired, after the example of his predecessor, to visit the church at Rome to receive the pallium. The patriarch and his accomplices, however, prevented him by intrigue and violence, so that he had great difficulty in escaping from their hands in order to go to the church at Rome, for the purpose above mentioned. This is plainly shown from the tenor of the following letter of Pope Innocent. He writes:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, William, patriarch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing. Evangelical authority has declared that the headship of the whole church and of the ecclesiastical institution was conferred upon the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, by divine privilege."

And below:

"We are astonished that, after the church at Rome has labored so exceedingly for the liberation of the church of the East, and, by pouring out the blood of many sons, has inspired to her service the hearts of both clergy and laymen, you have by no means cared to give a fitting response to that mother church. For you did not deem it sufficient that you had dared to disturb our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, when he came, according to the custom of his predecessors, to receive the pallium from the church at Rome, but in addition you showed yourself unkind, difficult, and exceedingly harsh toward him on his return from us. To such an extent did you carry this treatment that you refused to restore to him the ancient dignity of the church at Tyre; and to do him justice according to our mandate, within three months after the receipt of our letter, for the losses suffered by him, either at Haifa or at Porphyrion. In any case it would be unjust that the honor which should be shown him by the church at Antioch, if in her obedience, should be taken away by you or by your successors. Moreover, you are said to conduct yourself too arbitrarily toward those who are subject to that church. Therefore, by our apostolic authority, we command that, as you desire to be cherished by the pious zeal and solace of that same mother church,

and as you wish to be aided in your necessities by her patronage, you love and honor the said archbishop and presume not to disturb him in any way. On the contrary, do not defer showing him full justice in all matters concerning which he has made complaint against you, and that within forty days after you receive this present writing. Furthermore, do not presume to do anything contrary to the statutes of the canons against those subject to him. Otherwise you may have cause to fear lest we withdraw from your obedience both him and his suffragans and retain them in our own hand.

Given at the Lateran, December 17."[29]

12. *The church at Rome commands Fulcher to be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and that he hold the same rank in that church which he formerly held over the people of Antioch.*

On his return from the church at Rome, Fulcher received the command that, while the matter as to which of the two patriarchs he should submit to in perpetuity was under consideration, he should be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, according to the directions given to his predecessor; and he was directed to hold in the church at Jerusalem the same dignity which his predecessors had held in the church at Antioch as long as they had been subject to it.

It is certain that among the thirteen archbishops who, from the days of the apostles, had been subject to the see at Antioch, the archbishop of Tyre had occupied the first place, so that he was called *Protothronus* in the Orient. In the list of the suffragan bishops who were under the jurisdiction of the church of Antioch, one may read as follows:

First see, Tyre, under which are thirteen bishoprics;
Second see, Tarsus, under which are five bishoprics;
Third see, Edessa, under which are ten bishoprics;
Fourth see, Apamea, under which are seven bishoprics;
Fifth see, Hierapolis, under which are eight bishoprics;
Sixth see, Bostrum, under which are nineteen bishoprics;
Seventh see, Anavarza, under which are nine bishoprics;
Eighth see, Seleucia, under which are twenty-four bishoprics;

[29] This letter, here dated December, has been assigned to January 17, 1139 (see R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani,* no. 187).

Ninth see, Damascus, under which are ten bishoprics;
Tenth see, Amida, under which are seven bishoprics;
Eleventh see, Sergiopolis, under which are four bishoprics;
Twelfth see, Theodosiopolis, under which are seven bishoprics;
Thirteenth see, Hims, under which are four bishoprics;
Independent metropolitans, eight;
Archbishops, twelve.[30]

From the rescript of the letter of Pope Innocent sent to the same William, patriarch of Jerusalem, it is evident that the church at Tyre held the first place among the suffragans of the church at Jerusalem, and that she was obedient to it solely by the command of the pope. It reads as follows:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, patriarch of Jerusalem, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"In as much as the gracious munificence of God has greatly exalted the church at Jerusalem in your times, so much the more ought you to show yourself kindly toward your brethren and to honor with mutual love those who render obedience to you. Therefore, we direct you, dear brother, to love and honor with brotherly kindness our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, who by the command of the holy church of Rome, is obedient unto you. See to it with all care that you do not bring upon him any trouble, or that under pretext of this submission to you and the church of Jerusalem, which, indeed, has been imposed upon him by the favor of the apostolic see, the noble and renowned church at Tyre suffers any detriment to its rights and dignity. For it is not fitting that the honor which would be shown to it by the church at Antioch, if it were obedient to her, should be taken away by you or your successors.

Given at Albano, July 17." [31]

13. *The pope commands Fulcher's suffragans to obey him, and to this end he dispatches several letters.*

On his return from Rome, Fulcher recovered, although with some difficulty, his suffragan bishoprics which until that time had been under

[30] This traditional organization of the Christian church in the East was established by the council of Chalcedon in 451.

[31] Dated July 17, 1138 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 176).

the authority of the patriarch of Jerusalem: namely, Acre, Sidon, and Beirut. The others, that is, Jubail, Tripoli, and Tortosa, which held the other bishoprics under jurisdiction of that same church as if they belonged to them by proprietary right, were retained by the patriarch of Antioch by force. He gave as an excuse that he was not subject to the archbishop, although he did not deny that these bishoprics were under the jurisdiction of the latter. In order that this might be prevented and that these bishoprics might return to their own mother church at Tyre, Pope Innocent wrote to the bishops of the above-named churches and also to the patriarch of Antioch, as follows:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, Gerard of Tripoli, R. of Tortosa, and H. of Jubail, bishops, salutation and the apostolic blessing. You must know, dear brothers, that the status of the church is rendered more illustrious when the ranks that have been established therein are kept intact and the reverence due to each prelate is shown without contention or contradiction. It is fitting that each one who has submitted himself to the church should consider the proper reverence and honor which is due to his superiors, if such there be; for if this reverence is wrongfully and unjustly withheld, the principle of unity to which, for the sake of promoting stability, ecclesiastical discipline has reduced everything by the most careful organization of all things within the church, will at once disappear. Therefore, lest the honor and dignity of your churches be threatened or made void on account of undue contention or rebellion we command and direct you, by this apostolic letter, that you show the obedience which you owe to our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, as to your metropolitan. For, in virtue of our apostolic authority, we restore you and your churches to the church at Tyre, which is your metropolis, and, in like manner, we absolve you from the oath of fidelity by which you have been bound to the patriarch of Antioch. But if you neglect to obey our commands and within three months after the receipt of this letter do not return to the obedience of our brother named above, by the authority of God we shall hold ratified the sentence which the archbishop shall promulgate against you, according to canonical laws.

Given at the Lateran, January 17." [32]

[32] Dated January 17, 1139 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 184).

In order that the patriarch of Antioch, who had held these bishoprics for a long time and who was very powerful, might not hinder them from carrying out his orders, the pope wrote to that patriarch in these words:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God to his venerable brother Ralph, patriarch of Antioch, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"It is written in the institutions of the holy canons that each one must be content with his own territories and not seek to usurp the rights of others. Human and divine laws alike forbid us to do unto our neighbor that which we would not wish done to ourselves. Since this is so, we command you, dear brother, not to hinder the suffragans of the church at Tyre from showing the obedience and reverence due to their metropolitan, our venerable brother, the archbishop Fulcher. Furthermore, to withdraw from metropolitans the obedience of their suffragans is against canonical rules. We desire, therefore, that between prelates and their subordinates their own rights and the established order be maintained without contradiction.

Given at the Lateran, January 17." [33]

Not only did the lord pope write thus to these prelates, but he also wrote in like manner to those bishops who had been retained by the patriarch of Jerusalem and who, through fear of him, refused to obey the apostolic command. He directed them to lay aside all excuses, and to show obedience at once to the lord of Tyre. These letters read as follows:

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers, Baldwin of Beirut, Bernard of Sidon, and John of Acre, bishops, salutation and the apostolic blessing.

"The holy fathers desired that there should be in the church different ranks and orders that, as inferiors showed submission and reverence to their superiors, unity might result from this very diversity, and the administration of each office might be carried on to the best advantage. But we are annoyed and greatly astonished to learn that, although long since we commanded you by apostolic letters to show obedience and reverence to our venerable brother Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, your metropolitan, you have disdained to do this and have offered excuses

[33] Dated January 17, 1139 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 185).

and unsatisfactory explanations. For, assuredly, rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness, as the crime of idolatry.[34]

"And so we command you, and in virtue of our apostolic authority again we direct you, henceforward to cast aside all excuses and to obey in every respect our brother Fulcher. We forbid you, under pretext of the obedience which you are rendering to another primate, to withhold from him one tittle of the submission and reverence which you owe to him as your metropolitan. Furthermore, if you continue to be obstinate, we shall ratify, by the authority of the Lord, the sentence which this same archbishop has pronounced, or shall pronounce, against you according to canonical laws. And if, because you have obeyed this, our brother, the patriarch of Jerusalem, shall give any judgment against you, we decree that that same sentence shall be without force, and we declare it to be worthless.

Given at the Lateran, January 17." [35]

14. *The circumstances which gave rise to the controversy between the two patriarchs are explained, and the defense of each is given.*

THE fact that, while the archbishop of Tyre held by right fourteen suffragan bishops, the pope wrote to six only, needs some explanation. At this time, the city of Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi, had no bishop, and these six sees held the other bishoprics under their jurisdiction. The see of Sidon held Sarepta as it even yet holds it; Tripoli held the bishoprics of Botron, Arka, and Artasium; and the see of Antarados, which is also known as Tortosa, held the bishoprics of Arados and Maraclea. Three of these six, namely, Tortosa, Tripoli, and Jubail, were retained by the patriarch of Antioch under his own jurisdiction. When these cities just named were taken by the Christians, the patriarch consecrated bishops in them. His intention was that when the metropolis of Tyre should be freed and its archbishop, according to the former arrangement, showed the obedience owed to him as patriarch, he would, without difficulty, restore them to the archbishop of Tyre, as indeed he was bound to do by right. But the cities just mentioned were in the county of Tripoli, where, as there was no interference from the king, the patriarch of Antioch could do this freely.

[34] I Sa. 15:23.

[35] Dated January 17, 1139 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 186).

In the other three, however, Beirut, Sidon, and Ptolemais, which is Acre, the patriarch of Jerusalem consecrated bishops, with the intention of transferring them to his own jurisdiction when the metropolis of Tyre should be captured and he himself should consecrate there an archbishop. For he assumed that, contrary to the former custom, the archbishopric of Tyre ought to owe allegiance thereafter to himself. In this matter he relied on the letter of Pope Paschal, in which he seemed to have granted to Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, and to Gibelin, the third patriarch of Jerusalem, that the bishops of all cities which the lord king and his armies had already acquired or might thereafter acquire should be subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem. This was related before when we were treating of the reign of Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem.[36]

Accordingly, since the whole province of Tyre was freed before the metropolis itself, the two patriarchs divided the diocese between them. The church of Antioch held and still holds subject the part which was outside the kingdom of Jerusalem, from the place which is called *Passus Pagani,* while the patriarch of Jerusalem held subject that part which was on this side and within the limits of the kingdom. At length, through the mercy of God, the metropolis of Tyre was freed, and in the fourth year after its liberation, the patriarch of Jerusalem, as we have said, consecrated an archbishop there and restored to him the suffragans which he had retained under his own jurisdiction.

But during the time that the patriarch of Jerusalem had Tyre under his own care, it became so weakened and utterly reduced that of the churches within the circuit of the city itself only one was preserved for the future archbishop.[37] This result proved the truth of the proverb: "For those who demand it, even though they may be undeserving, many shoe latchets are made from the leather of others." For even to the present day, the two lords just mentioned contend for our very vitals, strong unto our injury and enriched at the expense of our poverty. And the church, with her members torn asunder, through whose unity, by the consent of the seven holy universal councils, she had

[36] This cross reference to the reign of Baldwin I may imply that all of this archival material relating to church organization was inserted into the history at one time, perhaps in 1182.

[37] The churches in the quarter allotted to the Venetians were subject to Venice and therefore exempt from jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tyre. There is no clear indication of how the remaining churches likewise became exempt.

flourished far and wide, from ancient days, even from the time of the apostles, the church, I say, now lies mangled and deprived of those more powerful members. She awaits consolation, and there is no one to comfort her. She stretches forth her hand, and there is none to aid her. We have become like to those of whom it is said, "Whatever folly the kings commit, for that the Greeks suffer." [38] They are sated with our flesh, and would that sometime it might be even to the point of nausea.

Nevertheless, not without justice do we impute the cause of this great evil to the church of Rome itself, who, while she commands us to be obedient to the patriarch of Jerusalem, suffers us to be maimed unjustly by the patriarch of Antioch. For if our unity were restored to us, we would be ready, with willing hearts, as sons of obedience, to submit to either patriarch, without gainsaying or trouble.

Let no one regard it as foreign to our task that we, who have undertaken to write history, have inserted these details about the condition of our church. For it is not fitting that we should treat of the affairs of others and be unmindful of our own. As the proverb says: "He who is forgetful of himself speaks but poorly."

But now let us return to the history.[39]

15. *The count of Jaffa is accused before the king, and a great disturbance is caused in the realm.*

On the return of the king from Antioch, as we have mentioned before, a very dangerous disturbance again arose. For certain reasons some of the highest nobles of the realm: namely, Hugh, count of Jaffa, and Romain de Puy, lord of the region beyond the Jordan, are said to have conspired against the lord king. In order that this may be explained more clearly, it is necessary to go back a little in the story.

In the time of Baldwin du Bourg, who preceded King Fulk on the throne, one Hugh du Puiset, of the diocese of Orléans, a man of high rank and one very influential among his own people, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was accompanied by his wife Mamilia, daughter of Hugh Cholet, count of Roussy. On the way a son was

[38] Horace *Ep.* I. ii. 14.

[39] Even William himself doubted the propriety of including this material in his history. He seems to be apologizing for its insertion. Perhaps an important reason for including it was the lack of sufficient other information about Fulk's reign to fill out the two books allotted to it.

born to them in Apulia, for the Lady Mamilia was with child when she started on the journey. Since the boy was very delicate and could not safely be taken along, Hugh sent him to Lord Bohemond, his relative, and then crossed the sea to King Baldwin, who was also his kinsman according to the flesh.[40]

Immediately upon his arrival there, the king bestowed upon him as his own with hereditary rights to himself and his heirs the city of Jaffa with its dependencies, and there, not long after, the noble Hugh died.

The king then gave his widow and the aforesaid city to Count Albert, a noble lord from the bishopric of Liége, brother of the count of Namur and a man of great influence in the empire. Before very long, however, both Count Albert and his wife died. Meanwhile, the child Hugh, who had been left when an infant in Apulia, had reached the age of manhood. He sought and obtained from the king his paternal inheritance which, on the death of his parents, devolved by hereditary right upon him. He then married the Lady Emelota, niece of the Patriarch Arnulf and widow of the illustrious noble, Eustace Grenier.[41] By her Lord Eustace had had twin sons, Eustace the Younger, lord of the city of Sidon, and Walter, who ruled over Caesarea. After the death of King Baldwin and the elevation of Fulk to the throne, there arose from causes unknown a serious enmity between the king and Count Hugh. Some said that the king cherished a deep distrust of the count, who was rumored to be on too familiar terms with the queen, and of this there seemed to be many proofs. Hence, spurred on by a husband's jealousy, the king is said to have conceived an inexorable hatred against the man.[42]

[40] William appears to be in error in ascribing the coming of Hugh's father, Hugh II, to the time of Baldwin II. He has probably confused him with his cousin, Hugh III, who did come to the Holy Land in 1128. La Monte has shown that Hugh II started on the expedition with Bohemond I in 1106, which is a more convincing explanation of his wife's stay in Apulia and the birth of Hugh there about 1106 or 1107 (J. L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 102–106).

[41] See Book XI, note 63.

[42] This whole episode of Hugh, so interesting for its detailed account of the operation of feudal justice, has been questioned (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 201, note 2). It does involve the retelling of relatively trivial court gossip to which William seldom stoops. Perhaps he felt forced to include it because of lack of other material for the reign of Fulk. Röhricht has dated the episode as occurring in 1132, but it must be referred to a later date, for Hugh's name appears on a grant by Alice of Antioch as late as 1134 (see J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, note 36).

Count Hugh was young, tall of stature, and of handsome countenance. He was distinguished for his military prowess and was pleasing in the eyes of all. In him the gifts of nature seemed to have met in lavish abundance; without question, in respect to physical beauty and nobility of birth as well as experience in the art of war he had no equal in the kingdom. On his father's side he was closely related to the queen, for their fathers had been cousins-german, that is, sons of two sisters. Some, desiring to make light of such rumors, declared that the only source of this hatred was the overweening arrogance and presumption of the count, who refused to be subject to the king like the other nobles of the realm and obstinately declined to obey his commands.

16. *Walter of Caesarea challenges Count Hugh to single combat. The latter takes refuge with the enemy. He is deserted by his followers.*

One day Walter of Caesarea, the stepson of Hugh, a man in the full vigor of life, of fine appearance and famous for his strength, rose in the assembly of the nobles when the royal court was thronged. At the instigation of the king himself, it was claimed, he publicly accused Hugh in the royal presence of high treason and of having conspired with certain accomplices of the same faction against the life of the king, contrary to good morals and the laws of the times.

The count denied the charge but said that although he was innocent he was ready to submit to the judgment of the court on the accusations. After this exchange of words, single combat between them was decreed according to the custom of the Franks, and a suitable day was set for the combat.[43] The count then left the court and returned to Jaffa. He did not present himself on the appointed day, however. Whether his conscience smote him because he was conscious of his guilt or whether he distrusted the court is uncertain, but by this action he justly brought upon himself, even among his own partisans, still greater suspicion of the crime imputed to him. In view of his obstinate disobedience to the summons, the court and the assembly of nobles condemned him in his absence as guilty of the charge against him.

On learning of this, the count took a singular course, worthy of uni-

[43] This reference to trial by combat as "a custom of the Franks" instead of "our custom" is another indication that William's parentage may be of non-French origin.

versal hatred and indignation. He set sail in haste for Ascalon, that city hateful to the Christian name and friendly to our enemies, and demanded help from them against the king. The people of that city gave a ready assent, for they realized that the internal dissensions and civil discord among the Christians would redound to their own advantage and cause great danger to the kingdom. A treaty satisfactory to both sides was concluded. Hugh thereupon gave hostages and returned to Jaffa.

Then the Ascalonites, inspired by inexorable and stubborn hatred against us and rendered more confident by the treaty with the count and by his favor, invaded our territories with unwonted boldness and presumption. Without hindrance from anyone, they raided our territory as far as Arsuf, also known as Antipater, and carried off booty.

News of these forays reached the king. He immediately summoned military forces from all over the kingdom and with a great host of people laid siege to Jaffa. It soon became evident to the count's faithful followers who were with him in that same city, namely, Balian, senior, and other God-fearing men, that Hugh was determined to rush headlong into danger—that he could not be restrained from his fatal enterprise by the sane warnings of his faithful friends. On the contrary, he was obstinately determined to pursue a course leading to greater danger. They therefore abandoned the fiefs which they held from him and wisely betook themselves to the king.

17. *The city of Jaffa is besieged; the nobles of the kingdom treat concerning peace. In the meantime Banyas is taken by the enemy.*

In the meantime the Patriarch William, a very gentle man and a lover of peace, together with certain princes of the realm, undertook the task of mediation and, for the sake of peace, tried to effect a compromise between the king and the count. Mindful of the words of the Gospel, that "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; every city or house divided against itself shall not stand," [44] they saw that these internal dissensions were most dangerous to the kingdom, and they feared, as well they might, lest the enemies of the Christian faith might seize this as an opportune time to do them injury.

Finally, after many disputes, as is usually the case in affairs of this

[44] Mat. 12:25.

kind, it seemed best to the peacemakers, both for the sake of harmony and for the greater honor of the king, that the count be exiled for a period of three years. At the expiration of that time, by the king's grace, he and those whom he had led with him might be permitted to return to the kingdom, and this without incurring the reproach which would otherwise fall upon him as the result of this affair. Meanwhile, all his debts and whatever moneys he had borrowed anywhere were to be paid from the revenues of his possessions.

Thus, at this time, the king was engaged in the vicinity of Jaffa, and Lord Renier, surnamed Brus, with other nobles of the realm, was also there. Meanwhile, the city of Banyas was under siege by Tegelmeluch [Taj-al-Muluk Buri], king of Damascus.[45] The king was endeavoring with all his power to procure aid to relieve this situation, but before he succeeded, the city was taken by force and fell into the hands of the enemy. The citizens were taken prisoners, and all the mercenary soldiers in the city, both knights and foot soldiers, were seized. The wife of the noble and valiant Renier was also captured and carried away with the others.

18. *The count of Jaffa is severely wounded at Jerusalem. A tumult again arises. After recovering, however, he crosses the sea, according to agreement.*

DURING this time, the count of Jaffa was awaiting passage and lingering in Jerusalem as he was wont to do. One day he happened to be playing dice on a table before the shop of a merchant named Alfanus in the street which is called the street of the Furriers. The count, intent upon the game, had no thought of danger. Suddenly, before all the bystanders, a knight of Brittany drew his sword in hostile fashion and stabbed the count again and again. The entire city was shaken at the news of the outrage; a great crowd at once assembled, and an ominous murmur arose. But one sentiment issued from the lips of all, namely, that not without the knowledge of the king could this crime have been committed; that the miscreant would hardly have dared to attempt such a deed unless he had been confident of the king's favor. Through the crowd ran the cry that the count was suffering unjustly

[45] Taj al-Muluk had died June 6, 1132. His son, Shams al-Muluk, was now ruler. The capture of Banyas was made by the Damascenes on December 11, 1132 (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 208–18). This account is out of place here (see note 18).

from a charge of which he was innocent and that the king had given a plain proof of the unreasonable hatred, far beyond the merits of the case, which he had conceived against him. Accordingly, the count grew in universal favor and good will, and it was felt that the accusations made against him, of whatever nature, had proceeded entirely from malice.

When the king learned of this sentiment, he felt it necessary to exonerate himself. In order to give substantial proof of his innocence, he ordered the culprit to be placed on trial. No accuser or witnesses were necessary to prove the crime, for it was well known to all. Since the regular process of law was needless, therefore, the king ordered a sentence commensurate with his guilt to be pronounced upon the man. The court accordingly convened, and the assassin was sentenced by unanimous consent to suffer the penalty of mutilation of his members. The judgment was reported to the king, who ordered the sentence to be carried out. He directed, however, that the tongue should not be included among the members so mutilated. This exception was made lest it be said that the tongue had been removed purposely so that the criminal would be unable to confess the truth of the matter, namely, that he had been sent by the king. By this action Fulk very wisely protected his own reputation and quieted the intense indignation which had been roused against him. It was impossible to extort from the criminal, either in secret or in public, before or after the sentence was carried out, an admission that this monstrous act had been done by the order or with the knowledge of the king. On the contrary, he declared that he had ventured to do the deed on his own initiative in the hope of gaining the king's favor.

The count remained for a while in the kingdom, that his wounds might be cared for and his health restored. Then, when fully convalescent, he left the kingdom and went to Apulia. His heart was full of sadness, both on account of the injuries so recently inflicted upon him, and also because by the decree he was compelled to wander like a beggar through unfamiliar places, an exile from his ancestral heritage.[46]

Roger, who had now conquered all that region, received him kindly. He felt that this noble and valiant man had been driven from the

[46] This expression of sympathy for Hugh in exile recalls Ovid's exile, with which William was very familiar.

kingdom through the jealousy of his rivals. Accordingly, he had compassion on him and gave him the county of Gargan. There the count, a man well worthy to be mourned by posterity, met a premature death and never returned to the kingdom.

From that time, all who had informed against the count and thereby incited the king to wrath fell under the displeasure of Queen Melisend and were forced to take diligent measures for their safety. For her heart was wrung with deep sorrow for the exiled count, and her own good fame was in some measure besmirched by the infamous accusation. Above all others, she persecuted in every possible way Rohard the Elder, later called Rohard of Nablus, who had been especially active in exciting the jealousy of the king. It was not safe for these informers to come into her presence; in fact, they deemed it prudent to keep away even from public gatherings. Even the king found that no place was entirely safe among the kindred and partisans of the queen. At length, through the mediation of certain intimate friends, her wrath was appeased, and the king finally, after persistent efforts, succeeded in gaining a pardon for the other objects of her wrath—at least to such an extent that they could be introduced into her presence with others. But from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance.[47]

19. *A treaty is made with the Damascenes; the prisoners who were taken at Banyas are restored.*

About this time, the king granted a temporary peace to the Damascenes at their request. In addition to other things which they offered in order to obtain this truce, they restored, according to agreement, all the captives taken from the city of Banyas. The wife of the valiant Renier de Brus, the lord of that city, was among this number. She was returned to her distinguished husband after an absence of two years, and he graciously restored her to her position as his wife. Later, however, he discovered that her conduct while with the enemy had not been altogether discreet. She had not satisfactorily preserved the sanc-

[47] There is evidence enough to prove that Melisend was a strong-willed woman without waiting upon such an incident for its expression. William's conception of Fulk is colored throughout by his boyhood impression of the king as a very old man.

tity of the marriage couch as a noble matron should. Accordingly, he cast her off. She did not deny her guilt, but entered a convent of holy women at Jerusalem, took the vows of perpetual chastity, and became a nun. After her death, the distinguished man married Agnes, a niece of William de Bury. On Renier's death, Agnes became the wife of Gerard of Sidon. Of this marriage was born Renaud, who now rules over this same city of the Sidonians.

The city of Banyas, which, as we have said, was conquered in the absence of its lord, had long been held by the people of the Assassins. Shortly before the time of which we are speaking, however, one of their rulers named Emir-Ali had ceded it to the Christians in return for a fitting compensation agreed upon by treaty.[48] The king thereupon at once granted it as a possession with hereditary rights to this same Lord Renier.

At a future time and place a description will be given of the people of the Assassins and an explanation of the worthless traditions, hateful to God, which they follow. In the meantime, let it suffice to know concerning them that they are a people very much distrusted and justly feared by the Christians as well as by nations of other faiths, above all, by princes.[49]

20. *Raymond, son of the count of Poitou, arrives secretly at Antioch. He marries Constance, the daughter of Bohemond, against the will of the princess, her mother, who strives to prevent the alliance. Thus he obtains the kingdom.*

In the meantime, as we have said, the people of Antioch had sent envoys to Raymond, the son of the count of Poitou. In accordance with their instructions, they made careful inquiries as to where he might most readily be found. From reliable reports, they learned that he was at the court of Henry the Elder, king of England, from whom he had received the arms of a knight. They therefore proceeded straightway to England, where they found the young man and in all secrecy explained to him the reason for their coming. On the advice of the king,

[48] This had occurred in 1128. Qalanisi calls the leader of the Assassins who gave Banyas to Baldwin II, "Ismail, the Persian" or the "Missioner" (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 191–94).

[49] That the Assassins were feared as much by the Muslims as by the Christians is abundantly testified in Arab accounts (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 446–48).

his benefactor, Raymond gratefully embraced the opportunity offered him and, after making all necessary preparations for the journey, set out incognito. For Roger, duke of Apulia, was already aware of the plans of the people of Antioch in respect to calling Raymond and, in consequence, had made arrangements in every coast city of Apulia to waylay him. If the young man could be prevented from crossing, the duke hoped that by bribing the great men of that land he himself might easily gain the advantages of the inheritance which Raymond was seeking.

Raymond, however, prudently concealed the real purpose of his journey. He cast aside all pride and, travelling as one of the common people, now on foot, now astride a humble beast of burden, pursued his journey among the people and never gave the slightest evidence of rank or wealth. Those who accompanied him were divided into bands and his household retainers likewise. Some of these people preceded him by three or four days' journey, and others followed behind, as if having no connection with him.

Thus, clad in the lowly habit of a pilgrim, often himself performing the duties of a servant, he deceived everyone by his appearance and escaped the snares laid by his shrewd and powerful enemy. His arrival at Antioch delighted his friends and brought no little fear to others, partisans of the princess, who were endeavoring to hinder his elevation.

Shortly before this time, yet after the departure of the envoys to invite Lord Raymond, the Princess Alice, widow of Lord Bohemond and sister of Queen Melisend, had again marched to Antioch. Despite the fact that her father had formerly thrust her from that city and ordered her to be content with Laodicea and Jabala, she assumed the role of sovereign and again took everything under her own sway. Her sister had interceded with the king not to interfere with her actions, and she had the support of certain nobles.

In the meantime, Ralph, the crafty patriarch of Antioch, a man well versed in wiles, induced her to believe that Raymond, now said to be close at hand, had been sent for to become her own future husband. In this way the prelate hoped to secure her favor and influence against the clergy who were persecuting him. Alice's credulous mind readily accepted that false hope.

It was at once apparent to Raymond that without the good will and

influence of the patriarch he could not hope to attain his desired end. Accordingly, through interpreters friendly to both Ralph and himself, he asked for an audience, that he might win the favor of the patriarch and gain his support. It was required of Raymond that he show fealty to the patriarch by solemn oath; and in return, it was agreed that he should marry Constance without opposition and receive the principality in full peace. In addition, it was provided that if Henry, his brother, should come to Antioch, the patriarch would endeavor loyally to secure for him Alice, mother of the young princess and widow of Bohemond, as his wife, together with her two maritime cities and the lands attached to them.

As soon as this agreement had been made and confirmed with an oath, Raymond was introduced into the city. While Alice still supposed that all the arrangements were being made for her own nuptials, he was conducted to the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles and there married to the Lady Constance. The young princess was not yet of marriageable age, but the great nobles all demanded that the marriage take place, and the patriarch himself bestowed the bride upon her husband.[50]

On learning how she had been deceived, Alice at once left Antioch and retired to her own domain. Ever after she pursued the prince with relentless hatred. From that day, too, the patriarch assumed a more haughty attitude. Firm in the belief that he had established himself securely with the prince, he displayed unwonted arrogance and became unduly presumptuous in his demands on the prince.[51] But in this respect he found himself entirely deceived. For the prince felt that the oath of fealty which the patriarch had extorted from him reflected disgrace upon himself. Accordingly, forgetful of the benefits which he had received from the prelate, he began to persecute him unmercifully and, in spite of his sworn oath, aligned himself with the pontiff's adversaries.

[50] Röhricht has dated this marriage 1136 (see *R.K.J.*, p. 203), though there is some reason to think that it occurred in 1137. Constance in either case was well under ten years of age at the time.

[51] This was the first time that a prince of Antioch had received the investiture of his state from a patriarch of Antioch. As Raymond became acquainted with local traditions and, even more, with the clerical opponents of the patriarch, he may well have resented the arrangement without further provocation from Ralph. The previous investiture of a prince of Antioch by a patriarch was that of Bohemond I by Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem in 1100 (see Book IX, chap. 15).

21. *An account of Raymond: his manners and appearance; his ancestors and lineage.*

LORD RAYMOND was of noble blood and ancient lineage. He was very tall and in personal appearance extremely pleasing. He was young—his cheeks were still covered with the light down of youth—he was handsome far beyond all the kings and princes of the world, and he was affable and agreeable in conversation.[52] In fact, his entire bearing was in every respect that of a charming and elegant prince. Experienced in military matters and expert in the use of arms, he easily surpassed all his predecessors as well as those who followed him. Although but slightly learned himself, he was nevertheless a patron of men of letters.[53] In religious matters, he was most devoted and listened attentively to the offices of the church, especially on feast days. After his marriage, he was careful to observe and maintain faithfulness in the conjugal relation. He was temperate in eating and drinking also, and munificent and free-handed to excess. But he was not provident and was far too fond of vicious games of dice and chance. He had, among other defects of character, a rash disposition, a habit of acting on a hasty impulse, and he frequently gave way to anger without restraint or reason. He was seldom lucky. He paid no attention to the oath of fealty which he had sworn to the patriarch and did not redeem the promises he had made to him.

22. *The king builds a fortress to check the insolent inroads of the Ascalonites. It receives the name Gibelin or Beersheba.*

Now, because of their continued success, the Ascalonites were becoming increasingly bold and insolent and were overrunning the entire region without restraint. Ascalon itself was subject to a very powerful Egyptian potentate. If this city should be taken, the prince foresaw with alarm that the Christian army might invade Egypt and disturb the peaceful conditions which existed there. Accordingly, at a great

[52] Raymond was at least twenty years old by this time and may have been several years older still. Röhricht's statement that he was born in 1099, however, is an error due to a confusion of Raymond with his older brother William, who was born at that time (see Auber, *Histoire générale du Poitou*, VIII, 21, 105–107).

[53] This allusion to Raymond's patronage of letters is tantalizing, for William must have had specific instances in mind. What literary productions, whether in the vernacular or in Latin, flowed from this patronage are unknown. Yet there must have been such writings with which William was acquainted.

outlay of money and effort, he was endeavoring to make the land of Ascalon a barrier, as it were, between Egypt and our territory. Fearing that the strength of its people might give way under the constant hardships and perils of warfare, he took great care to send to their assistance every three months new people and fresh legions, together with provisions and supplies of arms. The new arrivals naturally wished to try their strength and to give proofs of their courage. Hence, against the wishes of the veterans, they often made experimental sallies and expeditions.

The Christians perceived that the bold incursions of the enemy showed no signs of ceasing; their forces were constantly renewed, and, like the hydra, they gained increased strength by the death of their citizens. Hence, after long deliberation, our people resolved to erect fortresses round about. These would serve as defenses against this monster which ever increased by the loss of its heads and, as often as it was destroyed, was reborn to our exceeding great peril. Within these strongholds forces could be easily assembled which, from their very proximity, could more readily check the enemy's forays. Such fortresses would also serve as bases from which to make frequent attacks upon the city itself.

They accordingly chose a place suitable for the purpose, in that part of Judea which, in the original distribution, fell by lot to the tribe of Simeon, and there they prepared to rebuild an ancient ruined city called Beersheba. The site selected lay at the foot of the mountains just at the beginning of the plain which extends without interruption from those mountains to the aforesaid city. All the people of the vicinity were called together; the patriarch William and the nobles also came. Thus the task, well-planned and begun under good auspices, was finished successfully with the help of the Lord. For twelve miles from Ascalon they built a strong fortress surrounded by an impregnable wall with towers, ramparts, and a moat. This place, in the time of the children of Israel, was the southern limit of the Land of Promise just as Dan, now called Banyas or Caesarea Philippi, was the northern. One often reads in the Old Testament, "from Dan even unto Beersheba." [54] Here Abraham is said to have established a well, as he did in many other places, and because of the great quantity of water it gave he called it the Abundance.

[54] Ju. 20: 1.

Josephus also speaks of it in the book of the *Antiquities*, as follows: "Abimelech gave him land and flocks and they agreed that they would dwell peacefully together without guile. They made a treaty at a certain well known as Beersheba, which may be called the Treaty of the Well, and indeed it is so called even to this time by the people of the vicinity. This place is also called the Seventh Well, and in Arabic it is known as Bethgebris, that is, the House of Gabriel." [55]

When the fortress was finished and complete in every part, it was granted by common consent to the brothers of the house of the Hospital, which is at Jerusalem. They have guarded their charge with all due diligence, even to the present time; and from that day, the attacks of the enemy in that place have become less violent.[56]

23. *The count of Tripoli is slain at the Mount of the Pilgrims through the treachery of some of his own people. He is succeeded by Raymond, his son, who avenges the death of his father.*

NOT long after this, Baswaj, commander of the army of Damascus, invaded the land of Tripoli. Count Pons marched valiantly forth against him with all his forces. The two armies met near the fortress called Mount of the Pilgrims, and a fierce battle was fought. But the lines of his army were broken and put to flight, and the count himself was taken prisoner.[57] Through the treachery of the Syrians who lived on the heights of Lebanon, he was betrayed and put to death. He left a son, Raymond, who, as his heir, succeeded him in the care of the county. Gerald, bishop of Tripoli, was also captured at this time. He remained in captivity for a while without being recognized, but at last a prisoner held by the Christians was given in exchange for him and he was restored to his former liberty. In this battle some of the nobles of Tripoli fell, but the great majority of those slain were from the middle class.

After the death of his father Raymond collected the remnant of the cavalry and with a strong body of foot soldiers in addition went up to Mt. Lebanon with great valor. There he seized and carried away in chains to Tripoli as many of those men of blood, with their wives and

[55] Josephus *Ant.* I. 12.

[56] Stevenson has dated the building of this fortress in 1136 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 136).

[57] The death of Pons is dated by Qalanisi as March 25, 1137. Raymond II succeeded his father (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 241).

children, as he could find. For he considered them guilty of his father's death and responsible for the general massacre of the Christians, since by their persuasive words they had drawn that powerful man into the plain of Tripoli. Accordingly, to avenge the blood of those who had fallen in battle, he visited upon them divers tortures in the presence of the people, and, in just proportion to the enormity of the crime which they had committed, he caused them to suffer death in its most cruel forms.

Such were the first proofs of valor which were given by the young count, whereby he won the affection of all his people and universal approval.

24. *John, emperor of Constantinople, marches upon Antioch and seizes all Cilicia.*

MEANWHILE numerous reports began to circulate through the land. It was rumored that John, emperor of Constantinople, son of Alexius, was about to descend swiftly upon Syria. From every part of his empire he had summoned people of all tribes and tongues, and now, with a countless number of cavalry and a vast array of chariots and four-wheeled carts, he was on the march. Nor was this mere empty rumor. As soon as he learned from reliable sources that the people of Antioch had summoned Raymond thither, that they had given the city to him, and had bestowed upon him as his wife the daughter of Lord Bohemond, John determined to go to Antioch. Very wroth was he that, without his knowledge or command, they had presumed to give the daughter of their lord in marriage and, without consulting him, had dared to hand over the city to the rule of another.[58] He claimed Antioch with all the adjacent provinces as his own and wished to recall them to his own jurisdiction. He asserted that those great princes, men of valor and immortal memory who, at the command of God, had come on the first expedition (time does not permit the mention of their names one by one), had entered into a definite agreement with Alexius, his father and predecessor in the empire, with much interchange of gifts and courtesy.[59] The terms were that whatever cities or

[58] According to Chalandon, Alice had made overtures of a marriage alliance between Constance and the emperor's son, Manuel (F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 122).

[59] William habitually refers back to the early agreements which the crusading leaders had made with Alexius in 1097. In a sense the claims did start there, but John had a more definite basis for his claims in the agreement which Bohemond I had made in 1108 (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 122–26).

fortresses the Christians might by any chance take on that entire campaign should be surrendered without contest to the empire. These, when captured, they had undertaken to guard faithfully to the best of their ability and strength until he should come with his army. These provisions, John asserted, were included in the pact, and the princes had confirmed them with solemn oath.

There is no question that these princes had concluded an agreement with the emperor and that he, in turn, had bound himself to them by definite pledges which he had been the first to break. Since he had not kept to the terms of the agreement, the signatory princes steadfastly maintained that they were not bound to him. No less did they regard those who had already died as released from their agreement, since Alexius, as a vacillating and unstable man, had dealt fraudulently with them and had been the first to break his own pledges. According to the law of treaties, therefore, they rightly claimed that they were released from the pact, "For to keep faith with one who tries to act contrary to the tenor of a treaty is wrong."

Accordingly, the emperor sent officers throughout all his empire, and an entire year was spent in making the necessary preparations for a campaign, as befitted imperial magnificence. Then, followed by chariots and horses, an innumerable host, and accompanied by treasures of inestimable weight, number, and measure, he sailed across the Hellespont, which in common parlance is called the arm of St. George, and took the road toward Antioch. After crossing the intervening provinces, he came into Cilicia and halted to besiege Tarsus, a famous city of Cilicia Prima. This he took by force of arms, cast out the loyal subjects of the lord of Antioch, to whose faithful care it had been entrusted, and put in his own nobles. Without delay, in like fashion, he made himself master of Adana, Mamistra, and Anavarza, the most populous city of Cilicia Secunda. He also took the other cities of that province, together with all the fortified towns and castles. Thus, contrary to all justice and right, he seized as a part of his own kingdom the entire province of Cilicia, which the prince of Antioch had held in undisputed possession for forty years. For even before Antioch had come under our power Tarsus had been restored to Christian liberty by Baldwin, the duke's brother, and Mamistra with all the rest of that region had been freed by the distinguished Tancred.

Thence advancing in mighty strength, he pressed on to Antioch

with all his armies. Upon his arrival there, he immediately began siege operations. Mighty machines and engines were placed in strategic positions around the city and ever-increasing pressure was exerted upon the place.

25. *Zangi besieges the fortress called Montferrand. The king, with the help of the count of Tripoli, seeks to raise the siege, but in vain. The Christians are conquered, the count is taken prisoner, and the king retreats to the fortress.*

SUCH then was the situation around Antioch. Meanwhile, Zangi, a very wicked man and a most cruel persecutor of the Christians, was well aware that the count of Tripoli had recently perished with a large host and that the entire locality was now without military forces. Accordingly, he laid vigorous siege to Montferrand. This castle was situated in the land of Tripoli on the heights above the city of Raphania, recently mentioned. By fierce attacks, persistently continued without respite, he pressed hard upon those within the fortress.

News of this situation was brought to Count Raymond of Tripoli, son of the late Count Pons and nephew of the king on his mother's side. The young count at once dispatched swift messengers to the king. With earnest entreaties, he besought Fulk to come without delay to aid them in the desperate situation.

The king ever felt paternal solicitude for all the troubles of the Christians. He at once called together the principal men of the realm, levied forces of both infantry and cavalry and, by making forced marches, arrived speedily in the land of Tripoli.

There he was met by messengers from the prince of Antioch. They brought the ill tidings, both by word of mouth and by letter, that the emperor was besieging Antioch—tidings which, alas, were too true.[60] With the utmost urgency they besought the king to come thither with all his forces as soon as possible, that he might aid his brethren in their critical situation.

In view of this double emergency, the king called a council to consider what course to adopt. The opinion was unanimous that aid should first be given to the Christians besieged in the neighboring fortress (a task which seemed to be easy) and that then all with one accord should march on to the relief of the people of Antioch. The king and the

[60] Antioch was beseiged by John on August 29, 1137.

count accordingly united their forces and attempted to march against the enemy, but Divine favor did not attend them. Zangi had received information that they were advancing, and, as they drew near their destination, he abandoned the siege and led his troops in battle formation against them.

The Christians advanced at a brisk march toward the city, their forces arranged in fighting array according to the rules of military science. It was their purpose to carry aid to the besieged and to supply the town, now entirely without food, with the necessary provisions which they were bearing with them. But the guides who were leading our army left the easier, level road on the left and, whether through error or malice, followed a difficult mountain route. They led the Christians through a narrow and pathless district where there was no place suitable for a battle. Here resistance would be difficult, and a favorable opportunity for attacking would be equally lacking.

Zangi was a shrewd and experienced man of war. He at once perceived the situation and realized that the advantage was with him. Aglow with fervor, he summoned his men and, himself foremost among his thousands, roused their courage by his words and challenged them to follow his example. Fighting valiantly, he fell upon the Christian center and incited his men to our destruction. Our first lines broke ranks; they turned and fled. The leaders of our army saw that the first lines had given way; they realized that there was no hope of resistance and that they themselves in the narrow defiles could not come to their assistance. Accordingly, they counselled the king to look out for his own safety by withdrawing into the fortress near by. Fulk perceived that temporarily this was the best plan, for all the infantry had been either killed or captured. He therefore withdrew with a few attendants into the castle. The count of Tripoli, a young man of remarkable promise, was taken prisoner, and with him some of his knights.

The band following the king entered the fortress and provided for their safety as they could. All the baggage, a vast amount, was lost that day. It included the horses and pack animals which were carrying provisions intended for revictualing the fortress. The fugitives brought no food with them into the fortress. Carrying only the weapons with which they were armed, they fled thither empty handed.

Among others who fell that day was the illustrious Godfrey Char-

pulu, a brother of the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa. He was distinguished for his high rank and for his skill in arms. His death, as that of a valiant soldier, caused deep sorrow, and his melancholy end touched the entire army.

26. *Zangi again attacks the fortress; the besieged call on their neighbors for help.*

Zangi was well aware that the Christians had carried no food with them into the fortress. All their supplies were in his hands, and the military strength of the entire realm was exhausted. In addition, the count was his prisoner, and the king, with the greatest nobles of the realm, was shut up without provisions in a half-ruined castle. Accordingly, he determined to renew the siege of Montferrand. He hoped that now no assistance from any source could be brought to the imprisoned garrison and felt confident that within a short time he would succeed in taking the citadel. He therefore called his troops together once more. They responded to the summons so laden with the spoils taken from the Christians that they disdained even larger plunder because of the great amount already collected. Thus Montferrand was again surrounded by hostile forces, and the siege was pressed forward with vigor.

Among the great lords of the realm who had taken refuge with the king in the fortress were William de Bury, the constable, Renier de Brus, an illustrious warrior, Guy de Brisebar, Baldwin of Ramlah, Humphrey of Toron, a young man without experience in warfare, and many others. With them the king took counsel as to what should be done in such a desperate crisis. It was decided unanimously to appeal for aid to the prince of Antioch and the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa, to summon the patriarch of Jerusalem with all the people of the kingdom, and in the meantime to await the coming of this relief as best they might.[61]

Such was the situation at Montferrand. Just at this time also Renaud, surnamed the Bishop, a valiant soldier distinguished for his military prowess, was taken prisoner. He was the nephew of Roger, bishop of Lydda, and head of the order of St. George.[62] While engaged in pur-

[61] The surrender of Montferrand is dated in the third week of August. Raymond and Joscelin II arrived some days later.

[62] The order of St. George was short-lived. It is thought to have been originally

suing the people of Ascalon in his usual vigorous manner, but all too rashly, he happened to fall into an ambush and fell a prey to the enemy.

Meanwhile the messengers did not tarry but sped with all haste on their way. One went to Antioch, explained the dire straits of the king and his companions, and urged the prince to hasten to their relief without delay. Another by his vigorous entreaties moved the count of Edessa to action, while a third sped to Jerusalem and roused the entire people.

The prince of Antioch hesitated for a little, uncertain as to what to do. The emperor was before his gates, and he feared for the fate of his city if he should attempt to leave it. On the other hand, it seemed harsh and inhumane not to go to the aid of the king in such a desperate situation. At length, sympathy with the woes and anxieties of the king and the Christian people won the day. He committed his city to the care of the Lord, in the full assurance that it was better to share all evils with his brethren than to rejoice in complete prosperity and peace while they were suffering thus. He summoned the nobles and the chief men among the people, explained his sentiments, and invited them all to go to the aid of the king. They were easily persuaded and all voluntarily agreed to his desire, so pleasing to God. Preparations for departure were speedily made. They left the city, blockaded as it was by the emperor's forces, and set forth as with one mind to the relief of the king.

The count of Edessa, moved by similar emotions, made ready all his forces and marched with amazing swiftness toward the same goal. William, the patriarch of Jerusalem, assembled all the troops left in the kingdom and, carrying with him the Sacred Cross of the Lord, also hurried eagerly thither. Everywhere, as he hastened on his way, he endeavored to raise reinforcements and begged them to go to the help of the king.

27. *Baswaj, governor of Damascus, pillages and burns Nablus.*

WHILE the affairs of the king were in this condition, news of the situation was brought to Baswaj, governor of Damascus and chief of the army, who was mentioned above. He learned that the kingdom had been stripped of its usual army, that the king was besieged in a remote

established by knights and pilgrims from England. It is not connected, so far as is known, with any of the other orders of St. George.

part of the realm, and that the nobles and all the people, anxious to liberate him, were flocking thither as with one mind. He was convinced that the long-desired opportunity of injuring the Christians had now arrived. Accordingly, with a large force, he invaded the kingdom and suddenly attacked the unfortified city of Nablus, a place without walls, outworks, or even a moat. Thus, wholly without warning, like a thief in the night, he fell upon the unsuspecting citizens and, in a furious onslaught, spared neither sex nor age. Alive to the danger, but alas, too late, the survivors with their wives and children finally succeeded in reaching the citadel in the middle of the place. Thus with the greatest difficulty they escaped through the midst of fire and massacre. Unopposed, Baswaj raged throughout the city with unbridled license and consigned everything to the flames. He then departed without loss. With him he carried plunder, slaves, and everything else of value in the city.[63]

28. *The relief forces hurry to the aid of the king, but meanwhile still greater woes are inflicted upon the besieged.*

MEANWHILE, Zangi continued his vigorous attacks upon the besieged with unremitting zeal. The very walls shook under the impulse of his mighty engines. Millstones and huge rocks hurled from the machines fell into the midst of the citadel, shattered the houses within, and caused intense fear to the refugees there. Great fragments of rock and all kinds of whirling missiles were hurled with such violence against them that there was no longer any place of security within the walls where the feeble and wounded might be hidden. Everywhere was danger, everywhere hazard; everywhere the specter of frightful death hovered before their eyes. Apprehension of sudden destruction and a sinister foreboding of disaster ever attended them. With this very object in view, their cruel foe redoubled his assaults. He arranged his men in alternate divisions and, by using successive relays, renewed his strength. When the first detachment became weary, fresh men were brought into line, so that the battle seemed continuous rather than begun anew. Insufficient numbers prevented the Christians from enjoying these refreshing changes, yet they sustained with unswerving exertion not only the earlier but also the later attacks. But some succumbed

[63] This raid was made in the summer of 1137 while Fulk was involved with Zangi at Montferrand (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 146, note 2).

to severe wounds and others to illnesses of various kinds, so that day by day our ranks decreased. One failing was common to all, the impossibility of enduring constant engagements. Their nights, devoted to keeping watch, were sleepless, while during the day their strength was further exhausted by never-ending combat. The enemy granted them no respite for the restoration of their wearied bodies.

As a culmination of all these woes, the refugees had brought no provisions with them; there was no food remaining in the fortress from the former siege, and all that which they had intended to bring in had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Soon after they entered the citadel, therefore, the Christians were obliged to use their horses for food, since there was nothing else. After these were gone, there was no food of any description. So even the strong and robust grew weak from hunger, and leanness, induced by famine, ravaged the strength of even the most vigorous.

Moreover, the number shut up within the fortress was so large that the supplies were not sufficient to afford even a modicum to each one. The lodging places were so overcrowded that great numbers lay in the streets and squares—in fact, the ground seemed as if covered with rushes. Javelins incautiously thrown at random by the archers often fell in their midst and inflicted fatal wounds. Zangi received full information of all these details by reliable messengers. Confident that the Christians could not long endure such straits, he urged his men to yet stronger measures. He massed his cohorts so closely around the fortress and guarded all the entrances so strictly that no one, not even in a most desperate attempt, could reach our people, nor could they themselves go forth.

The situation in the beleaguered city grew worse from day to day. Food was wholly lacking and hope was utterly gone. In this extremity the Christians learned by their own experience how imperious is the rule of famine and how true is that saying, "Famine alone makes cities free [from their masters]." [64]

Yet hope of succor from the prince, the count of Edessa, and Jerusalem in some measure sustained the almost perishing people. But, since "for the yearning soul nothing moves swiftly enough," they distrusted all delay, their eagerness increased because deferred, and an hour seemed as a year.

[64] Lucan *Pharsalia* III. 56.

29. *Relief arrives. In the meantime, however, the king is induced to surrender. He enters into an agreement with the foe and returns in safety to his own land.*

WHILE these events were transpiring at the besieged castle of Montferrand, Prince Raymond was already drawing near with his legions. The count of Edessa, also with a large force, was not far away, and the army of Jerusalem, led by the Cross of Salvation, was likewise marching rapidly thither. Information of their approach was brought to Zangi by reliable messengers. He dreaded the arrival of these great leaders and, above all, of the emperor, who was, he knew, at Antioch. He feared that the monarch, on learning of the troubles of the besieged Christians, might feel compassion for them, and with his own unconquerable army march out in wrath against him. Before news of the approaching relief could reach the prisoners in the castle, therefore, he sent envoys to make overtures of peace. They were instructed to say to the king and his nobles that the fortress, already half demolished, could not hold out much longer; that the Christians, exhausted by starvation, had lost courage and had no longer strength to resist. His own army, on the contrary, possessed in abundance all things necessary. Nevertheless, out of respect for the king, a great and illustrious prince among the Christians, he was willing to restore all the captives whom he had recently taken, including the count, and to permit the king and all his company to leave the place freely and peacefully and return to their own country, on condition that the fortress should be surrendered.

The Christians were ignorant that aid was so near. Hunger, vigils, hardships, and anguish of mind, together with deadly wounds had utterly exhausted their strength and reduced them to a state far from warlike. They received the proffered terms with great eagerness and were astonished that such humanity could exist in a man so cruel. Gratefully they accepted the conditions imposed, without questioning the reason thereof. As soon as the understanding had been reduced to an agreement pleasing to both parties, the count of Tripoli was released and with him a large number of captives. The king and his men then marched out at once, receiving kindly treatment from the enemy, and the fortress was surrendered to the Turks. The king, agitated indeed but yet happy in his release from a situation of great perplexity and

danger, went down from the heights into the fields near Arka. There he learned that the prince and the count were at hand. He met them with great affection and commended their brotherly love and solicitude, but lamented that it was offered too late. He thanked them heartily because they had showed so much consideration for his affairs and as far as lay within their power had rendered the desired aid. Then, refreshed by friendly talk with one another, they parted and each returned to his own land.[65]

30. *On his return to Antioch the prince finds the city under siege. He makes a valiant resistance. Finally, however, through the intervention of certain individuals, he is reconciled to the emperor.*

THE prince of Antioch returned home with all haste, for his own affairs were in a very critical condition. He had left the most powerful prince of the world before his gates intent on hostile measures. Entering by the upper gate, which is next to the citadel and stronghold of the city, Raymond found the emperor still determined to carry out his original design. Accordingly, for several days there was active warfare between the two armies. Often secretly but still more often openly, the people of Antioch sallied forth against the emperor's army and frequently wrought great havoc. Without regard to the fact that both sides professed the same faith, they fought with one another as with enemies.

The emperor, for his part, caused immensely heavy rocks to be hurled from the mighty machines and engines. In this way, he sought to weaken and break down the defenses of the city and to shatter the walls and towers at the gate of the Bridge. The legions, armed with arrows and all sorts of missiles, were disposed in a circle round the place. Aided by a strong band of slingers, they sought at long range to prevent the townspeople from defending the walls and were ever on the watch for an opportunity to approach and undermine the fortifications.

As this critical situation developed, men of good sense in both armies began to fear that, if wiser counsel did not speedily prevail, things would come to such a desperate pass that a fitting solution for possible dangerous crises would not easily be found. Accordingly, in apprehen-

[65] The narrow margin of time between the surrender of the king and the arrival of the relief forces is confirmed by Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 242–43).

sion of such a result, certain persons interposed as arbitrators. They went to the camp of the emperor with proposals of peace and, with propitiatory words and a great show of humility, endeavored to soften his wrath. In this wise and discreet manner, as was meet, they approached the monarch and tried to pave the way for peace. It was finally arranged by the arbiters and those who had charge of bringing about the much-desired peace, that the prince, attended by all his barons, should present himself before his imperial majesty and, in the presence of the illustrious and distinguished nobles of the imperial palace, should with all due solemnity swear allegiance and fealty to the emperor. Furthermore, he should take a solemn oath that whenever the emperor desired to enter Antioch or its citadel, either in war or peace, the prince should not refuse to allow him a free and undisputed entrance. If the emperor should peacefully restore Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, and Hims to the prince, as had been stipulated in the treaty, Raymond was to rest content with these cities and others near by, and without contest give back to the emperor the city of Antioch to be held by right of ownership.

In return for the fealty shown him, the emperor should agree that if, by the aid of God, he succeeded in taking Aleppo, Shayzar, and all the adjacent region, he would allow the whole to be given to the prince without trouble or diminution and that the latter and his heirs should hold it in peace by perpetual right, but in benefice, which is commonly called in fief.

In accordance with this agreement, the prince, attended by his noble suite, proceeded to the imperial camp. He was received by the emperor with fitting honor, and, after the covenant had been revised to the satisfaction of both parties, the prince tendered the oath of fealty to the emperor. Thereupon, the emperor at once granted him the investiture of the cities named above, with all their dependencies, and promised faithfully that if, by the will of God, he should take them the following summer, he would personally surrender them to the prince.

As soon as the treaty was concluded and peace fully reëstablished, the imperial standard was raised over the principal tower of the citadel. Then, laden with most bountiful gifts, the prince returned to Antioch with his retinue. Since the severe winter season was at hand, the emperor went back to Cilicia with all his army, that he might spend the winter on the seacoast near Tarsus.

HERE ENDS THE FOURTEENTH BOOK

THE FIFTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

EMPEROR JOHN SEEKS TO EXTEND HIS INFLUENCE OVER THE LATIN STATES

1. *The emperor lays siege to Shayzar; the prince and the count of Edessa attend him, as in duty bound by their oath of allegiance to him.*

THE emperor passed the winter months in Cilicia. On the approach of spring, that season most favorable for the pursuit of war, he sent forth the heralds to proclaim an imperial edict by which the commanders of the army, the centurions, and the commanders of fifties were instructed to draw up their forces, to repair the engines of war, and to arm the entire people. Envoys had already been sent to invite the prince, the count of Edessa, and the other principal lords of those parts to march forth with the emperor to war.

Accordingly, from all directions the troops assembled. About April 1, the emperor, in order to make good the agreement between himself and the prince, directed the entire host, with blare of trumpts and roll of drums, to proceed toward Shayzar. He entered the enemy's country and a few days later encamped before the city.

As soon as they learned of this, the prince and the count levied troops from all over their domains and, with the same purpose in view, followed the emperor as quickly as possible. Soon they arrived with their armies before the city named above.

The situation of Shayzar is very similar to that of Antioch, between the mountain and the river which flows past the latter city. The greater part lies in the plain which extends to the river, but there is also another part built on the slope of the mountain. On the heights above towers the citadel, which was generally believed to be impregnable. From this stronghold, on the right and on the left, the walls run down to the river and enclose the city with the suburbs adjacent to it.

The emperor crossed the river, encircled the city with his troops, and laid siege to the place on that side which seemed most easily assailable because of the suburbs before it. From the machines, set up in

strategic positions, poured forth constant volleys of heavy stones which shook the towers and walls and even the houses of the people within. Under the repeated blows of these enormous missiles, the fortifications, on which the inhabitants had relied as their greatest defense, were utterly overthrown and in their fall wrought dreadful havoc among the townspeople.

The emperor, a man of great courage, pressed on the assault with glowing zeal and promised rewards for victory. Thus he kindled the enthusiasm of the young, ever eager for glory, for the strife and combats of war. Protected by the breastplate and girt with the sword, his head covered with a golden helmet, he mingled with the ranks and cheered now these, now those, with words of encouragement. Again, like a man of the people, he roused their valor by his example and fought valiantly, that he might render others more courageous for the fray. Thus did this man of lofty spirit move about without ceasing among the troops. From the first hour of the day even unto the latest he endured the heat of battle. He gave himself no rest—not even to take food. For either he was admonishing those who served the engines to take better and more frequent aim or he was inspiring courage in those who were engaged in the thick of the combat. He restored the strength of the fighters by successive relays of men and substituted fresh troops for those who were exhausted.

But while others were engaged in strenuous conflict, the prince and the count, both young men, let themselves be drawn away by the frivolous pursuits common to men of their years. They were continually playing at games of chance to the great detriment of their own interests. Moreover, by this lack of interest in warlike pursuits, they influenced others to take a less active part in the siege.

When their ill conduct came to the notice of the emperor, he was greatly incensed, and more than once by friendly admonitions given in secret he strove to call them back to their duty. He set before them his own example and reminded them of the fact that he, although the most powerful monarch of the land, did not spare himself physical hardships and great expense. For some days the army continued without ceasing to carry on engagements and conflicts of this nature. Finally, the emperor, indignant that a weak city could so long resist his incomparable army, wearied of the delay. He accused his men of laxity and tried to incite them to more vigorous efforts. He com-

manded that the attacks be redoubled and the siege pressed on with more boldness.

During the vigorous but ineffective siege of the city, that suburb in the lower part of the town, which was mentioned above, was captured in a hand-to-hand fight. No mercy was shown to the citizens found there, except in the case of those who by word or dress or by some other sign indicated that they would follow the Christian faith. For Shayzar contained and had contained from the beginning many people who belonged to the faithful and who, under the wretched yoke of slavery, were unjustly oppressed by their infidel masters.[1]

2. *The emperor in anger raises the siege and returns to Antioch without accomplishing his end.*

As soon as the suburb was taken, the citizens, alarmed lest the enemy should burst forcibly into the inner part and attack their wives and children, begged for a short truce. This was granted. The lord of Shayzar was a certain noble Arab named Machedolus.[2] This man secretly sent messengers to the emperor and humbly besought him with many prayers to save the city and protect the citizens. He promised to give in return a large sum of money. The dissolute and inactive conduct of the prince and the count during the campaign had deeply angered the emperor, especially in view of the fact that in pursuance of his promise he was laboring in their behalf. Their promises of fealty, rather specious than reliable, he counted as nothing; they were, in fact, dead without works. Accordingly, he detested them, and, to punish their faithlessness, he had already determined in his own mind, with the counsel of a few intimate advisers, that at the first opportunity which offered the least semblance of honor, he would raise the siege and return home.

Accordingly, as soon as the money agreed upon for raising the siege was paid, the heralds were ordered to proclaim peace, and the legions were directed to make ready for departure. Camp was at once broken.

[1] Shayzar was the native city of Usamah and is described in his autobiography (see P. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*, pp. 3–5 *et passim*).

[2] It is difficult to recognize in William's Machedolus the name of Usamah's uncle who governed the city at this time. The uncle's name is Izz-al-Din abu-al-Asakir Sultan. He died in 1154 and was succeeded by one Taj-al-Dawlah (see Hitti, *Usamah*, Introd., p. 6).

Orders were given that the legions proceed toward Antioch and that the entire army hasten thither.[3]

When the count and the prince learned of the emperor's action, they repented of their conduct, but, alas, too late. They endeavored to alter his intention, but he could not be swerved from the decision he had made. He rejected all their efforts at persuasion and hastened his departure. The count, far more sophisticated and wily than the prince, is said to have acted very maliciously in this matter. Influenced by a secret hatred against the prince, his lord, which he later openly acknowledged, he led the imprudent youth astray by his own greater subtlety so that the latter's power might not be increased. By every possible means he endeavored to bring upon him the emperor's displeasure, lest through that monarch the importance of the young prince might be increased.

3. *The emperor again demands the citadel of Antioch from the prince and thus indicates his intention of remaining for a time in that vicinity.*

The emperor arrived at Antioch with his sons and his suite and entered the city attended by a large body of soldiers. He was conducted with great ceremony, first to the cathedral and then to the palace of the prince, who, with the count, assumed the office of marshal. The patriarch with all the clergy and people followed in procession according to custom. Songs of praise and the sound of musical instruments accompanied his progress as well as frequent bursts of joyous applause from the populace.

For several days, as if the palace were his own, the emperor indulged freely as he would in the pleasures of the baths and other recreations pertaining to physical welfare. To the prince and the count, to their nobles, and even to some of the citizens, he showed profuse and almost prodigal munificence. At length, he caused the two lords with all the nobles of the province to be summoned to his presence. When they appeared before him, he addressed the prince as follows: "You know, my dear son Raymond, that out of love for you we have tarried in this vicinity a long time, that we might enlarge your principality

[3] According to Qalanisi, who describes the emperor's spring campaign on the upper Orontes, the real reason for raising the siege was the news that Zangi was collecting a large army and would soon pounce upon the Christians (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 248–52).

and extend your possessions to the detriment of the enemies of our faith. This we have done in accordance with the agreement formerly entered into, through the mediation of wise men, between our empire, beloved of God, and you, our loyal vassal. An opportune occasion has now come, and it is time to fulfil our promise and to place all the adjoining region under your rule, as the stipulations of the treaty clearly provide. But you well know, and these nobles who stand with you in our presence also know, that to carry out the obligations by which we are bound is not the matter of a short time. On the contrary, it is evident that your affairs demand an even longer sojourn on my part and yet greater outlay. Consequently, you must surrender to our care the citadel of this city, according to the tenor of the agreement, that our treasure may be placed there in security. Our forces must also have free access to the city, that they may come and go without hindrance. The engines of war needed for the siege of Aleppo cannot be so readily procured from Tarsus or Anavarza or the other cities of Cilicia. For these purposes this city affords far better facilities than any other place can offer. Fulfil your promise, therefore, and, conforming to the fealty which you have shown, do your duty. It will be the task of our imperial highness to carry out the obligations resting upon us and to interpret these liberally and with overflowing measure."

The prince and his nobles were appalled at the severity of these words. For a long time they anxiously deliberated over the problem, uncertain what response to make. For it seemed a very harsh and serious matter that the city, which our nation had acquired at such peril and which had been restored to the Christian faith at the expense of the precious blood of happy princes, should fall into the hands of the effeminate Greeks. Antioch had always been the head and governor of many great provinces, and, without her, it seemed to us that the rest of the country could not hold out. On the other hand, there could be no question that this had been included in the agreement made by the prince. Moreover, the emperor had brought in with him so many of his own men that it would be difficult to resist him if he should be inclined to use force. The matter was at this critical point when the count of Edessa spoke thus, on behalf of all. "Sire, the words of your imperial highness are fraught with divine eloquence and are worthy of all acceptance, for we see that their purpose is wholly concerned with increasing our power. But a new matter calls for fresh consideration,

nor does it lie within the power of the lord prince alone to agree to this demand. He must consider most carefully with the advice of his nobles, of me, forsooth, and of his other loyal subjects, how your dictum and demand may best be carried into effect. For if there should be an uprising of the populace, the execution of your demand might be hindered."

The count's response was acceptable to the emperor. A short delay was thereupon granted, that the proposed deliberation might be held. The count then went home; the prince remained in the palace, where, according to report, he was practically a prisoner.

4. *An uprising occurs in Antioch; the emperor in alarm rescinds his demand; the quarrel is settled, and the emperor leaves the city.*

As soon as the count reached home, he dispatched secret messengers to inform the people of the emperor's demands and to rouse them to arms. A tumult, accompanied by loud shouting, soon arose throughout the city; crowds assembled from every direction, and the din increased to a mighty uproar. When the count heard the disturbance, he took horse and rode swiftly to the palace, as if fleeing from the pursuit of the populace. He threw himself, breathless, at the feet of the emperor. The monarch, astonished at his abrupt entrance, inquired solicitously why, contrary to the etiquette and discipline of the sacred palace, he had rushed so informally into the presence of his imperial majesty. The count answered that necessity knew no law. The pursuit of a raging mob had compelled him to transgress customary rules in order to avoid peril of death. In answer to the emperor's repeated inquiries for details he said that he had entered an inn to rest and was about to refresh himself there.[4] Suddenly, the entire populace, armed with swords and other weapons such as fury supplies, besieged the door of the house. As one man they began to denounce him as a man of blood, a betrayer of his country, a murderer of the people, one who had taken money from the emperor and was about to sell the city to him. They demanded that he be surrendered to them. They had actually broken into the house before he had succeeded in making his escape through the midst of a thousand dangers.

In the meantime, the mighty uproar was heard throughout the city;

[4] The mention of an inn, *hospitium,* as a place fit to house one of the Latin princes implies a highly developed system of caring for transients, both merchants and soldiers.

unbridled tumult reigned. Repeated rumors circulated throughout the city that Antioch had been sold to the Greeks, that the citadel had already been surrendered to them, and that the citizens would be forced to leave the homes of their forefathers and depart from their ancestral possessions. Kindled to fury by these reports, the townspeople attacked members of the emperor's household wherever found. They dragged them down from their horses, despoiled them with violence, beat them with whips, and put to the sword all who showed the least resistance. Fugitives, desperately trying to escape from wounds and death, were pursued with drawn swords into the very palace of the emperor.

The clamor of the citizens and the vehement outcries of his own followers roused the emperor to action. He ordered the prince and the nobles to be summoned immediately. Alarmed lest some serious demonstration be made against himself, he restrained his anger for the time being, and in reference to the rather free remarks which he had made that day in the presence of all, he said: "I remember that I discussed with you today a matter which may perchance have given rise to this excitement among the people. At this time, I wish all the people as well as the fathers of the city to know that, since my demand seems to you so harsh and difficult, I revoke my sentence and retract that which I proposed. Retain for yourselves the citadel and the whole city as well. It is sufficient for me that the conditions which have prevailed up to this time continue. I know that you are in very truth my loyal servants, and I am confident that you will never prove false to the fealty which you have promised and guaranteed. Go, therefore, and try to quiet the raging populace. If my sojourn in Antioch causes them any degree of apprehension, let them not be further concerned. Tomorrow, God willing, I shall take my departure."

All present manifested approval of the emperor's resolve. His prudence, his farseeing counsel, and his wise discernment were highly extolled. The prince and the count then went out with others of the principal men and by words and gestures, nods and signs, endeavored to calm the uproar. Silence was at last obtained and the mob reduced by friendly words to some degree of tranquillity. The mediators then earnestly besought them to return to their homes, to lay aside their arms and be quiet. This result was finally brought about.

On the following day the emperor, attended by his sons, his kindred,

and all his following, left Antioch, and by his orders the camp was established outside the walls.[5]

5. *Envoys are sent to the emperor to try to appease his anger. In this they are successful. The emperor returns to his own land.*

WISE men in the city, however, realized that the emperor's wrath had been excited against the prince and the great nobles. Although he had wisely concealed his real feelings, yet he believed that they were responsible for instigating and secretly encouraging the popular uprising. Accordingly, in the hope of restoring peace, men of experience and judgment were sent as envoys to his imperial majesty. They were to offer excuses for the prince and the principal men of the land and to declare that they were not guilty of exciting sedition among the people.

The deputies were introduced into the presence of the emperor. Acting on behalf of their mission, they earnestly alleged the innocence of the prince and strove to convince the emperor of the fact in the following words: "Your imperial majesty and august highness knows far better than we that in all communities, and far more in cities and wherever men congregate in large numbers, all are not possessed of equal wisdom or endowed with equal judgment. People have different manners and customs, they follow varied pursuits, as their interests direct. Most true is that wise saying: 'My three guests seem almost to quarrel.' [6] And this also: 'As many men, so many minds.' [7] In the midst of this great variety of manners and habits, it is the duty of the wise man to discern those who are deserving and to distribute rewards in proportion to merit. Following out this reasoning, the frenzied actions of an irresponsible mob should not redound to the detriment of the better-disposed element. It often happens that a disorderly mob, which brooks no restraint, rashly excites quarrels and disturbances. But it is also certain, as ancient and long-approved custom shows, that in all well-constituted cities the rash impulses of the populace are restrained and unbridled audacity checked by the wise moderation of the

[5] This account of the reason for the departure of John from Antioch is accepted by Chalandon. There were deeper reasons than this ruse of Joscelin for the resentment of the Latin populace against the Greeks. The overlordship of Antioch by John carried with it, expressed or implied, the reëstablishment of a Greek patriarch. Innocent II, alarmed by John's conduct in Cilicia, issued a bull forbidding Latin Christians to serve in the army of the Greeks (Jaffe, *Reg.*, no. 7883); F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 154–56; see also note 17, below).

[6] Horace *Ep.* II. ii. 61.

[7] Terence *Phor.* II. iv. 14.

elders. If it were otherwise, the condition of the crowd would be far better than that of the nobles; unless the elders were permitted to correct the errors of the thoughtless populace, the confusion of a heedless mob would prevail rather than the experience of the wise. Without the knowledge of the prince and of those charged with carrying on the most important affairs of state, the irresponsible people committed this outrage. Let them bear the punishment they deserve, but let the prince and the nobles be held guiltless. In proof of his innocence, the prince is ready to abide by the terms of the treaty and, if permitted, to transfer the city with the citadel into the hands of the emperor."

By this plea and others of similar import, the emperor was induced to change the feeling of intense indignation, which was due to suspicion alone, for one of a kindlier nature. He sent for the prince and also the count and the nobles and directed that they approach his presence in a friendly way. Thus the cloud of anger which had separated them was dispersed; the emperor graciously received their salutations and in return extended a kindly greeting.

At length he informed them that urgent reasons compelled him to return home. On taking leave, he solemnly promised that, with the help of God, he would return with a strong force and would carry out the agreement which he had made. He then led his entire army into Cilicia.[8] Thence, when his business in that country and in Syria was finished, he made ready his forces for the march and returned to his own land.

6. *The king of Jerusalem lays siege to a fortress beyond the Jordan and takes it by force. Our army suffers a deplorable defeat at Tekoah. Eudes de Montfaucon falls at that place.*

In the following summer, not long after these events had happened at Antioch, Thierry, count of Flanders, a great and distinguished man among the princes of the West and a son-in-law of the lord king,[9] came on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with a noble retinue.

The king and the people as a whole received him with the utmost joy. By the advice of the patriarch and other princes of the realm, it

[8] The acquisition of Cilicia and the capture of Leo and other leaders of the Armenian state were the most tangible results of John's campaign during these two years.

[9] Thierry of Alsace profited from the misfortunes of William Clito, son of Robert Curthose. He obtained Flanders and Sibylla, the daughter of Fulk, both formerly in Clito's possession. This, the first of his journeys to the Holy Land, was made in 1139.

was unanimously decided, with the help of the splendid force of valiant knights who accompanied him, to besiege a certain stronghold on the other side of Jordan, near Mt. Galaad, in the territory of the Ammonites. This fortress was a great menace to our lands. It was a cavern, on the slope of a very high mountain, the approach to which was practically inaccessible. Above it towered a mighty precipice which reached from the top of the promontory to the depths of the adjacent valley. On one side, a narrow and dangerous path between a high projecting cliff and the precipice just described led to the same cave.

In this cave a band of wicked robbers and bandits from the lands of Moab, Ammon, and Galaad had established themselves; and from this base, as opportunity offered, they were in the habit of making frequent and unexpected forays upon our lands. These raids were often attended with great danger to us. Full information of the conditions prevailing in Christian territory was supplied to the bandits by scouts well acquainted with the region who were sent out before each attack. Our leaders were exceedingly anxious to remove these evils, and accordingly, as we have said, they proposed to besiege the cave. They summoned all the people from that locality and, accompanied by military forces, crossed the Jordan. On reaching their destination, they seized the approach, as far as the inequalities of the country and the narrow defiles permitted, and located their camp there. Then the forces were stationed in a circle around and the place besieged. In accordance with the laws of warfare, they proceeded to harass the enemy in every way and to hem them in as closely as possible, in order to force them to surrender. The robbers, on their part, with all the cunning that ever attends on misfortune, vigilantly prepared to defend themselves.

Thus almost the entire Christian army was as with one mind valiantly engaged upon this siege. Meanwhile, certain Turks had perceived that all the region across the Jordan had been stripped of soldiers and thus lay exposed to hostile attacks. Accordingly, they seized the opportunity offered at this time and crossed the Jordan. Leaving the land of Jericho on the right, they proceeded along beside the lake of Asphalt, which is also called the Dead sea, and from there advancing to the mountainous country, they fell upon that part of the province which in olden times belonged by lot to the tribe of Judah. They took possession by force of Tekoah, the city of the prophets Amos and Habakkuk, and killed the few people who still remained there. They

found it almost denuded of inhabitants for, warned betimes of the enemy's approach, all had departed and, with their wives and children, their herds and flocks, had fled to the neighboring cave of Odolla. Consequently, as the village was empty, the invaders entered the houses of the fugitives and carried off whatever had been left.

Now it happened that in those days there had come to Jerusalem from Antioch Robert, surnamed the Burgundian, of pious memory in the Lord. He was a distinguished knight, valiant in arms, noble both according to the flesh and by nature, an Aquitanian by birth and master of the Knights of the Temple. Accompanied by some of his brethren and by a few knights of various ranks who had remained at Jerusalem, he immediately made all speed to the place just mentioned. At their head marched Bernard Vacher, one of the king's household, bearing the royal standard, and all the people followed.

But as soon as the Turks learned that the Christians were on the way, they left Hebehis, the home of the prophet Joel, and fled toward Hebron, the burial place of the patriarchs. From there they intended to descend into the plain and proceed toward Ascalon. The Christians, however, although they knew that the foe was in full retreat, did not follow in close pursuit, as if confident of victory. On the contrary, they scattered recklessly in different directions, more intent on plunder than on destroying the enemy. The Turks, although already in flight, soon perceived this. With renewed courage, they again massed in their usual fashion and as far as possible strove to rally their scattered forces. Full of confidence, they fell unexpectedly upon the bands of Christians, who were roving hither and yon without thought of danger, and wrought great destruction with the sword. Nevertheless, a few of our people made an effort to resist. They gathered together and engaged in battle.

Meanwhile, the shrill sound of trumpets and horns, the champing of horses, the flash of glittering armor, the voices of the leaders cheering on their men, together with the clouds of dust raised by the horses' hoofs, carried the alarm to the scattered forces of the Christians. They hastened to the place of combat. But before they could join their comrades who were trying to make a resistance, our first ranks gave way and fled. The enemy had showed their superiority, and our people were vanquished.

Closely pursued by the enemy with arrows and drawn swords, the Christians tried to flee. But escape was practically impossible, because

the place was rough with rocks and almost pathless. Some perished by the sword, and others were hurled headlong from precipices. From Hebron, which is Kirjath-Arba, even to the boundaries of Tekoah the Turks pursued and wrought terrible massacre upon the Christians. Many noble and famous men fell on that day. Among others who perished was the illustrious Knight Templar, Eudes de Montfaucon. His death caused universal sorrow and mourning.

The victorious enemy returned in triumph to Ascalon, rejoicing over the destruction of the Christians and the spoils which they carried with them.

When our people who were engaged in the siege [at Mt. Galaad] learned of the disaster which had befallen us, they were filled with consternation. A realization of the fact, however, that by the law of war victory falls now to one side and now to the other comforted them, and they continued their work with renewed vigor. Within a short time, by the will of God, they took that stronghold and returned home covered with glory.

7. *Zangi causes the kingdom of Damascus much uneasiness. The Damascenes appeal to the Christians for aid. They obtain it under certain conditions. Zangi returns to his own land.*

WHILE these events were taking place in the land of Jerusalem, Zangi, mightily puffed up by his successes, like an ever-restless worm, dared to aspire to conquer the [Saracen] kingdom of Damascus. Word was brought to Ainardus [Anar], the governor of that country, who was likewise the chief of the army and the father-in-law of the king, that Zangi had entered his territory with a hostile army.[10] The governor at once dispatched envoys to the king of Jerusalem. Most earnestly he begged in conciliatory words that he and the Christian people would lend their aid and counsel against a cruel enemy, equally dangerous to both kingdoms. Lest he might seem to be boldly soliciting free aid from the king and his nobles, with little hope of return, he promised to pay twenty thousand pieces of gold per month for the necessary expenses of the enterprise. The treaty also included the provision that as

[10] Anar, or Mu'in al-Din, who had distinguished himself by holding Hims against Zangi in 1137, was a mamluk of Tughtigin and became the actual, if not nominal, ruler of Damascus in 1139.

soon as the enemy had been driven from Damascus the city of Banyas, which had been wrested from us a few years before, should be restored without contest. Moreover, as a guarantee that the articles of the treaty would be carried out, he promised to give as hostages sons of nobles, in number as agreed upon.

After listening to these proposals, the king called together all the nobles of the realm, laid before them carefully all the provisions and details of the treaty offered by the deputies, and asked their advice as to the response. For a long time they deliberated, and finally, after mature consideration and a careful interchange of opinions over each detail, it was resolved to lend assistance to Anar and the Damascenes against this most cruel enemy, a menace to both kingdoms.

It was thought best that this assistance be given freely, "lest the enemy, rendered more powerful because of our inactivity, should gain that kingdom and use its power thus increased against us." Additional circumstances rendered the cause very popular; the most potent reason and the one which lent universal favor to the proposition was the fact that at the end of the treaty was added the clause about the city of Banyas.

8. *With the help of the Damascenes, the city of Banyas is besieged.*

THUS the general plan was approved. As soon as the hostages mentioned above had been received and placed in security, large forces of cavalry and infantry from all over the realm were ordered to assemble at once at Tiberias. Meanwhile, Zangi, in his superabundant valor, had invaded the land of Damascus with immense forces of cavalry. Leaving the city behind him, he had already advanced as far as a place called Rasaline. There he had established himself and his legions temporarily, for the advance of the Christians caused him some hesitancy. Unless our forces hindered his plans, however, he felt confident that he could easily attain his desired end.

News that Zangi had halted at the place mentioned above reached the Christians; also that the Damascenes had marched out from the city and were awaiting the arrival of the king and his troops at Nuara. Accordingly, they broke camp and, with standards raised, hastened as with one mind to the aforesaid place. But as soon as Zangi was informed of this movement, he hastily withdrew, for he was ever on the

alert and had no mind to come into conflict with two armies at the same time on hostile soil. Accordingly, before the Christians could unite with the Damascenes he left his position and hastily retreated. Leaving our forces and those of the Damascenes on the left, he proceeded by forced marches to the region commonly known as the valley of Baccar.

Our troops, nevertheless, continued on to the appointed place, where they united with the Damascenes. There they learned definitely that Zangi had departed. Accordingly, by unanimous consent, the course of the entire army was turned toward Banyas, as agreed upon in the treaty. We have already mentioned that a few years before this, Tughtigin, king of Damascus, had taken this city by force of arms.[11] Afterwards, however, the magistrate to whom he had entrusted it had deserted the Damascenes and gone over to their enemy, Zangi. This was the reason our allies were making such strenuous efforts to bring it under the power of the king of Jerusalem. They preferred that it should be restored to the Christians, whose favor they enjoyed, rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and distrusted; for from it as from a near vantage point he could do them much injury and cause them even greater trouble.

9. *The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli also come to help in the siege. The city is closely blockaded.*

BANYAS is the city which is commonly called Belinas and which, before the children of Israel entered the Promised Land, was known as Leshem. Afterwards, the sons of Dan received this as their allotment and called it Leshem Dan, as may be read in Joshua, where it is written: "therefore the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father." [12]

Later this city was called Caesarea Philippi, because Philip the Tetrarch, son of the elder Herod, enlarged it in honor of Tiberius Caesar and made it famous with marvellous buildings. Thus it owed one appellation to the name of Caesar and the other to that of the man who enlarged it.

Toward this city the allied armies directed their course. They reached there May 1, and at once blockaded it on all sides. Anar and

[11] See Book XIV, chaps. 17, 19, and notes 18, 45. [12] Jos. 19:47.

his forces took up a position on the east, between the city and the woods, in a place called Cohagar. The forces of the king were stationed on the west toward the open fields. The position of the troops thus encircling the city prevented all approach to those shut up within and removed any opportunity of entrance or exit. It was moreover deemed wise—and the action was sanctioned by common consent—to dispatch messengers to Raymond, prince of Antioch, and to the count of Tripoli to invite them to participate in the siege already begun. This was immediately done.

Meanwhile, the Christians, with the help of their equally zealous allies, the Turks, ever ready for the daily conflict, continued to press on the siege without intermission. From the hurling engines called petraries they threw huge stones of great weight, which shook the walls and demolished the buildings within the city itself. Showers of arrows and darts also rained like hail upon the harassed townspeople, so that it was impossible to find any place of security within the walls. Even the defenders, though protected by wall and ramparts, as they hurled stones or drew their bows scarcely ventured to look upon the assailants without.

Then might have been witnessed a strange and novel sight: a hostile people encouraging an enemy to the fiercest warfare and, as an ally, actually in arms for the destruction of a common foe. Nor could it be readily discerned which of the allied armies battled the more valiantly against the common adversary or urged on the attack the more bitterly or persevered the longer in the burden of battle. Christians and Damascenes were equal in courage and united in purpose. Although in training and in the practice of arms they were indeed unlike, yet in the desire to inflict injury upon the enemy one race did not yield to the other.[13]

The besieged, although wearied to the point of exhaustion by the ceaseless attacks and by the burden of vigils and excessive toil, still kept up a vigorous resistance. As far as their strength permitted, they made every effort to defend their wives and children and, above all, their liberty. The pressure of misfortune made them more ingenious, and every possible mode of resistance was tried. This continued for some time. It finally became evident to the Christians that no advantage

[13] William apparently found it not too difficult to approve of an alliance with Muslims against other Muslims.

could be gained unless they could build a wooden tower, move it close to the walls, and wage war upon the besieged from above. But in all that region no suitable material for such a purpose was to be found. Anar therefore dispatched men to Damascus for tall beams of great size which long ago had been set aside especially for such a purpose. He bade them use all possible speed to accomplish their errand and return.

10. *The prince and the count arrive. A storming engine is erected. The citizens, in the hope of aid, stoutly defend themselves.*

MEANWHILE, the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, who had been summoned by our deputies, arrived. They brought, as had been hoped, a large number of strong fighters, with whom they joined our camp. Their coming doubled the distress of the besieged, and they seemed to lose all hope of resistance. The newcomers were anxious to test out their strength, in eager emulation of one another. Longing for praise and glory, they formed their men into separate companies and vigorously attacked the city. As a result, the terror of the besieged increased, and lack of confidence in their own forces fell upon them. The allied forces, on the other hand, grew more certain of victory, their courage increased, and ennui diminished as day after day found them stronger for assault.

While these events were happening before Banyas, the messengers sent to Damascus returned without delay. They brought with them immense beams of the necessary size and strength. These were quickly dressed by the carpenters and workmen and put together solidly with iron nails. Soon an engine of great height towered aloft, from whose top the entire city could be surveyed. From this vantage point, arrows and missiles of every sort could be sent, while great stones hurled by hand would also help to keep the defenders back. As soon as the engine was ready, the ground between it and the walls was levelled off, and the machine was attached to the ramparts. There, as it looked down upon the whole city, it seemed as if a tower had been suddenly erected in the very midst of the place.

Now for the first time the situation of the besieged became intolerable; they were driven to the last extremity, for it was impossible to devise any remedy against the downpour of stones and missiles which

fell without intermission from the movable tower. Moreover, there was no safe place within the city for the sick and wounded, or where those who, still strong and vigorous, were sacrificing themselves in defense of the others might withdraw to rest after their labors.

In addition, they were now debarred from passing back and forth about the ramparts and could not without peril of death carry aid to their comrades who were falling. For the weapons and modes of assault used by those fighting below could be considered little or nothing in comparison with the manifold dangers to which they were exposed from the fighters in the tower. In fact, it seemed to be rather a war with gods than with men. Zangi had promised faithfully to come to their aid, and at first and even up to that very moment they had cherished the belief that he would do so. Now, however, in the imminent danger all hope of relief or chance of defense had apparently departed.

11. *A legate of the church of Rome lands; he proceeds to the siege. The city is taken and a bishop is ordained there. All the princes repair to Jerusalem.*

During the progress of this campaign, a legate from the church of Rome arrived at Sidon. Albericus, bishop of Ostia, was a Frenchman by birth, from the bishopric of Beauvais. He had been sent on a special mission to investigate the trouble which had arisen in the church at Antioch between the lord patriarch and his canons. A short time before this, Peter, archbishop of Lyons, a man of revered life, had come to Syria in the capacity of envoy on this same matter. But he was stricken by death and did not accomplish the mission entrusted to him. Hence Albericus was appointed in place of the venerable archbishop just named to bring the controversy to a fitting end, as will be related further on. When Bishop Albericus learned that the entire Christian army was still engaged in the siege of Banyas and that William, patriarch of Jerusalem, Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, and other princes of the realm were there, he hurried thither as rapidly as possible. Although the Christians had not faltered in their undertaking but were, on the contrary, zealously carrying it on, yet the support of this wise man and the sanction of apostolic authority spurred them on. His words of exhortation gave them added stimulus and fired them with desire to attack the city still more vigorously.

Meanwhile, those who had ben detailed for work at the machines

continued to press the besieged mercilessly and without ceasing. No opportunity for rest was given, and to their condition of chronic fatigue was added ever-increasing panic and apprehension of danger. Their number too was constantly decreasing; for some had fallen by the sword, and others had suffered fatal wounds. Still others gave way through utter exhaustion, so that the defenders could not continue to ward off attacks as they had been doing.

Anar, the governor of Damascus and the commander in chief of the army, was a man of keen insight who loyally adhered to the strict terms of the covenant which he had made with us. He realized the plight of the enemy; he knew also "that misfortune ever inclines one to lend a listening ear and that cumulative misery is wont to drive its victims to accept even the hardest terms." Accordingly, he put the saying literally to the test. He secretly sent some of his own followers to invite the people to surrender, that they might save their lives. At first they shrank from the idea with abhorrence and pretended that they could hold out for some time longer, as if they still had hope of further resistance. Nevertheless, in the end, they thankfully embraced the proffered terms with much avidity. Their ruler, however, a powerful nobleman whom they themselves call the amir, fearing that he might come to want, added a provision to the terms offered. In consideration of the surrender of the city, he asked that he be given some compensation therefor, the amount to be determined through the good offices of some just man. For it seemed shameful and disgraceful that a noble lord, the former ruler of a great city, should be driven from his hereditary possessions and compelled to beg. This petition seemed fairly just and reasonable to Anar. He therefore guaranteed that the request should be granted, for he was absolutely determined to bring the city into our power as soon as possible. The provision was as follows: an annual revenue, in amount as agreed upon between them, was to be assigned to the amir, payable from the proceeds of the baths and orchards; free permission to depart with all their goods should also be obtained for those citizens who wished it. To those who preferred to remain there or upon their estates, whether in the city or in the country, either permanently or temporarily, rather than to go elsewhere, he promised tranquil possession under good conditions, when assurance of fealty should be given.

The king and all the rest of the Christians received this arrangement

with favor, and all the citizens prepared to surrender the place without delay. Then Anar, perceiving that the negotiations had arrived at the desired point of harmony and that the matter was settled in every detail, placed the facts in a friendly way before the king, the patriarch, the prince, and the count. He carefully explained all details of the secret negotiations which he had conducted and urged them with all the eloquence in his power to agree to the treaty. Out of respect for the wisdom and sincere fidelity of the man, they approved the terms, gave their assent, and promised that in all good faith they would act in every respect according to the arrangements which he had made.

Upon the surrender of the city, therefore, the townspeople with their wives and children and all their belongings were permitted to leave without hindrance. Accordingly they departed to the place which they had chosen.[14]

As soon as the city came into their power, the Christians, at the suggestion of the patriarch and with the consent and approval of Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, under whose jurisdiction the church at Banyas certainly belonged by his right as metropolitan, chose as bishop of that place Adam, archdeacon of Acre. To him was committed the spiritual care of the faithful who desired to remain there. The temporal jurisdiction, however, was restored to Renier, surnamed Brus, from whom, a few years before, it had been wrested by force.

The king, accompanied by the prince of Antioch, the patriarch, and the papal legate, then hastened to Jerusalem to render thanks and solemn sacrifices to God. The prince tarried there for some days to make the customary prayers and then returned to Antioch. Before his departure, he endeavored to ascertain the legate's intentions concerning the patriarch of his own city. He assured him that he might have full confidence of his own support and begged him to come to Antioch without delay. For the legate, as has been said, had been sent to investigate certain charges made against the patriarch by some of the canons of his own church and to bring the matter to a proper conclusion.

It is now time to explain what has already been said about this patriarch. That this may be more readily understood, it is necessary to go back somewhat earlier in the story.

[14] The siege had lasted nearly a month, May 20 to June 12, 1140. The town was surrendered to Anar, who in turn gave it to the Christians according to promise (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 259–61).

12. *The prince of Antioch conspires with the adversaries of the patriarch of that city. The patriarch departs for Rome. He is taken prisoner by Roger, duke of Apulia. A reconciliation is eventually brought about between them. The patriarch finally reaches Rome.*

WHEN Lord Raymond first came to Antioch and, indeed, even before he married his destined bride, in order that he might more easily gain his desired end he took an oath of fealty to Ralph, who at that time presided over the church at Antioch. He promised on his honor, according to the formula of showing allegiance, that "from that day forth he would do nothing either in thought or deed, by which the patriarch might lose honor, life, or limb or be held in vile captivity." He did not abide by this oath, however, even for a short time. On the contrary, as soon as, through the interest and efforts of the patriarch, he had won his wife and obtained control of the entire country, he allied himself with the latter's opponents and, contrary to the allegiance which he had sworn, lent them aid and counsel to the detriment of the patriarch.

With the assistance of such a powerful coadjutor, the patriarch's enemies continued their hostile designs with even more boldness and went to Rome. His adversaries were Lambert, an archdeacon of that same church, a man of honorable character, well lettered but with little or no experience in secular affairs, and one Arnulf, a learned man of noble rank, well versed in worldly matters, by birth a Calabrian. With the consent and approval of the prince, these two men set out for Rome to appeal to the pope. The patriarch, although much against his will, was constrained by the prince to go there also.

Matters were so arranged that Arnulf went on ahead and proceeded by a shorter route to Sicily. There he associated himself with his friends and relatives, for he was a native of Calabria, where he later became bishop of Cosenza (for, as we have said, he was a man of very high rank). He went to Roger, duke of Apulia,[15] to whom he was well known and said, "Illustrious prince, your mortal enemy, who has deprived you and your heirs forever of Antioch and, in defiance of law, has raised over it an unknown man, is given into your hand as you

[15] Roger II had been crowned king of Sicily by Pope Anacletus II in 1130. His title was recognized by Pope Innocent II at the peace of Mignano, July 25, 1139. For what reasons William here prefers the title of duke of Apulia is not clear.

desired, and that without cost. Behold the Lord has delivered the patriarch of Antioch to you, and his numerous sins have brought him here. Rouse yourself, then; consider how you may best capture him; for assuredly, through him, the way may again be opened for you to succeed to your rightful and legitimate heritage of which you have been unjustly deprived by this man."

Influenced by these words, the duke of Apulia, a shrewd and wily man, at once ordered secret pitfalls to be carefully laid in all the coast cities so that the patriarch, on his arrival, might be seized, cast into chains, and sent immediately to Sicily. Accordingly, when Ralph, apprehending nothing of the sort, landed at Brindisi after a prosperous voyage, the directions of the duke were carried out. All the effects which he, as a powerful prince, had brought with him were seized, his retinue was dispersed, and he himself was bound and handed over to that same Arnulf to be dragged to Sicily and conducted before the duke. Thus for the first time Arnulf had the opportunity to indulge his rage freely against Ralph, his wicked persecutor, and to take a double revenge for all the evils which he had suffered at his hands.

The patriarch was finally brought before the duke. Friendly colloquies took place between the two. Ralph was a discreet man of fine appearance and possessed an eloquent tongue. He finally recovered, although under certain conditions, all that he had lost. His retinue was also restored to him. On his part, he promised that on his return he would revisit the duke. He was then dismissed with all honor and continued on his journey to Rome.

On arriving there, he had difficulty at first in obtaining an audience with the pope. He was regarded as a persecutor of the church, one who desired to lessen the preëminence of the apostolic see and infringe upon its prerogatives by setting up a rival chair and claiming that it was equal to that of Rome. Consequently, as guilty of *lèse majesté*, he was refused entrance to the holy palace and audience with the pope.

13. *He is accused by his enemies, but finally returns to his own land in full favor.*

The pope and the entire church were much inclined to take advantage of any honorable opportunity to make matters difficult for the patriarch, while they showed the utmost favor toward his adversaries. They regarded him in fact with suspicion, because he was a rich and mag-

nificent man and refused to acknowledge that the see which he held, that is, Antioch, was subject to the church of Rome. He contended, on the contrary, that it was equal in all respects to that of Rome. "Each," he said, "was the church of Peter, but that of Antioch was, as it were, distinguished by the prerogative of the first born." Hence they strove in many ways to annoy him.[16]

Finally, certain mediators, friendly to both, interceded for him and opened the way. Through their kind offices, he was admitted to the presence of the pope, surrounded by his court in solemn assembly. Great magnificence attended his reception. After he had appeared several times in the consistory, his adversaries seized their opportunity and publicly accused him. The charges were presented and preparations made with all the solemnity of the law to proceed to the trial.

But it was well known to the entire court that the accusers were not sufficiently prepared so as to be able fully to convince the pope and his coadjutors with regard to the charges. It was suggested, therefore, that both parties rest, until the pope on his own part could send someone to Antioch, there to obtain witnesses and proofs whereby the full facts of the case might be ascertained. Meanwhile, the patriarch resigned the pallium which on his own authority he had assumed from the altar of the church at Antioch, in despite, as it was claimed, of the apostolic see, and gave it to the cardinals. Thereupon another, taken from the body of the blessed Peter, was conferred upon him in the customary manner by the prior of the deacons.

The patriarch remained for a while at Rome, as long as his affairs seemed to demand. He then took leave, in full favor and safe as far as the case was concerned, and returned to Sicily. Duke Roger received him with honor, and frequent colloquies and intimate discussion over many necessary matters took place between the two. Then the duke furnished him with a number of galleys sufficient for the voyage, and, attended by favoring winds, he set sail for Syria. He landed at the place commonly called the Port of St. Simeon, about ten miles more or less from Antioch, at the mouth of the Orontes river, which flows by that city.

[16] This uncertainty of the papal court about the obedience of the Latin patriarchs in the East must be reckoned as a factor in papal policy toward the Latin churches of Syria. Doubtless it led the popes more readily to exempt ecclesiastical establishments in the Holy Land from local patriarchal jurisdiction than might otherwise have been done.

14. *At the instigation of the prince, his clergy refuse to receive him on his return. He withdraws into the land of the count of Edessa. He is finally reconciled to the prince and returns to Antioch.*

As soon as the lord patriarch arrived at Coelesyria, as has been related, and thus was near his own city, he wrote to his church desiring that upon a stated day he should be met by a solemn procession at a designated place outside the city. His people were well aware, however, that the prince was pursuing him with inexorable hatred, in defiance of the oath of fealty which he had taken. Accordingly, with a view to the prince's favor, they flatly refused his request or to obey their patriarch at all. In fact, owing to the violence of the prince, they even forbade him to enter the city. When he perceived the wickedness of his clergy and the aversion in which he was held by those from whom he had deserved far different treatment and also the obstinate anger of the prince, he withdrew into the hill country near the city, known commonly as the Black mountains. There he remained for a while, in the monasteries with which the place abounds. It was his hope that, when the rancor of the prince and his own clergy had abated and kindlier feelings prevailed, he might be called back to the city.

But the prince continued to display his animosity even more openly than before. For Arnulf had sent him news from Sicily which strengthened his hatred and gave it still more impetus. He wrote that the patriarch had concluded a secret alliance against the prince with Duke Roger, his rival, and in proof of this he alleged that the duke had loaded the patriarch with gifts and honor on his return through Sicily. He had also provided the galleys necessary for the voyage.[17] All these circumstances naturally tended to convince the prince that this information was true.

While the patriarch was staying in the places just mentioned, special messengers came to him from Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa. Influenced by hatred of the prince and by good will toward the patriarch, the count sent an urgent invitation that he come with all his reti-

[17] The troubles of Ralph, which may originally have been of purely local ecclesiastical significance, were thus widened out to enter the arena of political rivalry between Sicily and the Greek empire. Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 245–46) notes the dispute between Prince Raymond and the patriarch under the year 1138 and explains it on the ground that Raymond had agreed to Emperor John's demand for the restoration of a Greek patriarch at Antioch.

nue to make him a visit. He might feel perfect confidence and security in doing this, for the bishops of that land, namely, the archbishops of Edessa, Coritium, and Hierapolis, favored the cause of the patriarch and venerated him devoutly as their lord and father. The patriarch was delighted at the invitation. He proceeded thither and was received with high honor by all the prelates of that land. The count also carried out his promise and gladly welcomed his coming in a kindly and devout spirit.

Through the mediation of common friends, the prince at last restored him to favor. It was merely by the lips, however, and not from the heart, for it is said that he was led to do so by a monetary consideration. Hiding ulterior motives under conciliatory words, he sent by envoys a friendly invitation to the patriarch to return to the city and to resume his office.

On receiving this message, the patriarch made preparations to return at once. With him he took the bishops of that land, whose much-needed devotion to him in his adversity he had tested by sure proofs, and repaired to Antioch. He was met on his arrival not only by the entire body of clergy and people but by the prince himself with a large following of knights. Then, to the accompaniment of hymns and spiritual songs, he was solemnly conducted in his pontifical robes into the city, then to the great church, and thence to his own palace.

15. *The archbishop of Lyons, papal legate, dies at Acre. Albericus, bishop of Ostia, is dispatched thither. A synod is called at Antioch.*

MEANWHILE, Peter, archbishop of Lyons, arrived in Syria and landed at Acre. He had been sent by Pope Innocent as legate of the church of Rome, to bring the patriarch's case to a proper conclusion. He was a Burgundian by birth, a man of devout life, simple and God-fearing, but he was already well advanced in years and beginning to be an old man.

As soon as he arrived in Syria, he repaired to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer. Then, in response to the urgent plea of Lambert and Arnulf that he would hasten to Antioch to end the case, he left there and returned by the shortest route to Acre. Before he could proceed farther, however, he was taken dangerously ill. He sank rapidly and died. It was rumored that his death was brought about by poison administered

in his drink.[18] Thus the patriarch's enemies, who had hurried to Antioch, found themselves disappointed and utterly deprived of the aid which they had anticipated from the coming of the legate. Exhausted by the fatigue of their journey and the hardships which they had so long endured, they supplicated for peace through mediators whom they judged well fitted for that office. They professed themselves ready to retract their accusations and to show fealty and begged that their benefices be restored. Lambert was given back his office of archdeacon, but Arnulf found no mercy. Accordingly, relying upon the aid of the prince, with his usual courage he prepared to undertake again the hardships of a journey. He proceeded to Rome and, in season and out of season, renewed his accusations. At length, through his bold persistence, he obtained the concession that the legate about whom we are now speaking should be sent to Syria. He reached Jerusalem, as we have related, and, after completing his prayers, summoned the patriarch and all the bishops of the land to a synod to be held at Antioch on December 1.[19] Thither he himself repaired with all haste.

16. *The patriarch is accused in the assembly of bishops. He is summoned but delays coming. Serlo, archbishop of Apamea, takes his part and is deposed.*

On the day appointed, there assembled from the diocese of Jerusalem William, the patriarch, Gaudentius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Anselm, bishop of Bethlehem. Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, devoutly loyal to the church of Rome, was also present. On the latter, the legate placed his entire hope of successfully accomplishing his mission, for he was a magnanimous man and very discreet. Fulcher brought with him two of his suffragan bishops, Bernard of Sidon and Baldwin of Beirut. All the prelates from the province of Antioch were in attendance, for it was near by, but their sentiments were varied and not at all

[18] This was a favorite explanation of the death of an important principal in controversies, particularly in the Mediterranean world. Modern medicine might diagnose many such deaths as due to typhoid fever or other abdominal diseases with acute symptoms. Doubtless, however, there were enough cases of actual poisoning to lend plausibility to the more common rumors. His death is dated May 28, 1139 (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 223).

[19] The actions of this council, dated November 29 to December 2, 1139, are recorded by Mansi (see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXI, 503–506, 577–80). The papacy must have acted quickly upon the news of the death of the legate, Peter, archbishop of Lyons.

in accord. Stephen, archbishop of Tarsus, Gerard, bishop of Laodicea, and Hugh, bishop of Jabala, favored the cause of the canons against the lord patriarch; but Franco of Hierapolis and Gerard of Corice with Serlo of Apamea openly offered their protection to him as patriarch. The latter had been against him in the beginning but had later come over to his side. Others quite plainly inclined toward neutrality.

On the day appointed, archbishops, bishops, and abbots in full pontifical state assembled, according to custom, in the church of the Prince of the Apostles. The pope's envoy presided as representative of the pope, and the papal mandate was publicly read. Then, when the contents had been carefully perused and fully understood, the accusers, Arnulf and Lambert the archdeacon, came forward openly. The latter, although he had formerly very shrewdly become reconciled to the patriarch and thus obtained the restoration of his benefice, nevertheless now "bent like a bow" and a second time presented himself as accuser. Many others joined them, for it was apparent that conditions were not favorable for the patriarch. Here was shown the truth of that saying of Ovid, now a proverb:

> As long as you are prosperous, you will have many friends;
> If the weather becomes cloudy, you will find yourself alone.[20]

The accusers entered the public hall and announced that, the documents of accusation having been presented, they were ready to proceed to the accusation according to the rules of law. If defeated, they were prepared to suffer the penalty. The charges on which they proposed to indict the patriarch were written on small sheets of paper. Some had reference to his installation, which was irregular and contrary to discipline and the rules of the holy fathers. Others concerned his sins of incontinence and simony. Since the accusers insisted that he should appear in person, messengers were sent to summon him formally before the synod and to warn him to come prepared to answer the charges preferred against him. However, he utterly refused to come.

Accordingly, nothing was accomplished that day except that there was general conversation and mutual exhortation, as is usual in such gatherings. On the second day they again assembled and took their places in order. Again the patriarch was formally summoned by an edict of citation. As on the day previous, he absolutely declined to appear.

[20] Ovid *Tristia* I. viii. 6.

During this time Serlo, archbishop of Apamea, sat in the assembly of bishops without a wedding garment (for he was not apparelled in his pontifical robes, like the other bishops). When asked by the lord legate why he was not in accord with the other brethren and why he did not proceed to the accusation as he had done before, he answered, "My former action, in disparagement of my father, like that of the accursed Ham who disclosed the shame of his father, was taken in a moment of ill-advised ardor, to the loss of my soul's salvation. But now, God helping me, I renounce the error of my ways and will attempt neither to accuse him nor to judge him presumptuously. On the contrary, I stand ready to fight for his safety and welfare, even unto death."

Thereupon he was ordered to depart at once. Sentence of degradation and excommunication was pronounced against him, whether justly or otherwise, and he was deposed from all priestly and pontifical office. Intense fear of the prince had fallen upon everyone, so that even the impartiality of the legate was affected and no opportunity of speaking in opposition was now given. The prince, who was far from wise or discreet, was urged on to this extreme by a certain Peter Armoin, custodian of the city's citadel. This man, wicked beyond measure, hoped that if the patriarch were deposed the prince might be induced to raise to that dignity Peter Aimery, a nephew of his own, a man whom the patriarch, to his own destruction, had made a deacon of that same church. The result proved to be as he had hoped.

Whether or not his deposition was real or even legal, Serlo at once left Antioch and set out for his own diocese. When he reached the castle of Harim, burdened with heavy cares, he fell ill and took to his bed. There, unable to endure his great wrongs, he turned his face to the wall and expired.

17. *The patriarch is deposed in his absence for insubordination. He is thrown into prison and shamefully treated. Again he repairs to Rome and obtains partial favor. On his way home, however, he dies by poison.*

On the third day the assembly again convened. When the prelates had taken their seats, messengers were a third time dispatched to summon the patriarch by a peremptory edict to come and answer to the charges. Again, as before, he utterly refused to obey. Whether he was

led to this course by the stings of conscience or because, fully aware that the entire synod was unanimous in their hostile attitude toward him, he feared the violence of the prince we have not been able to learn with certainty. He remained, however, with his household in his own palace, which was thronged with an immense crowd of knights and common people. For the whole city had flocked to his aid and, if they had not feared the power of the prince, would have been ready to drive the legate ignominiously from the city with all those who had consented to the deposition of the patriarch.

The legate perceived that the patriarch would not come to him. Accordingly, relying upon the powerful protection of the prince, he went himself to the palace. There he pronounced the sentence of deposition upon the patriarch and compelled him by force to give up the ring and the crozier. He then ordered him to be delivered to the prince. Shamefully bound and treated ignominiously like a man of blood, the prelate was sent away to a prison in the monastery of St. Simeon, situated upon a lofty mountain near the sea.

This same Lord Ralph, whom I myself saw in my youth, was a tall and handsome man, slightly cross-eyed, but not to such an extent that he was uncomely.[21] Although but little learned, he was a very fluent speaker, graceful and agreeable in conversation. His generous disposition had won him much favor, not only with the knights but also with the common people. He was, however, very forgetful of his promises and agreements. Changeable and inconstant in his words, subtle and devious in all his ways, he was yet provident and discreet. In one respect alone he showed some lack of wisdom, in that he refused to receive adversaries whom he had justly roused against him, when they wished to return into favor with him. He was called arrogant (and so indeed he was) and presumptuous beyond measure. Hence, he fell into this misfortune, which he could easily have avoided if he had conducted himself somewhat more discreetly. He was taken and for a long time held prisoner in that monastery. Finally he escaped and went to Rome, where he obtained a certain degree of favor from the pope. But while he was preparing to return, he died miserably from a poi-

[21] This statement is of importance in helping to compute William's age. Where and when William saw him is difficult to determine, for it must presumably have been at Jerusalem and before the time of his imprisonment, therefore before 1140. His imprisonment must have been less than a year, for he is reported to have died in Rome in 1141.

soned draught, administered by some unknown criminal hireling. Like another Marius, he experienced fully in his own person all that fortune, whether good or bad, could do.

18. *The legate returns to Jerusalem; he holds a synod; he also dedicates the Temple of the Lord.*

WHEN the papal envoy had deposed the patriarch and finished the mission on which he had come to Antioch, he returned to Jerusalem. There he remained until the solemnities of Easter were over. Then he took counsel with the prelates of the churches, and on the third day after Holy Easter, with the assistance of the patriarch and some of the bishops, he solemnly dedicated the Temple of the Lord.

There were present on the day of dedication many great and noble men from the parts beyond the mountains as well as from the lands on this side of the sea. Among them was Joscelin the Younger, count of Edessa, who was staying in the city with a great show of magnificence during the solemn days of Holy Easter.

When the celebration was over, the legate called together the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church and, with the patriarch, held a council in holy Sion, the primitive mother of churches. He desired to confer with them on matters which seemed especially pertinent at the moment. Maximus, the bishop of Armenia, or rather, the head over all the bishops of Cappadocia, Media, Persia, and the two Armenias, a distinguished teacher who is called the *Catholicos*, was present at this synod. The articles of faith in which his people seemed to differ from us were discussed with him, and he promised reform in many respects.[22] As soon as this business was finished according to the usual form, the legate returned to the city of Acre and from there set sail for Rome.

The clergy of Antioch—and especially those who had conspired for the deposition of Lord Ralph—elected as patriarch a subdeacon of the same church, one Aimery. This they did at the instigation and suggestion of the prince, greatly influenced, it is said, by lavish gifts.

Aimery was an unlettered man from the province of Limousin, whose life was far from noble. The Patriarch Ralph, thinking in this way to put him under greater obligations and hence render him more

[22] The Armenians, who were usually friendly to the Latins, were on the verge of religious union with Rome on a number of occasions (see Mansi, XXI, 505–8, 583–84).

faithful to himself, had raised him to a deaconship in his church. This hope was vain, however, for from that very day Aimery is said to have allied himself with the patriarch's enemies and, unmindful of loyalty, to have conspired for the deposition of his benefactor. In regard to the matter of his elevation, it is said that a certain Peter, surnamed Armoin, castellan of the same city, brought it about by intrigues and a lavish use of gifts, for he directed the attention of both the prince and the clergy toward Aimery who was his kinsman.

19. *Again the emperor goes down into Syria. He summons the prince to carry out the covenant already initiated.*

About this time, John, emperor of Constantinople, once more recruited his forces, summoned his legions, and again directed his campaign and his armies toward Syria. Scarcely four years had elapsed since he had left Tarsus of Cilicia and all Syria, but urgent messages, oft repeated, from the prince and the people of Antioch induced him to set forth. In the greatness of his might, with horses and chariots, with untold treasure and innumerable forces, he started for the land of Antioch.

Sailing across the Bosphorus, which is the well-known boundary between Europe and Asia, he crossed the intervening provinces and arrived at Attalia, the metropolis of Pamphilia, a large city on the seacoast. While he was lingering at that place, two of his sons, Alexius, the first born, and Andronicus, his second son, fell sick of a serious illness which ended with their death.[23] The emperor at once called to him his third son, Isaac, and sent him back to Constantinople with the bodies of his brothers so that, as humanity requires, he might cause the last reverence to be shown to the remains and commit them to the tomb as befitted imperial majesty. When the funeral rites were over, Isaac continued, by his father's commands, to live in Constantinople until the death of the emperor.

The monarch then took his youngest son, Manuel, with him and continued his journey through Isauria into Cilicia. This country he traversed with great speed. Scarcely had the report of his advance been received before he marched with all his troops into the land of the count of Edessa and encamped without warning before Turbessel. This

[23] Only one, Alexius, died at Attalia. The other, Andronicus, died on the way back to Constantinople with the funeral cortège (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 183).

is a very rich fortress, twenty miles, or possibly a little more, from the Euphrates river.

As soon as he arrived, he demanded hostages from Count Joscelin the Younger. The latter was filled with wonder and amazement at the emperor's sudden arrival. At sight of the incomparable host, however, which seemingly no kingdom of the world could withstand, and also in view of the fact that he was wholly unprepared and quite unable to resist, he made a virtue of necessity and sent as hostage one of his daughters, named Isabella. The emperor's only reason for making this demand was that he might bind the count more closely to himself and render him loyal in carrying out his orders. He then led his entire army swiftly toward Antioch and on September 25 placed his camp near a certain town called Gastun.[24]

From there he sent messengers to the prince. In accordance with the conditions of the agreement formerly concluded between them, he demanded that the city with the citadel and all the fortifications of the town without exception be surrendered to him, that he might be able to wage war upon the neighboring cities of the enemy as from a convenient near-by base. He declared however, that he was ready, as far as lay in his power, to fulfil with a wide interpretation the terms of the written agreement and, in addition, to add good measure and overflowing, according to the nature of their deserts.

20. *The citizens send envoys to the emperor repudiating the treaty and refusing him admittance to the city.*

MANY times ere this Raymond, prince of Antioch, had sent messengers to invite the emperor to come to Antioch.[25] He now found himself in a difficult position, however, and knowing that he was bound by the terms of the treaty, he hesitated as to what he should do. Accordingly, he called together the elders and the leading men of the city and of the whole land and asked their advice as to what course should be adopted in such a dangerous crisis. After long deliberation, they unanimously agreed that it was by no means to the best interests of the land that a city so noble, so powerful, and so well fortified should be given

[24] Gaston or Gastin was a fortress held by the Templars. John arrived here September 25, 1142.

[25] There had been considerable correspondence between the prince of Antioch and the emperor. Recently, the advance of Zangi had led Raymond to invite and even urge the emperor to come (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 186–87).

over into the power of the emperor by any agreement whatsoever. The result of such action would be that through the indolence of the Greeks the city, together with the whole region, would fall into the hands of the enemy, as had happened more than once before.

Nevertheless, that the prince might not be charged, however justly, with violation of faith, they sought for a pretext under which they might veil this far from laudable act. For, on the emperor's former visit, it had been agreed between them, as has been related, that the prince should surrender the city to the monarch without difficulty. Moreover, later, Raymond had repeatedly sent messengers urging the emperor to come to Syria and had promised that he would keep good faith with him. In order to excuse their lord in some measure for this act, they resolved to send representatives to the emperor, men chosen from among the greatest nobles of the land, who, on behalf of the blessed Peter and the patriarch and all the citizens, were to forbid him to enter the city. They were instructed to say that these former acts of the prince would not be considered as in any way valid; that he had had no legal power to make covenants in that way, in the patrimony of his wife; and that she also had never had power to transfer the government to another person without the acquiescence of the citizens and lords. Nor had either of these rulers been authorized to transfer any of the land. If one or both should obstinately persist in this design, it would certainly result in their being driven from the city and their entire domain. They would be exiled from the heritage which, to the great disadvantage of their faithful subjects, they had illegally proposed to sell.[26]

The emperor was moved to anger at these words. Nevertheless, well knowing the hearts of the citizens and of the provincials as a whole, he commanded the army to return to Cilicia, that he might avoid the inclemency of the approaching winter in the milder temperature of the seacoast. For the air in winter is always softer on the coast, and the country is therefore better adapted to support the legions in comfort.

[26] The reference to St. Peter and the patriarch suggests that the clergy played a prominent part in opposing John's entrance into Antioch. Their reason for doing so was their opposition to the reëstablishment of the Greek hierarchy in the city. Raymond might treat the church problem with indifference and accede to the emperor's demand, but they refused to do so. Raymond was more or less forced to change his attitude toward the emperor (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 188–90).

21. *The emperor sends messengers to the king of Jerusalem. On the pretext of visiting the venerable places, he announces that he intends to come thither. The king's answer.*

THE emperor perceived that for the present his hope of entering Antioch with his legions was wholly impossible of realization. Yet he hoped that when the winter was past and the pleasant spring weather returned he might attain at least a part of his wishes in regard to that city, even against the will of its citizens. He concealed his intention, therefore, in the depths of his heart, and, the better to disguise his real purpose, he dispatched an embassy of the highest nobility to King Fulk of Jerusalem. He announced that, if it seemed good to the Christians, he would like to come thither for the purpose of prayer and devotion; he would also gladly lend aid against the enemy in those parts. The king, however, after consulting with his advisers, sent an answer to his request by special envoys: namely, Anselm, bishop of Bethlehem; Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord, a man skilled in the Greek language; and Rohard, the castellan of the citadel of Jerusalem. They were charged with the following message: "The kingdom is of very limited extent, nor does it afford sufficient food for so large a host. It could not sustain such an army without the risk of famine resulting from an utter dearth of the necessities of life. Nevertheless, if it pleased his imperial majesty, beloved of God, to come to the Holy City with a following of ten thousand men to visit the venerable places and to dispose all things according to his own wishes, the people would go forth to meet him with the greatest delight; they would welcome his coming with joy and exultation and would obey him as their lord and the mightiest prince in the world." [27]

After listening to this message the emperor withdrew his proposal. He did not regard it as befitting his imperial glory that he who was ever wont to move attended by many thousands should proceed with such a small escort. Accordingly, he dismissed the envoys with many tokens of his favor and bestowed upon them gifts with lavish generosity. He then went on to Cilicia, where he passed the winter season near Tarsus, to await the coming of spring. In his heart, however, he

[27] This polite refusal of any but a pious visit from John indicated the resistance of Jerusalem to John's plans for a general overlordship of Christian Syria, which Chalandon believes that he contemplated at this time (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 190–91).

purposed that in the following summer he would accomplish in Syria great deeds worthy of remembrance forever.

About this time a certain nobleman, Paganus by name,[28] built a fortress in the land of Arabia Secunda, which received the name of Kerak. Paganus had been at one time butler to the king and later held lands beyond the Jordan (after Romain de Puy and Ralph, his son, for their sins had been dispossessed and alienated from them). This place was strongly fortified both by its natural situation and by artificial means. It was situated near an ancient city, formerly called Rabba, the metropolis of this same Arabia. It was at the siege of this place, as we read, that by the command of David, though at the hand of Joab, the innocent Uriah was killed. Later it was called Petra of the Desert; whence Arabia Secunda is now called Arabia of Petra.[29]

22. *While hunting during his stay in Cilicia, the emperor is fatally wounded.*

THE emperor of Constantinople dearly loved to hunt in the woods and glades. In the early spring, before the season when kings ordinarily lead forth their armies to war, he went to the forest attended by his usual escort assigned for the purpose. It was a custom of long standing which served to while away the monotonous hours. With bow in hand and quiver heavy with arrows as usual, he was pursuing the wild beasts with his customary energy. Suddenly a wild boar which had been started up by the dogs, infuriated by their shrill insistent barking, rushed past the hiding place of the emperor. With marvellous swiftness he seized an arrow, but he carelessly stretched the bow too far and wounded himself in the bow hand with the point of the poisoned arrow. Thus, from so trivial a cause, he received the summons of death. The pain of the wound soon compelled him to leave the woods and return to the camp. Physicians were summoned in numbers. He explained the accident to them and did not hesitate to say that he had caused his own death. Full of solicitude for their lord's safety, they

[28] The name Paganus (Payens) occurs frequently during this period and may indicate three different individuals. La Monte lists one as butler of the kingdom 1120–1136, another as chancellor 1115–1128 (J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, pp. 256–57). There is also the Templar, Hugh de Payens, prominent in the crusade of 1128.

[29] This, one of the most famous of the crusaders' fortresses, watched one of the main pilgrim routes to Mecca. The incident is described in II Sa. 11; 12:26–31.

applied remedies, but the fatal poison had already permeated his system. The means taken did not avail, and the venom continued to creep still further to the internal parts, thus effectually preventing all hope of recovery. He was advised that there was only one course which might save his life: the injured hand, in which as yet all the potent evil was concentrated, might be removed before the poison infected the rest of the body. But the emperor, a man of lofty spirit, although suffering intense agony and convinced that death was imminent, still steadfastly preserved his imperial majesty and rejected the advice. He is said to have answered, "It would be unseemly that the Roman empire should be ruled by one hand." The army was utterly stunned and prostrated by this sinister occurrence, which was all the more appalling because there was no possibility of preventing it. The death of the great monarch caused universal grief among the legions. Anxious sorrow oppressed each heart and filled the camp with unprecedented woe.

23. *The emperor proclaims his younger son emperor and expires. The army returns home under the command of Emperor Manuel.*

MEANWHILE, the emperor, who was a man of keen and intelligent foresight, perceived that the day of his death was at hand. He therefore called to him his kinsmen and his relatives by marriage, many of whom always accompanied him—the chiefs of the sacred palace and the heads of the armies—and consulted with them over the matter of his successor. He was in grave doubt as to what he ought to do—whether to commit the reins of empire to his elder son Isaac, whom, as was related, he had sent back to Constantinople from Attalia with the remains of his brothers and to whom, by the law of primogeniture, the throne seemed to belong, or whether he should give the preference to the younger son, who was with him. The latter was a youth of unusual promise, who, in the estimation of all, was destined to become a great man. Another reason also caused the emperor to hesitate, for, as he remarked, "If we confer the scepter of empire upon this son, we shall seem to be acting contrary to the laws of mankind, which with justice make the elder the more important. If, on the other hand, in accordance with the usual procedure, we commit the government of the empire to Isaac there will be no one to lead safely home these armies, the strength and glory of the whole Roman empire." It was

indeed plain that without a leader the legions could not pass through the intervening country in safety, for it was filled with enemies who would lay ambushes and summon assistance from all the country round about.

There was among the other great men of the court an illustrious prince, by name John the *protosebastos*. He, with those of his party, earnestly tried to secure the succession for Isaac and strove to reassure the emperor in his anxiety about the safe return of the troops. Manuel, the younger son, however, who was present on the campaign with his father, stood high in the estimation and favor of the entire army, particularly with the Latins. Some of the princes also worked diligently in every way for his interests. His father also regarded him with more affection and inclined toward him more favorably because he seemed wiser, more valiant in arms, and more affable in every way. Moreover, the responsibility of conducting the army back in safety weighed more heavily upon him.

After long deliberation, by the will of God the choice finally fell upon the younger son. Accordingly, at the command of the emperor and in his presence, imperial reverence was shown to Manuel. Then, as is the custom of that empire, he was clad in the purple hose and enthusiastically hailed as Augustus by the legions.

After Manuel had been thus raised to the supreme place of power in the empire, his distinguished father of famous memory, generous and pious, kind and merciful, yielded to fate. John was a man of medium height, with black hair and swarthy skin, and for this reason is still called the Moor. Though insignificant in appearance, he was distinguished for his lofty character and famous for his prowess in war. He died in a place called the meadow of Mantles, near Anavarza, a very ancient city, and the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. His death occurred in the month of April, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1143, which was the twenty-seventh year of his reign and of his life the . . . .[30]

[30] *Vitae vero* was never completed. William when writing these words did not know the exact age of John and left a blank, intending to fill it in later. In the haste of closing his work he either forgot this blank or had been unable to obtain the information. He is, of course, in error about the years of John's reign, 1118–1143, not quite twenty-five instead of twenty-seven years. John was born in 1088 and died in the fifty-sixth year of his life. The Greek historians are in substantial accord with William's account of John's death and the selection of Manuel as his successor (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 192–93).

When the new emperor finally settled his affairs in that land, he led his armies back to Constantinople in safety. There he found that his elder brother, on the news of his father's death, had at once taken possession of the palace. Manuel therefore sent a private letter to the official who was in charge of the palace and all the treasures and ordered that his brother, who apprehended nothing of the kind, be seized at once and thrown into prison.

Later, however, after he had made his solemn entry into the city, he became reconciled to his brother through the friendly offices of kinsmen of both and of some of the nobles of the sacred palace. Thus, peacefully, Manuel obtained possession of the empire, according to the last wish of his father. As long as he lived, however, he never ceased to heap honors upon his brother as the elder and to show him abundant favor.

24. *The king and the nobles of the realm build the fortress Ibelin before Ascalon.*

About this time Fulk, king of Jerusalem, and the other princes of the kingdom, together with the lord patriarch and the prelates of the church felt the necessity of checking the insolent ravages of the people of Ascalon. In order to restrain them in some measure at least from overrunning the land freely, it was decided by common consent to build a fortress in the country near the city of Ramlah and not far from Lydda, which is Diospolis. There was in that locality a hill slightly raised above the plain. Here, according to tradition, there had once been a city of the Philistines called Gath. Near here, about ten miles from Ascalon, and not far from the coast, was once another city belonging to that same people called Azot.

The Christians responded as with one mind to the summons, and on the hill just mentioned, they built a fortress of very strong masonry with deep foundations and four towers. From the old buildings of which many vestiges remain to the present day, an abundant supply of stones was obtained. The wells of olden times which existed in large numbers in the vicinity of the ruined city also afforded an abundance of water, not only for use in the building operations, but also for the needs of man.

When the fortress was finished and complete in every detail, it was by common consent committed to a certain nobleman of great wisdom,

Balian the Elder. He was the father of Hugh, Baldwin, and Balian the Younger, all of whom took the surname Ibelin from this place, which had been so called before the fortress was built there. In the guardianship of Ibelin and in the pursuit of the enemy, because of whom this castle had been built, Balian displayed great diligence. After the death of their father, his sons, noble men, valiant in arms and vigilant in every respect, maintained the same careful custody over it until the city of Ascalon was finally restored to the Christian faith.

25. *By the unanimous wish of the barons, another fortress is built before Ascalon and given the name of Blanchegarde.*

THIS experiment convinced the nobles of the realm that by establishing the two strongholds Beersheba and Ibelin they had made decided progress in checking the audacious raids of the Ascalonites. In large measure through this course the insolence of the latter had been repressed, their attacks lessened, and their projects defeated. Accordingly, in the following spring, it was resolved to build another fortress. By increasing the number of fortified places round about, they could harass the people of Ascalon by more extensive attacks and more often cause them terror, attended by sudden danger as of siege.

Eight miles from Ascalon, in that part of Judea where the mountains end and the level plain begins, near the land of the Philistines, in the tribe of Simeon, there was a place which, in comparison with the mountainous country, seemed merely a hill. In contrast to more level land, however, it might well be considered a high mountain. This place was called in the Arabic tongue Telle Saphi, which we interpret as the Clear Hill or Mount. Here the wise men of the realm resolved to plant a fortress because it was conveniently near to the other strongholds which had been built for similar purposes and also to the city. It was a site, moreover, well fortified by nature.

Accordingly, when winter was over and spring approached, the king and his nobles, together with the patriarch and the prelates of the church, well satisfied with the idea, assembled as with one accord at that place. Workmen were called, the people were furnished all necessary materials, and a stronghold of hewn stone, resting on solid foundations, was built. It was adorned with four towers of suitable height. From the top of this there was an unobstructed view as far as the

enemy's city, and it proved to be a most troublesome obstacle and a veritable source of danger to the Ascalonites when they wished to go forth to ravage the country. It was called in the vernacular Blanchegarde, which in Latin means the White Watchtower.

As soon as this fortress was completely finished in every respect, the king took it under his own protection. He furnished it with an adequate supply of food and weapons and committed it to the care of wise men who had had long experience in warfare, men whose fidelity and devotion were recognized as well proved. Often by themselves, more often in company with men at arms from the other fortresses built with similar intent, these men used to issue forth to encounter and defeat the enemy when they tried to make raids from the city. Occasionally, they even attacked the men of Ascalon on their own initiative, wrought great havoc upon them, and frequently triumphed over them.

The result was that those who dwelt in the surrounding country began to place great reliance on this castle as well as on the other strongholds, and a great many suburban places grew up around it. Numerous families established themselves there, and tillers of the fields as well. The whole district became much more secure, because the locality was occupied and a more abundant supply of food for the surrounding country was made possible.

When the people of Ascalon saw that their city was encircled by impregnable forts, they began to feel less confidence than usual in their situation. Accordingly, they dispatched messengers repeatedly to their lord, the powerful prince of Egypt, urgently warning him that since he had no more possessions in that region he should take measures to protect Ascalon, which was the bulwark of his empire.

26. *The queen builds a convent at Bethany. She endows it with rich possessions and establishes her sister over it as superior.*

THE kingdom had at this time, through the superabundant grace of God, been reduced to a fairly satisfactory state of tranquillity. Accordingly, the Lady Melisend, that queen of pious memory, conceived the idea of founding a convent for religious women if a place suited to her wishes could be found. She desired in this way to provide for the healing of her own soul and those of her parents as also for the salvation of her husband and children. Her youngest sister Iveta had professed the religious life in the monastery of Saint Anna, the mother of the

blessed Mother of our Lord. It was consideration for this sister which led the queen to undertake this enterprise, for she felt that it was unfitting that a king's daughter should be subject to the authority of a mother superior, like an ordinary person. Accordingly, she mentally surveyed the whole country and made a careful investigation to find a suitable place where she might found a convent. After much deliberation, she finally decided upon Bethany, the home of Mary and Martha and Lazarus their brother, whom Jesus loved—Bethany, the familiar abiding place and home of our Lord and Saviour. This village is fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, and, according to the word of the Evangel, it lies beyond the Mount of Olives, on the eastern slope of that hill. The property belonged to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, but the queen gave to the canons Tekoah, the city of prophets, and in exchange received Bethany as her own.

Since the place lay on the edge of the desert and thus might be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the queen at great expense caused to be built a strongly fortified tower of hewn and polished stone. This was devoted to the necessary purpose of defense, that the maidens dedicated to God might have an impregnable fortress as a protection against the enemy. When the tower was finished and a place prepared, after a fashion, for carrying on the offices of religion, she established consecrated sisters there and placed over them as mother superior a venerable woman full of years and of ripe religious experience. She endowed the church with rich estates, so that in temporal possessions it should not be inferior to any monastery, either of men or women; or rather, as it is said, that it might be richer than any other church. Among other possessions which she generously bestowed upon this venerable place was the famous city of Jericho with its dependencies, situated in the plain of Jordan and very rich in resources of every kind. She also presented to the convent a large number of sacred vessels of gold and silver adorned with gems. She likewise gave it silken stuffs for the adornment of the house of God and vestments of every description, both priestly and levitical, as ecclesiastical rules required.

On the death of the venerable woman to whom she had entrusted the charge of this convent, the queen put her original intention into effect. With the sanction of the patriarch and the willing assent of the holy nuns, she made her sister the superior of the convent. On that occasion, she made many additional gifts, such as chalices, books, and

other ornaments pertaining to the service of the church. As long as she lived she continued to enrich the place by her favor, in the interests of her own soul and that of the sister whom she so tenderly loved.

27. *The king, while pursuing a hare in the plain of Acre, is thrown headlong from his horse; he dies and is buried at Jerusalem with his predecessors.*

It happened in those days, when autumn was over, that the king and queen were sojourning for a time at the city of Acre. In order to vary the monotony by some agreeable recreation, the queen expressed a desire to go out of the city to a certain place in the suburbs where there were many springs. That she might not lack the pleasure of his company, the king attended her with his usual escort. As they were riding along, the servants who had preceded the train happened to rouse a hare which was lying in a furrow. It fled, followed by the shouts of all. The king, impelled by evil fate, seized his lance and joined the pursuit. In vigorous chase, he began to urge on his horse in that direction. Finally, the steed, driven to reckless speed, stumbled and fell. The king was thrown headforemost to the ground. As he lay there stunned by the pain of the fall, the saddle struck his head and his brains gushed forth from both ears and nostrils. The members of his escort, those in advance and those following him, overcome with horror at the frightful accident, rushed to his aid as he lay on the ground. They found him unconscious, however, unable to speak or understand.

When the queen was informed of her husband's unexpected death, she was pierced to the heart by the sinister disaster. She tore her garments and hair and by her loud shrieks and lamentations gave proof of her intense grief. Flinging herself upon the ground she embraced the lifeless body. Tears failed her through continual weeping; frequent sobs interrupted her voice, as she tried to give expression to her grief; nor could she do justice to it, although she cared for naught save to satisfy her anguish. The people of the household also manifested their grief by tears, words, and aspect and gave plain proof of great sorrow.

The king's deplorable accident soon became known. Rumor, on swift wings, spread the news throughout the city of Acre. Crowds flocked to the scene, all eager to convince themselves of the unspeakable disaster. Tearfully they bore him thence to the city, where he lived until the third day, unconscious but still breathing. Thus, on

November 10, in the year 1142 of the Incarnation of our Lord and of Fulk's reign the eleventh, his life was brought to a close in a good old age.[31]

His body was borne thence to Jerusalem with fitting honors. The entire body of clergy and people went out to meet the funeral train. He was buried with royal magnificence among his kingly predecessors of blessed memory in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, at the foot of Mount Calvary, by the gate as one enters on the right. William, the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem, conducted the royal obsequies.

King Fulk left two children who had not yet attained the age of manhood: Baldwin, the eldest, then thirteen years old, and Amaury, aged seven. The royal power passed to the Lady Melisend, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right.

[31] The Latin here is rather ambiguous, *quarta demum die, idibus videlicet Novembris.* It might be read as meaning "on the fourth day of his illness, i.e., on the Ides of November" which is November 13, or "on the fourth day of the Ides of November" which is November 10. In this instance it clearly has the first meaning, but William himself later read it with the second meaning (Book XVI, chap. 3). The text carries the year 1142, but all the evidence points to 1143 as the year of Fulk's death. The date of Fulk's death, so vital in the chronology of the Latin kingdom, has been confused by William's dating. This may be merely a typographical or copyist's error, for it is not consistent with his other references to the event. Mlle Chartrou, on the basis of local Angevin records as well as a review of all known evidence, concludes that it could not have occurred before late 1143, fixing the other terminal date as March 26, 1144. She prefers 1144 on the basis of local western records (Josèphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, pp. 234–36). La Monte, who has reviewed the matter more recently, is convinced that her evidence does not preclude November, 1143 (La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 14–15, note 3). Normally there would be no ship sailing from Palestine as late as November, and the West would not have learned of his death before 1144 even if a special courier had been dispatched immediately. La Monte prefers November 10, 1143, as the date of Fulk's death.

HERE ENDS THE FIFTEENTH BOOK

THE SIXTEENTH BOOK BEGINS

JOINT RULE OF BALDWIN III AND HIS MOTHER MELISEND: THE SECOND CRUSADE

1. *A brief preface is given. On the death of Fulk, his son Baldwin III succeeds to the throne. The personal appearance of the latter is described.*

THE events which have been recorded in the present history up to this time have been assembled from the accounts of others who still preserve a faithful recollection of earlier times. It is, therefore, with much difficulty that we have obtained reliable material and the correct chronology and succession of events. As far as possible, however, we have given a faithful account of these events as received from the narratives themselves. The things which now follow we ourselves have, in part, witnessed with our own eyes and, in part, learned from the trustworthy relation of those who were present when the events occurred. Relying upon these two sources, therefore, by the will of God we shall set down for the benefit of posterity with more ease and accuracy the rest of this history. For the memory is ever wont to recall more vividly recent occurrences, and that which the eye presents to the mind is less easily forgotten than that which is conveyed by the ear alone.[1] These words of our Flaccus express our own feelings: "Things conveyed through the ear affect the feelings less deeply than those which come from the faithful observation of the eyes; things which the spectator himself has transmitted to himself." [2]

Fulk, the third Latin king of Jerusalem, was succeeded by Baldwin

[1] These remarks of William have been misunderstood. They were probably written after 1180. As has already appeared, he followed written sources to 1127, with a minimum of oral tradition. From 1127 to 1143 he was dependent upon such accounts as he heard or could gather from archives. In 1143 he was presumably thirteen years of age, and conscious of the drift of affairs. He had, of course, drawn something from personal recollection in the two previous books. He now felt more secure, because he had fuller conscious recollection of events. Actually, however, his work is practically our primary source for the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1127 to 1184.

[2] Horace *Ars poet.* 180–82.

III, his son by Queen Melisend. As has been mentioned, Baldwin had one brother named Amaury, a little boy seven years old. When Baldwin later died without children, this brother succeeded him in the kingdom, as will be related in the following chapters. Baldwin was thirteen years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned twenty years.[3] He was a youth of excellent natural ability and even at that time gave plain evidence of that character which later he fully attained. On reaching manhood, he was easily preëminent among all others by beauty of feature and form as well as by his general bearing. In vivacity of mind and brilliancy of speech he was superior to all the nobles of the realm. He was taller than the average man, but his limbs were so well proportioned to his height that no feature seemed out of harmony with the whole. His features were comely and refined, his complexion florid, a proof of innate strength. In this respect he resembled his mother and was not inferior to his maternal grandfather. His eyes were of medium size, rather prominent and sparkling. He had straight yellowish hair and wore a rather full beard on cheeks and chin. He was of somewhat full habit, although he could not be called fleshy like his brother or spare like his mother. In short, it may be said that his whole appearance was so superior by reason of a certain remarkable dignity which shone forth from him that even strangers could not fail to recognize his innate kingly majesty.

2. *Concerning his life and habits.*

BALDWIN's habit of mind was equally well constituted and was in complete accord with his great physical beauty. He had an unusually keen intellect and was gifted by nature with the rare advantage of eloquent speech. Nor did he appear inferior to any other prince in his dignified and agreeable manners. He was extremely affable and tender-hearted, and, although he was liberal to almost everyone, far beyond his means, yet he was not at all desirous of the money of others. He did not trouble the patrimony of the churches, nor did he, like a prodigal, lie

[3] It is necessary to keep in mind the fact that William's chronological framework, constructed in 1182, becomes a complicating factor in determining dates. His statement of the age of Baldwin III and the number of years of his reign is consistent throughout. On that basis, Baldwin was born in 1130, began his reign in 1143, and died in 1163. This accords with the marriage of his parents (see Book XIV, note 10), which under normal conditions would make February, 1130, the earliest possible date for his birth.

in wait for the riches of his subjects. He had one characteristic that is usually very rare in youth. Even at that time of life he feared God and felt great reverence for ecclesiastical institutions and the prelates of the church. He was gifted with a vivacious disposition and had, besides, the advantage of an accurate memory. He was fairly well educated, much more so than was his brother Amaury, who succeeded him. Whatever leisure he could snatch from his public duties he delighted to devote to reading. He particularly enjoyed listening to the reading of history and inquired with great diligence into the deeds and habits of the noblest kings and princes of former times. With men of letters and wise laymen he loved above all to converse. His gracious affability led him to greet even the most lowly by name, much to their surprise. He voluntarily offered an opportunity of conversing with him to anyone who wished it or whom he casually met. If an audience was requested, he did not refuse it.

In this way, he gained the favor of both fathers and people so that he was more popular with men of both classes than any of his predecessors had been. He endured hardships with patience and, after the example of the best princes, displayed great wisdom and foresight in the uncertain issues of war. In the midst of difficult situations which he endured for the sake of extending the realm, he showed royal steadfastness and at no time lost the presence of mind befitting a brave man. He was fully acquainted with the customary law by which the kingdom of the East was governed, so that in difficult questions, even the older nobles were wont to consult his knowledge and marvel at the erudition of his trained mind.

His conversation was witty and jovial. Since he had unusual facility in adapting himself easily to everyone, he mingled acceptably with every age and condition. He was, moreover, a man of unusual courtesy, and this was the more remarkable because he permitted himself great freedom of speech. If he observed any reprehensible or striking faults in his friends, he corrected them in public regardless of whether his words pleased or offended. Yet these rebukes, since they were made more in jollity—or, rather, in lightness of heart—than with any intent to hurt, did not greatly lessen his popularity with the victims of his blunt remarks. His frankness was readily pardoned, in fact, because he bore with equanimity the cutting words which were directed against him in retaliation. In such things and in the pernicious games of chance

and dice he indulged more than befitted royal majesty. In pursuit of the desires of the flesh, also, he is said to have dishonored the marriage ties of others. This was in his youth, however, for when he became a man, like the apostle he "put away childish things." [4] Thus by the practice of the virtues he atoned for the faults of earlier years. For after he took a wife, he is said to have been entirely faithful to her. The reprehensible faults, displeasing to God, which he had contracted in his youth, under the impulse of that critical period, he later with wise counsel abandoned and became changed for the better.

He was extremely temperate in taking bodily refreshment; in fact he was abstemious beyond the requirements of that age. He abominated excess either in food or in drink and used to say that it was touchwood for the worst crimes.[5]

3. *Concerning his elevation to the throne and of how long he reigned under the guardianship of his mother.*

KING FULK died on the tenth day of November.[6] On the day of the Lord's Nativity following, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1142, Baldwin was solemnly anointed, consecrated, and crowned, together with his mother, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. The ceremony was conducted by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, before the customary assemblage of the princes and all the prelates of the church. The head of the holy Roman church at that time was Eugenius III; Aimery was patriarch of Antioch, and William, patriarch of Jerusalem. Archbishop Fulcher presided over the church at Tyre.[7]

Melisend, the king's mother, was a woman of great wisdom who had had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She had risen so far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake important measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself in no wise inferior

[4] I Co. 13:11.

[5] Doubtless William has idealized Baldwin III somewhat but in so doing has given expression to his own ideas of virtues in a king. The great intimacy of this description would imply a close personal knowledge. William and Baldwin III were probably of about the same age and may have been schoolfellows at some time, since both spent their boyhood in Jerusalem. However, William nowhere makes a direct statement to that effect.

[6] See Book XV, note 31.

[7] Eugenius III became pope in 1145. William is overlooking Celestine II and Lucius II, whose very short reigns filled the two years between Innocent II and Eugenius III.

to them. Since her son was as yet under age, she ruled the kingdom and administered the government with such skilful care that she may be said truly to have equalled her ancestors in that respect. As long as her son was willing to be governed by her counsel, the people enjoyed a highly desirable state of tranquillity, and the affairs of the realm moved on prosperously. But the more frivolous elements in the kingdom soon found that the queen's wise influence hindered their attempts to draw the king into their own pursuits. They therefore persuaded their royal master, who, like others of his age, was "pliable as wax in being bent toward vice, but rough toward those who rebuked him," [8] to withdraw from the guardianship of his mother and to rule the kingdom of his fathers himself. It was unseemly, they said, that a king who ought to rule all others should constantly be tied to the apron strings of his mother like the son of a private person. Although this intrigue originated in the thoughtless levity or malice of certain individuals, it came near being the ruin of the whole kingdom, as will be explained in more detail later when this subject is discussed.

4. *Zangi lays siege to Edessa. The location of this city is described.*

THAT same year, during the interval between the death of King Fulk and the elevation of Baldwin to the throne, the accursed Zangi with a mighty host laid siege to Edessa. This city, also more commonly known as Rohas, was the great and famous capital of the land of the Medes. Zangi was a powerful Turk, lord and ruler of the city once called Nineveh, but now known as Mosul, the metropolis of the region formerly known as the land of Assur. His reliance lay not only in the numbers and strength of his people but also in the fact that a serious feud had arisen between Raymond, prince of Antioch, and Joscelin, count of Edessa. This latter city was situated a day's journey beyond the Euphrates. Its lord and master, the count just mentioned, had, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, given up his home there and established his permanent residence near the Euphrates at a castle called Turbessel. The fertility of the country in that vicinity and the leisure afforded by that place had led him to make this change. At Turbessel, he was far from the disturbance caused by his enemies, he

[8] Horace *Ars poet.* 163.

had time for luxurious pleasures of every kind, and he felt no responsibility, as he should have done, for the noble city.

The inhabitants of Edessa were native Chaldeans and peaceful Armenians. They were utterly ignorant of the use of arms and familiar only with the business of trading. Latins also came hither occasionally, but citizens of that race were few in number. The protection of the city was entirely in the hands of mercenaries. These did not receive wages according to the time or kind of service rendered but often had to wait a year or more before they could collect what was due them.[9]

Both Baldwin and Joscelin the Elder, as soon as they came into possession of this countship, had established their permanent residence at Edessa. They saw to it carefully that adequate supplies of arms and food and all else necessary for some length of time should be brought thither from the surrounding places. By this means perfect security for Edessa was obtained, and it also became justly formidable to the other cities in the vicinity. But as has been said, there was now enmity between the prince of Antioch and the count, and this was no longer concealed but had already reached the stage of open hatred.[10] Consequently, neither felt any concern for the troubles or unlucky disasters of the other; rather, each rejoiced in the distress of the other and exulted over any untoward mischance.

The great prince Zangi seized the opportunity offered by these dissensions. He levied a countless number of cavalry forces from all over the East, summoned also the people of the neighboring cities, and laid siege to Edessa. He blocked all the entrances to the city so closely that the besieged could not issue forth, nor could anyone enter from outside. The people shut up within the city were soon driven to extremities by the shortage of food and provisions of all kinds. Edessa was surrounded by a massive wall and protected by lofty towers in the upper part of the city. There was another stronghold lower down, to which, even if the city should be taken, the citizens could flee for refuge. All such de-

[9] The use of paid troops, including even knights, was probably more extensive in Edessa than elsewhere, owing to the fact that the large Armenian and other native Christian population had not been dispossessed by Western nobles. Doubtless the mercenaries at times included Muslims.

[10] The basis for this trouble probably lay, first, in the fact that Joscelin was a vassal of the prince of Antioch for some of his land and, secondly, that Raymond was a relative newcomer whereas Joscelin had been born in the East and was half Armenian in blood. Prejudice and political rivalry were at the bottom of their antagonism.

fenses may avail against the foe if there are fighters who will put up a valiant fight for liberty, but they are useless when there are none among the besieged willing to undertake the part of defenders. For walls, towers, and ramparts avail but little if there are none to man them.

Hence, when Zangi found that the city was without defenders his hope of taking it was greatly increased. He placed his troops in a circle round about, stationed the chiefs of the legions in advantageous positions, and invested the city. Stones and missiles hurled from the engines battered the walls without ceasing and showers of arrows allowed the citizens no respite.

Meanwhile, swiftly flying rumor spread the news abroad that Edessa, faithful worshipper of God, was undergoing the horrors of siege at the hand of enemies of the Christian faith and name. The hearts of all true believers, far and near, were appalled, and the zealous began to arm themselves to take vengeance upon the wicked foe. The tidings of this critical situation roused the count to action, and he began assiduously to assemble his forces. Mindful too late of the noble city, he began, as it were, "to prepare funeral rites for the dead, for those whom, when sick and suppliant, he had neglected to aid." He went about among the Christians and besought aid from his friends. He dispatched messengers to his lord, the prince of Antioch, and begged him with most humble and earnest prayers that he would sympathize with him in his trouble and deliver Edessa from the threatened fate of slavery. News of the dire calamity also reached the king of Jerusalem. Rumors of the siege of Edessa and the straits which her citizens were enduring were confirmed. After a conference with her nobles, the queen, who held the reins of government, ordered her kinsman, Manasses, the royal constable, Philip of Nablus, and Elinandus of Tiberias [11] to march thither with a strong force at once to assist the count and the afflicted citizens. The prince of Antioch, however, rejoiced in the count's misfortune. Without regard for his own responsibility for the general welfare and the fact that "personal hatred should not be permitted to injure the common interest," he offered excuses to delay giving the aid which had been asked.

[11] An Elinandus is mentioned as bishop of Tiberias at this time (R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani,* no. 245). Elsewhere, however, William indicates that a layman is meant (Book XVII, chap. 1).

5. *Edessa is captured and her people slain.*

In the meantime Zangi continued to attack the city without intermission and ran through the whole gamut of injuries. No method was left untried which might tend to increase the woes of the citizens and help him to take the city. Through subterranean passages he sent in miners who dug tunnels under the wall. These were supported overhead by beams which were then set on fire. When the props burned away, a great part of the wall fell and left a breach which afforded the enemy an entrance more than a hundred cubits wide. The desired approach thus obtained, the legions rushed together from all directions, entered the city, and put to the sword all whom they encountered. Neither age, condition, nor sex was spared. To them might this saying well be applied: "They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless." [12]

Thus the city was captured and delivered over to the sword of the enemy. As soon as this happened, the more sensible and alert among the citizens fled with their wives and children to the citadel, which, as has been said, was in the city. Here they hoped that their lives at least might be safe, if only for a short time. But the inrush of such a crowd of people caused a panic, and many perished miserably in the struggling mob. Among others who died in this way are said to have been the Very Reverend Hugo, archbishop of Edessa, and some of his clergy. Those who were present at the time felt that the prelate was in some measure to blame for this catastrophe. Although he was said to have amassed great riches, which he might have used to pay troops for defending the city, he preferred, like a miser, to store up his wealth rather than to consider his perishing people. As a result, he reaped the fruits of his avarice and shared the fate of the populace. Unless the Lord in His mercy should come to his aid, an unsavory reputation will ever attend his memory. For terrible are the words of Scripture concerning men of his sort: "Thy money perish with thee." [13]

Thus, while the prince of Antioch, influenced by foolish hatred, put

[12] Ps. 94: 6.

[13] Ac. 8: 20. This criticism of Hugo, archbishop of Edessa, for refusing to use the wealth of the church for secular purposes is in marked contrast to William's attitude toward Daimbert, who had been accused of a similar policy (see Books IX and X *passim*).

off rendering the aid due to his brethren [14] and the count was waiting for help from strangers, the ancient city fell.[15] Edessa, devoted to the Christian name from the times of the apostles, the city which was rescued from the superstitions of the infidels by the words and preaching of the Apostle Thaddeus, suffered the undeserved yoke of servitude.

Tradition says that the holy Apostle Thomas was buried in this city, as was also the Apostle Thaddeus and blessed King Abgar. This is that Abgar, the illustrious ruler of the city whose letter to the Lord Jesus Christ is mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea in his work called the *Ecclesiastical History*. He says also that Abgar was deemed worthy to receive an answer from the Lord. He gives the letter of each one and adds the following: "In the public archives of the city of Edessa over which Abgar ruled, we found these letters so transcribed in the documents which contain the records of the deeds of King Abgar, preserved from ancient times." [16]

But so much on this matter; now let us resume the history.

6. *A fortress beyond the Jordan, called the Valley of Moses, is taken by the king.*

During the first year of this King Baldwin's reign, the Turks, with the consent and at the invitation of certain people dwelling in that vicinity, seized one of our strongholds called the Valley of Moses, in Syria Sobal beyond the Jordan. This place is located near the waters of Strife, where Moses, when the people of Israel were murmuring and dying from thirst, struck water from the rock and the whole people and their beasts drank thereof.

When it became known that the enemy had seized this fortress and had killed the Christians dwelling there, the king, although still very young, levied forces from all over the land and set forth thither. With his troops he crossed the famous valley now occupied by the Dead sea,

[14] William has overlooked the fact that Raymond was involved in difficulties with the new emperor, Manuel. He sought to free himself from the vassalage to the Greeks when he heard of the death of John. But his efforts to extend his sway in Cilicia brought swift retribution from Manuel. There was actual warfare between Raymond and the Greeks (1143–1144), and Raymond was not in a position to give any real aid to Joscelin (see F. Chalandon *Les Comnène*, II, 241–43).

[15] The capture of Edessa by Zangi is dated December 23, 1144, the citadel two days later (R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 234, note 4).

[16] See Book IV, chap. 2, and note 5.

which is also called the lake of Asphalt, and went up into the hill country of Arabia Secunda or Arabia Petra, in the land of Moab. From there he traversed Syria Sobal, or Arabia Tertia, now commonly called the land of Montreal, and came to his destination. The inhabitants of the country had already had news of our approach and with their wives and children had fled into the fortress, the defenses of which seemed to render it impregnable. For several days our forces exerted themselves in vain before the place. Volleys of stone missiles, repeated showers of arrows, and other methods of assault were tried with no result. Finally the Christians became convinced that, because of its fortifications, the place could not be taken. They therefore turned to other plans.

The entire region was covered with luxuriant olive groves which shaded the surface of the land like a dense forest. From these trees the dwellers in that land derived all their living, as their fathers had done before them. If these failed, then all means of livelihood would be taken away. It was determined, therefore, to root out the trees and burn them. It was thought that the terrified inhabitants, rendered desperate by the destruction of their olive groves, would either give up or drive out the Turks who had taken refuge in the citadel and surrender the fortress to us. This plan was entirely successful. As soon as they saw their beloved trees cut down, the people changed their tactics and adopted others. On condition that the Turks whom they had called in should be allowed to depart unharmed and that they themselves with their families should not be punished by death for their wicked conduct, they restored the stronghold to the king.

The castle was thereupon received, a garrison appointed, and supplies of food and arms sent in. Thus the king successfully finished the first campaign after his accession to the throne and, with his whole army safe and sound, returned victorious to his own land.[17]

7. *Zangi is killed while besieging Calogenbar. His son Nureddin succeeds him.*

ZANGI was greatly elated by his brilliant success in subjugating the city of Edessa. He immediately applied himself to besieging Calogenbar, a fortified place on the river Euphrates. While he was carrying on the

[17] This expedition must have occurred in the spring or summer of 1144, before the events in the north had become critical.

siege of this place, however, the lord of the town entered into a conspiracy with some of the chamberlains and eunuchs of Zangi's own household. One night, as the prince, gorged with wine and unusually drunk, was lying in his tent, he was slain by some of his own servants. When the news of his death arrived, one of our people remarked apropos of his assassination, "What a happy coincidence! A guilty murderer, with the bloody name *Sanguinus*, has become ensanguined with his own blood." [18]

The murderers were received within the walls by the lord of the besieged city, according to agreement, and thus escaped the vengeance of the dead man's kin. Zangi's entire army fled when deprived of the support and protection of their lord: His sons succeeded him, the one at Mosul in the Orient, and the other, Nureddin by name, at Aleppo. The latter was a wise and prudent man and, according to the superstitious traditions of his people, one who feared God. He was fortunate also in that he greatly increased the heritage which was left him by his father.

8. *A certain noble of Damascus, governor of the city of Bostrum, enters into an alliance with the king. The army of the realm is sent to that city. Anar, governor of Damascus, tries to prevent these plans.*

NOT long after this, in the second year of King Baldwin's reign, a certain noble Turkish satrap came with a noble retinue to Jerusalem. For some reason he had incurred the anger of Mejeredin [Mujir al-Din], king of Damascus. He had, moreover, fallen under the displeasure of the governor, Mehen-Eddin [Mu'in al-Din], or Anar, a man whose authority throughout the land of the Damascenes was far greater than that of the king himself. This satrap assured the king and his mother that, if an honorable compensation worthy of his consideration were granted him, he would surrender to them the city of Bostrum, over which he ruled, and also the stronghold of Selcath. Bostrum is the metropolis of Arabia Prima, which today is called in the common

[18] The siege of Qalat Jabar in the region of Edessa occurred in September, 1146. According to Qalanisi, the murderer was a personal favorite of Zangi, a man of Frankish origin. Zangi's drunkenness is acknowledged. His death is dated September 14, 1146. William evidently could not resist the temptation to indulge in a pun at Zangi's death (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 271).

speech Bussereth. This same nobleman, Tantais by name, was said to be an Armenian by birth. He was tall of stature, of agreeable countenance, and his entire bearing gave evidence of a manly spirit.[19]

Accordingly, a general conference of the nobles was called. The reasons for the visit of this great man were explained and every aspect of his proposition carefully considered. It was finally unanimously resolved that he be granted an honorable and satisfactory compensation, that an army be levied, and an expedition sent to Bostrum. All agreed that, if through the agency of this man, Bostrum could be brought under our jurisdiction and added to the Christian name with perpetual right, such an increase of the kingdom would be most acceptable to God. An agreement satisfactory to both parties was thereupon concluded, and the heralds were ordered to call together all the people of the realm immediately. After imploring aid from on high, the king and his nobles took with them the Life-giving Cross of Salvation and proceeded to Tiberias. Camp was established near the bridge where the waters of the Jordan separate from the sea.

There was an alliance and a temporary peace between Anar and King Baldwin which had existed also in the time of the king's father. Accordingly it was necessary that the governor be formally notified, in order that he might have a legitimate time, following the custom of the land, to assemble an army and make preparations for resistance. Otherwise the king would appear to have entered his territory suddenly and without official notice, which is contrary to the law of treaties. Messengers had accordingly been sent to Anar, but he, as a shrewd man, had wisely deferred sending an answer.[20] A month had already passed. During this time, he had been actively engaged in calling to his aid both by entreaties and by money all the neighboring chiefs of his own race from far and near. When large numbers had assembled from all parts, Anar sent the following message to the king and his nobles: "Contrary to the terms of the treaty into which you entered, you are

[19] This episode, which occurred in the spring of 1147, is evidently derived from Arabic as well as Latin sources. It is not difficult to recognize in "Mejeredin" Mujir al-Din, the "king" of Damascus, nor in "Mehen-Eddin," Mu'in al-Din, or Anar, who really ruled it. "Tantais" is Altuntash, "Selcath" is Sarkhad, "Bostrum" is Bostra of ancient times.

[20] William here displays again his interest in diplomatic exchange. Note his evident conviction that treaty obligations with Muslims were to be kept as scrupulously as those with Christians.

preparing to march into the land of my lord and you are endeavoring to protect with undeserved patronage his rebellious servant, who is acting against the allegiance which he has sworn. We humbly beseech the lord king to desist from this unjust purpose and to preserve intact the substance of the agreements previously concluded between us. We are ready in all sincerity to refund to the king all the expense to which he has been put for this expedition."

To this the king responded by the advice of all as follows: "We do not intend to violate in any way the provisions of the treaty which we have made with you. But as this nobleman came to discuss matters with us in a friendly way, we cannot honorably fail a man who has placed all his hope in our kingdom. It will be satisfactory to us, however, if we are permitted to conduct him back in safety to the city which he abandoned for our benefit. After he has withdrawn into his own castle, let his lord deal with him according to the laws of the land and recompense him as he deserves. As for us, both in coming and going we will wholly refrain from inflicting any injury upon our friend, the king of Damascus, as, by the will of God, we are bound to do."

This same Anar was a man of much wisdom and a lover of our people. He had three daughters, one of whom he had married to the king of the Damascenes, just mentioned; another to Nureddin, the son of Zangi; [21] and the third to a distinguished knight, Margar. He had, therefore, the good of the realm at heart, not only because he was the father-in-law of the king, but also because of his own great discretion. The king, however, was indolent by nature and devoted to drinking and revelry. He cared only for pleasure and gave himself up entirely to dissolute practices.

Anar, as has been mentioned, made great efforts to gain the favor of the Christians by all possible complaisance; he made use of every art by which friends are won. But whether this proceeded from the heart and from sincerity of purpose or was forced upon him by necessity contrary to his own wishes may well be questioned by the wise. Doubtless either might be the case, for he regarded his son-in-law, Nureddin, with the same distrust that he had formerly felt toward the latter's father, Zangi. He ever feared that Nureddin might drive the king, who was also his son-in-law, but a most worthless and grossly ignorant man,

[21] The marriage of Anar's daughter to Nureddin occurred in the early spring of this year (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 275–76).

from the kingdom. He himself would then lose the reins of government.[22]

This was the principal reason why he regarded our favor as most essential to his interests and in every possible way endeavored to secure it. This wise man seems to have had almost prophetic foresight, for the situation that he feared actually came to pass. After his death, Nureddin, with the consent of the people of Damascus, drove out the reigning king by force and seized the throne.

It was for this reason, therefore, that he exerted himself faithfully to make good the expense to which the king had been put in raising the expedition and to send him back to his own land unharmed. Doubtless he would have adopted an even less hostile attitude toward the king and his forces in this matter if he could have restrained, as he would have liked, the allies whom he had summoned from without. For we have found many reliable proofs which give definite testimony to his loyalty, sincerity, and steadfastness in various matters.

9. *The army experiences countless perils while on the march.*

AMONG the envoys who brought this report was a certain Bernard Vacher, who stood in very close relation to the king. When these facts were announced, the people at once began to cry out that Bernard was a traitor, that anyone who would seek to dissuade them in this matter and put obstacles in their way was not loyal to the Christians. With loud shouts, the irresponsible mob began to demand that the march be resumed, that the effort to obtain possession of that noble city be not so readily abandoned. Thanks were due to the nobleman who had offered a service to Christianity that would be remembered throughout the ages; his proposal should be carried out in every detail faithfully and devotedly; for this purpose they ought to strive even to the death.

Amid tumultuous uproar the will of the crowd prevailed, and the advice of saner minds was rejected. The baggage was accordingly arranged, the camp broken up, and the march directed toward the city. After passing Cavea Roab, they entered the plain called Medan, where the Arabs and other Eastern people are wont to hold yearly fairs. At this point our army began to encounter the enemy in such vast

[22] This accurate analysis of the motives of Anar in his almost consistent policy of friendship with Jerusalem is supported by Qalanisi, the historian of Damascus, who was living and writing there at this time.

numbers that even those who had formerly been most insistent that the campaign be continued would gladly have turned back, had that been possible. Yet the troops, although astounded at the magnitude of the enemy's array, prepared to go into battle at once. On the advice of those experienced in the art of warfare, however, the king ordered that camp be made first. This was done, and the troops took thought for their bodily refreshment as far as was possible in the critical situation. The night passed in sleepless vigilance. The enemy's hosts, now increased beyond number, closed in on all sides about our legions, confident that on the morrow the Christians, bound like the lowest slaves, would become their prey. Our people, however, wisely kept constant watch and attended most carefully to their duties, as behooved brave men. When morning came, a conference was held, and it was determined to advance, for to retreat seemed not only disgraceful but practically impossible. In fact, the enemy now encircled them on every side and effectually hindered either course.

Nevertheless, our men pressed on courageously. A path was finally opened by the sword through the enemy's midst, and our forces, as with one accord, advanced toward their destination. Burdened as they were, however, with breastplates, helmets, and shields, they moved at a slow pace. Their progress was hindered also by the great numbers of the foe around them. The cavalry squadrons, being without baggage, could have proceeded more rapidly, but it was necessary that they adapt their movements to the pace of the infantry companies, that the ranks might not be broken and the enemy be given a chance to break in upon the formations. So the cohorts suffered with each other, and the entire Christian company was as one. The knights showed such care for the people on foot that they often dismounted from their horses and shared like hardships. They even offered to carry the weary, that the difficulties of the march might be made lighter.

Meanwhile, the enemy continued to harass the army with ceaseless showers of arrows and strove to break our lines by increasing their efforts. But the more the Christians were menaced, the more closely they massed themselves together. Fearlessly and ardently they continued on their way.

As a culminating point of troubles, they were assailed by terrible thirst, which was intensified by the difficulty of the march and by the heat of summer. Their route was through an arid and waterless coun-

try, for that entire region is without springs. In winter the natives collect the rain water in reservoirs, both natural and artificial. At this time, however, these had become useless, for the province had recently suffered from a pest of locusts of extraordinary extent, so that all the pools of this kind had been spoiled and the water corrupted by the dead insects therein.

The region through which our road lay is called Trachonitis. Luke mentions it in his Gospel as follows: "Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis." [23] The name seems to us to be derived rather from the *tracones*. For the hidden, subterranean caves in which that region abounds are called *tracones*. Nearly all the people of that locality live in grottos and caves and have their homes in these *tracones*.

10. *On arriving at their destination, they find the city occupied by the enemy. Accordingly, they return home without accomplishing their end.*

THE Christians traversed a part of that country under conditions of extreme danger. About the last hour of the day, they came to a place which was called Adratum in earlier days, but which is now generally known as the city of Bernard d'Estampes. It is one of the suffragan cities of the metropolis of Bostrum. The inhabitants of this place had joined the enemy's forces, and therefore our people had to suffer even worse hardships than before. For when they tried to obtain water from the cisterns which lay open, they lost even the buckets which had been let down. The foe, hidden in the subterranean caverns, cut the ropes by which these had been lowered, and sent them back dangling. The frustration of this hope, for the sake of which they had so long labored in vain, intensified the agony of their thirst.

For four successive days our people never indulged in rest; indeed, they were so continually persecuted that they scarcely had leisure, even during the night, to satisfy their bodily needs. Day by day the enemy's numbers increased, while our forces as steadily decreased. Some were killed, others fatally wounded. Still others, panic-stricken and despairing of their lives, swelled the throng around the baggage, skulked among the horses and pack animals, and feigned weakness, that they might not be compelled to come out and bear the brunt of the enemy's attacks. Dense showers of arrows and other missiles fell like rain or

[23] Lu. 3: 1.

hail upon our forces so incessantly that the host of men and beasts seemed covered with weapons. Well might a spectator marvel at the continued perseverance of the foe in attacking and the invincible endurance of the Christians in resisting. Nonetheless, our people continued to let fly showers of arrows and darts, but as the enemy were able to move about freely, our missiles rarely injured them.

The Christians continued their march under many perils, and at last, in the fourth day they drew near their destination and saw the city at a distance. With great difficulty they drove off the enemy by force and took possession of the waters which flowed forth in moderation from the rocks. Camp was made near by, and the forces devoted themselves for a short period to bodily refreshment and relaxation. That night the Christians enjoyed some degree of rest and were eagerly looking forward to the morrow. But in the silence of midnight, a bearer of ill tidings stealthily left the city and made his way through the enemy's lines to our camp. He announced that he had private messages for the king and begged to be led to him at once. He was admitted. The nobles were summoned and also the noble lord, the former governor of the city, who had led us into the present predicament. The messenger then disclosed the fact that the wife of this same lord had betrayed the city and surrendered it to the Turks. They had introduced their forces and taken possession of all the strongholds, including the citadel itself. Everyone else had been driven out.

Our people were overwhelmed by the news of this disaster. They held a conference and finally decided that their best course was to return speedily to their own land at whatever risk. Some of the chief men of the kingdom, however, privately counselled the king to mount the horse of John Gomani, which was reputed to excel all other army steeds in swiftness and endurance, and, with the Cross of Salvation in his hand, to look out for his own safety alone. This advice was given in despair of the possibility of return and in anticipation that the entire army would shortly be destroyed. The king, however, although still very young, rejected this counsel with royal magnificence and clearly showed what his character would be in later years. He declared that he would scorn to save his own life if a people consecrated to God were to perish so wretchedly.

Although these admonitions proceeded from loyal affection, the king declined to heed them, and other plans were adopted. To ad-

vance farther meant utter destruction; therefore measures for the retreat were taken. Now for the first time the Christians felt the hardship of their situation in double measure, for their great hope now was gone, and they realized that their efforts had been all in vain. Their troubles up to this time had been serious enough—in fact, almost unendurable—and they had suffered miseries equal to any they might encounter afterward. Yet as they struggled on, they were supported by the confident hope of taking the city, and these pleasurable anticipations enabled them to hold out. Now, however, this hope had failed them, and they realized that their project must be abandoned. Accordingly, the herald proclaimed the return, and all prepared for the homeward march.

11. *The army encounters untold perils on the return march. The Turks are amazed at the perseverance of our troops.*

At dawn on the following day, Nureddin arrived from the city mentioned above and, with an infinite number of Turks, joined the cohorts of the enemy. His father-in-law had appealed to him for aid. The Christians, however, started out on the return march, as had been arranged. As soon as the Turks perceived this movement, they hastened against them and, with a great clamor, tried to prevent the retreat. But the very difficulties that beset our people on every side strengthened their courage. With their swords they broke through the opposing ranks and, although with extreme danger and at the cost of many lives, forced their way through.

General orders had been given that the bodies of all the dead in the Christian ranks be placed upon camels and other pack animals, that the knowledge of the massacre of our forces might not tend to strengthen the enemy. The weak and wounded were also to be placed on beasts of burden so as to give the impression that not a single Christian had been killed or wounded. Even these disabled ones were directed to draw their swords, that they might present at least a semblance of strength. It was a source of amazement, therefore, to the wiser heads among the enemy that, after such volleys of arrows, such repeated conflicts, such torture of thirst, dust, and unbearable heat, not a single dead or disabled Christian could be found. This people must indeed be made of iron, they thought, for otherwise they could not sustain so persistently such continuing pressure. Accordingly, as all

their efforts were in vain, the enemy turned to other tactics. The entire country thereabout was covered with a dense growth of brambles, dry thistles and other weeds, old stubble and crops now ripe. To this they set fire, and a strong wind soon carried it furiously toward us. Our misfortunes were now doubled by the encroaching flames and the dense clouds of smoke which attended them. With cries of woe the people turned as one body to the venerable Robert, archbishop of Nazareth, and tearfully begged him: "Pray for us, father; through the Life-giving Cross which you bear in your hands, the Cross upon which we believe that the Author of our salvation hung, rescue us from these evils, for we can no longer endure them." The wind had borne the smoke toward them so that the faces and the general aspect of the people were black, like that of smiths when working at the forge. The heat from the fires in addition to the usual heat of summer, together with extreme thirst, had raised their suffering to a point beyond endurance.

The beloved man of God was deeply moved by their cries and supplications. In humility of spirit, he raised the Cross of Salvation toward the flames, which were rushing against him in all their violence, and invoked aid from on high. Immediately divine favor attended them; in a moment the wind veered about and sent the reeking volume of cloud and flame against the enemy. Thus the evil which the Turks had prepared for our undoing was turned to their own destruction. They stood amazed at the wondrous miracle; unique indeed must be that faith of the Christians which through prayer could bring about so swift an answer from their Lord God. For a time entirely engrossed by their own danger, they perforce gave our troops some peace and allowed them a short respite.

12. *An envoy is dispatched to the enemy on behalf of peace. A noble knight in the enemy's ranks falls. The Turkish army is dispersed, and our forces proceed without further hindrance.*

Thus our army was hard pressed by these intolerable evils. Meanwhile, the great nobles and those of wider experience began to realize that the endurance of the people could not last much longer. Accordingly, they went to the king and persuaded him to send an envoy to Anar concerning peace. Any terms would be accepted, provided only

that the Christian army be allowed to return home. For this mission was selected a man of rather doubtful repute, who, once before on a similar errand, had acted disloyally toward the people of Christ. Yet because of his familiarity with the language of the Turks, this mission also was entrusted to him. In response to the injunction that he should faithfully perform the duty laid upon him, he is reported to have said, "The suspicions against me are unjust and far beyond anything that I have deserved; yet I will go. But if I am guilty of the charges brought against me, may I not be permitted to return; or rather, may I perish by the sword of the enemy."

The wretched man had pronounced his own sentence of death and soon experienced the judgment of God, for before he reached the Turks and accomplished his mission he perished at the hand of the enemy.

Four distinguished Arab chiefs, followed by a host of their people, took part in this campaign. They were brothers, sons of the mighty and distinguished Arab satrap Morel. These troops kept making persistent and very spirited attacks upon the flanks of our army. Yet our soldiers under the commands given them did not dare to break out of line against them. For if, contrary to the discipline of war, they should break the ranks, they would be exposed to a harsh sentence as deserters from their places. In the retinue of that Turk who was with us, however, there was a certain knight who could not endure this situation and longed to relieve us of the annoyance. Regardless of the rules imposed and reckless of his life, he spurred his horse forward with great courage. He threw the spear which he was carrying against one of the four brothers, then ran him through with his sword in the midst of his ranks, and hurled the lifeless body to the ground. Then he returned without injury to our lines.

An immense throng at once gathered round the body of the dead chief. When it became evident that he had already breathed forth his luckless spirit, the assembled crowd broke into loud lamentations and gave expression to their intense grief in floods of tears.

But our people rejoiced greatly. Eagerly they demanded to know the name of the man who had exposed himself to such peril and thereby wrought a feat worthy of eternal fame. It was discovered that he was an alien who might readily be pardoned for transgressing the rules, especially as he did not know the language and had not understood

the public edict. Accordingly, although he had undoubtedly acted contrary to the rules of military discipline, yet, since he had been unaware of the command, he was mercifully pardoned, and his deed was regarded as praiseworthy, rather because of the result than because it was right.

In this way the enemy's battle line on that side was broken. Our army was now able to spread out, and accordingly, in the more open country they soon secured compensation for the straits which they had suffered. After an uninterrupted march of several days, they again came to Cavea Roab. Since the passage was very narrow and it might be dangerous to cross here, the leaders purposely ordered that it be avoided. But Anar, the procurator of Damascus, observed that the king was leading his army toward the valley just mentioned. Accordingly, he sent messengers to say that if the king pleased he would cause a meal to be prepared for him in all good faith beyond Cavea, for he knew that now for several days the army had been suffering from lack of provisions. Whether this was a sincere offer, made out of good will toward the Christians, or whether it was simply a ruse to force the Christian army into the narrow defiles of still more dangerous valleys we have not been able to ascertain. Nevertheless, the traditional belief is that the gifts of an enemy should rightly be distrusted. Consequently, by unanimous decision, it was determined to proceed by the upper road which was more level and less dangerous.

There was no one to guide them, however, through the country which they must traverse. But suddenly there appeared ahead of the ranks an unknown knight mounted upon a white horse. He wore a breastplate and short gauntlets reaching to the elbow and carried a red standard. Like an angel of the Lord, this man led them by the shortest routes to waters hitherto unknown and showed them the best and most convenient places to make camp. It had taken the expedition practically five days to reach Cavea, but under the guidance of this leader they arrived at Gadara in three.

13. *Our legions reach Gadara. The place is described. The troops return home.*

Gadara is situated in the region called Decapolis, of which it is written in the Gospel of Mark, "and again, departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, he came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of

the coasts of Decapolis." [24] As its name indicates, this land contains ten cities, namely, Hippus, Pella, Gadara, the place just mentioned, and seven others. This last-named city is situated on the borderland between the enemy's country and our own. When our first legions reached it, the Turks once more began to harass our rear ranks, as if again seized by their former evil fury. They soon perceived, however, that their efforts were of no avail, for the Christians had already entered their own land. Accordingly, exhausted under the burden of smoke, extreme hot weather, and fatigue, they broke ranks and began to return in throngs to their own country. That night passed in unusual tranquillity. Our men allowed their wearied bodies the rest and refreshment so much needed, and on the following day they proceeded to Tiberias.

Those who still preserve an accurate memory of this occurrence all agree that the leader of this march was known to no one. When the army made camp, he always disappeared immediately. He was never seen anywhere in the camp, but in the morning he again went on ahead of the troops. No one now living can remember any equally perilous expedition during the period of the Latins in the Orient which did not result in a decisive victory for the enemy.

When the king returned to the realm and the Cross of the Lord was restored to Jerusalem, there was great rejoicing among the people who had remained at home, because their friends had now returned. Well might they cry, "For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found." [25]

Shortly after this, that same noble Turk was summoned with pacific words under pretense of reconciliation by the subtle Anar. He met with most shameful treatment, however. The wretched man was blinded and spent the rest of his life in the utmost poverty and misery.[26]

14. *The citizens of Edessa appeal to the count. He hurries thither and, without the knowledge of the enemy, receives the city.*

WHILE these events were transpiring in our vicinity, a deplorable thing which should be recorded happened in the county of Edessa. In

[24] Mar. 7: 31. [25] Lu. 15: 24.

[26] This episode is also told at some length by Qalanisi. According to him, Altuntash came to Damascus, was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned to blinding as he had blinded a brother. He was allowed to live out his life in a house in Damascus (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 276–79).

order that the details of this occurrence may be fully understood it is necessary to go back somewhat earlier in the story.

After the death of Zangi, that greatest persecutor of the Christian faith, his son Nureddin was detained at Mosul for a time on the matter of his succession to his father's principate. Only a few of his retainers were left to keep guard at Edessa. All the rest of the population was strong in the Christian faith. Realizing this fact, the inhabitants of Edessa secretly sent messengers to Count Joscelin and announced that, with the exception of a few Turks who were guarding the citadel, their city was practically abandoned to the citizens. Now the people of Edessa were, and had been from the time of the apostles, rooted and grounded in the Christian faith so that, as has been mentioned elsewhere, there were very few, practically none, of other faiths dwelling among them. Most earnestly, they begged the count that he would assemble military forces and hasten to the city, which the citizens would at once surrender to him without danger or obstacle.

Joscelin hastily assembled all the troops of that country, both infantry and cavalry. Then, accompanied by Baldwin of Marash, a noble and powerful man, he quickly crossed the river and appeared suddenly at night before Edessa with all his followers. While the Turks who had been left as guards were sleeping, in the silence of the night, the citizens admitted some of the count's people by ropes and ladders. These opened the gates to the rest who were waiting outside. All rushed in at the same time pell-mell; they spread through the city in every direction and put to the sword every foe whom they encountered. Some of the latter, however, succeeded in escaping death and reached the citadel.

In this manner, the count and his army of Christians held the city for several days. They did not succeed in taking the citadel, however, for that was carefully fortified and well equipped with provisions, weapons, and soldiers. The lack of success in this respect was largely due to the fact that the count's forces had brought with them neither engines nor anything with which to build them. Nor could any material suitable for the purpose be found in the city.

15. *Nureddin attacks Edessa. He places the city under siege. He causes the Christians extreme distress.*

MESSENGERS were now sent forth to inform Christian people everywhere of this success and to invite those in the vicinity to hasten thither to assist in holding and preserving for the Christian religion forever the city which had been received through the grace of God. Christians everywhere rejoiced over this news, and, in proportion to the deep sorrow which they had felt over the captivity of Edessa, they received consolation in like measure. Mourning soon took the place of extreme joy, however, and the sound of the zither was changed into strains of grief. Sorrow, even more intense than before, revived. For as soon as Nureddin learned that the inhabitants had surrendered Edessa to the count, he levied troops from all parts of the Orient and ordered the herald to direct the people of the neighboring cities to assemble at one place. Suddenly he appeared before Edessa, placed his legions in a circle about it, and began siege operations. Thus it was with our people as it is written, "The sword without, and terror within." [27] For outside, the enemy's lines being made ready for battle prevented all exit and threatened death to the Christians, while within, the Turks in the citadel also inspired them with fear and harassed them with constant attacks.

Beset by so many difficulties, the Christians knew not what to do. They took frequent counsel together and as frequently changed their plans. But to whatever course of action they turned, they found no path which led to safety, no escape without danger of death. At last, in view of all the exigencies of place and time, it was unanimously resolved that they must leave the city, even at the risk of death. Unquestionably, it would be better to encounter the enemy and force a path to safety with the sword than to endure a siege. In the latter case, either all without distinction would perish by the sword, or, through lack of food, be enslaved by the Turks and forced to endure the bitter yoke of servitude, a fate worse than any form of death. This decision was approved by all; the plan was extremely perilous, yet, in view of other possible fates that might befall them, it seemed to be the only course.

The citizens, by whose zealous efforts the count and his soldiers had

[27] De. 32:25.

been introduced into the city, heard with dismay that all hope of resistance had fled and that every path to safety was closed. If they should remain in Edessa, after the departure of the count, they, as the authors of the attempt, would certainly be punished by death in its most dreadful form. They preferred, therefore, to depart with their wives and children and to share uncertain fortune with their brethren of the Christian army, rather than to fall by certain death, or, a still more fearful fate, to suffer servitude under an infidel enemy.

16. *The count leaves the city with his army and endeavors to return to his own country. He is pursued by Nureddin. The army is massacred, but the count escapes by flight.*

As soon as the gates were opened, all rushed eagerly forth as if thereby lay the only path to safety. Although they well knew that a way must be cut through the enemy's lines with the sword, yet whatever might happen after they had once left the city seemed of little consequence. Meanwhile, the Turks in the citadel had unbarred the entrances and let some of their number into the city. These pressed hard on the Christians from behind and forced them to hasten their departure. At the same time the Turks outside the gates heard that some of their people were already in the city and were fighting with the Christians. Anxious to join them, they forcibly seized the gates which had been opened to allow our people to depart. Thus a great multitude of all ranks and classes was massed at that point, as one party tried to issue forth and the other endeavored to force an entrance. A fierce struggle, serious in its consequences to both sides, ensued in the narrow space. The foe outside fought furiously to push in, but the strength and determination of the Christians finally prevailed against them. A passage was opened by the sword, at the cost of many lives on both sides, and our people spread out over the plain.

There might have been seen a most piteous spectacle, deplorable even to describe! A helpless throng of unwarlike citizens, old men and sick people, matrons and tender maidens, aged women and little ones, even babes at the breast, all crowded together in the narrow gateway. Some were trodden under the feet of the horses; others, crushed by the on-pressing multitude, were stifled to death; while still others fell under the merciless sword of the Turks. The greater part of the citizens, both men and women, who had elected to follow the departing

army perished miserably at that time. A few escaped because of their own strength and vigor or by the assistance of the horses and were able to accompany the army as it retreated.

Nureddin, on perceiving that the Christians were preparing to return home, summoned his cohorts for pursuit. He drew up his troops ready for battle and arranged his lines in good order; then, ever pressing close on their rear, he kept up a series of continual attacks. The Christians directed their march toward the Euphrates, which was about fourteen miles from Edessa. Constant fighting and ever-present danger attended the count and his army upon the entire march thither. At almost every step there were engagements, now of many, again of individuals, which resulted in great loss on both sides. There died that noble man whom we mentioned before, Baldwin of Marash, a warrior distinguished for his military achievements. Many other excellent men perished also at this time who were well worthy of being remembered. May their souls enjoy everlasting rest! Their names are forgotten but are surely written in heaven, for they died with a glorious end for the sake of the faith and liberty of the people of Christ!

The count's strength was entirely unequal to that of the enemy. He had lost the greater part of his forces and could no longer withstand the continual onslaughts of the Turks. In order to save his life, therefore, he crossed the Euphrates and retired to Samosata. The others fled in different directions as seemed best to each; the baggage and equipment was abandoned, and all thought only of life and safety.

The news of the disaster spread far and wide through all the neighboring lands, and those who had rejoiced over the capture of Edessa were now all the more cruelly depressed by the second loss of the city, the massacre of the nobles, and the discomfiture of the Christian people.[28]

17. *William, patriarch of Jerusalem, dies. Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, succeeds to that chair, and Ralph, the king's chancellor, is imposed upon the church of Tyre by royal power.*

About this time, William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of precious memory, a simple and God-fearing man, went the way of all flesh. He died on September 27, in the fifteenth year of his rule. On January 25 of the

[28] This recapture and second loss of Edessa occurred late in 1146 (November–December).

following year, Fulcher, archbishop of Tyre, was chosen in his place, the third in the number of our predecessors.[29]

About the time of the feast of Epiphany, a thunderbolt sent from on high struck the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord on Mt. Sion and exposed it to great danger. The omen terrified the entire city and was, as we believe, a portent of disaster. A comet also was visible for many days, and certain other unusual signs, prophetic of future events, appeared.

Since the church at Tyre was without a head, the king and his mother, on whom the responsibility of the realm and the entire government rested, met at Tyre with the lord patriarch who had formerly occupied that church and the suffragan bishops of that same church. Their object was to appoint someone to the archbishopric. The choice of a bishop was duly discussed, as is customary in such cases, but the views of the electors differed. One party demanded the appointment of Ralph, the royal chancellor, a man undoubtedly learned but too worldly. He was English by birth, a very handsome man, and most acceptable to the king and the queen—and, indeed, to all of the court. The king and his mother approved and strongly supported him as their choice.

The chief patrons of the other party were John of Pisa, archdeacon of Tyre and later a cardinal of the church of Rome, with title Saints Sylvester and Martin, Bernard of Sidon, and John, bishop of Beirut. These prelates, following the lord patriarch, opposed the choice of Ralph. They made an appeal against the other party, which relied on the pressure exerted by the king, and, with the patriarch as their patron, they put forth every effort to defeat it.

The result was that the Chancellor Ralph succeeded by violence in usurping the church and its possessions and for two years maintained his position. Finally the case was appealed to Rome and, in the presence of the parties, Pope Eugenius rendered the decision that the election of the chancellor was null and void.[30] Later, this same Ralph,

[29] William, who became patriarch in 1130, died September 27, 1145. Fulcher became patriarch January 25, 1146.

[30] The detailed account of this election affords an insight into the variety of interests involved in important ecclesiastical elections. Just when this decision was rendered is not certain. Ralph's successor, Peter, was still prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in May, 1148, and Ralph was perhaps referred to as *electus* of Tyre as late as 1151 (see *R. Reg.*, nos. 249, 258).

through the favor of Pope Hadrian IV, his compatriot, obtained the church at Bethlehem and was ordained as bishop of that city.[31]

But in the chair of Tyre was placed with the consent and approval of all, Peter, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, a native of Barcelona in Hither Spain. He was a man of rare simplicity and gentleness, who feared God and kept himself apart from all evil, one whose memory is held in benediction both by God and man. He was noble according to the flesh but still nobler in spirit. His life and deeds deserve a far longer and more careful treatment, but our story must pass over special details and return to the discussion of general topics.[32]

18. *The people of the West are aroused. Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and Louis, king of France, with many other princes, set forth on the way to aid the Christians of the East.*

WHEN the city of Edessa was captured, as has been related, the story of the ominous disaster was carried by rumor throughout the entire West. It was said that the impious race of Turks had not only overwhelmed the city of Edessa but was also laying waste the cities, villas, and fortified places of our people and overrunning the entire East unchecked. Thus the people of Christ were suffering extraordinary trials because of constant combats and repeated invasions.

Messengers went about to peoples and nations everywhere spreading these reports; provinces which had become lazy and enervated by long periods of peace were visited and their aid besought to avenge these great wrongs. Pope Eugenius III, a devout man of God, also felt the solicitude of a father for his sons of the East, it was said, and was in full and affectionate sympathy with them. He dispatched throughout the various regions of the West religious men, eloquent in exhortation, powerful both in word and deed, to inform princes

[31] Hadrian IV, the only Englishman to hold the papal office, became pope in December, 1154. The first notice of Ralph as bishop of Bethlehem appears in June, 1156 (see *R. Reg.*, no. 321). Hadrian IV was named Nicholas Breakspear and is known in English history, but Ralph of Bethlehem is known to have been an Englishman only through William (see Beatrice Siedschlag, *English Participation in the Crusades, 1150–1220*, p. 110).

[32] It is interesting to speculate as to the connection between William and Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, which this warm reference to the latter implies. Peter had been prior since 1130 and was therefore in Jerusalem during all of William's youth. He may have directed the education of William and been instrumental in starting him on his career in the church.

and people, tribes and tongues everywhere of the intolerable sufferings of their brethren in the East and to rouse them to go forth to avenge these terrible wrongs. Among these envoys was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, of immortal memory, beloved of God, a man whose honorable life was an example to all and in every respect worthy of remembrance. He was chosen as the leader for carrying out this mission so pleasing to God, and with all diligence he executed the task laid upon him. Although weak of body because of approaching old age, almost constant fasting, and a too meager diet, he went about through the kingdom and through the country everywhere with his colaborers beloved of God, zealously and indefatigably preaching the kingdom of God. With all due care he described the affliction of the people of the East and the woes by which they were continually oppressed. He set forth clearly that the cities of the faithful, once devoted to the Christian profession, were now suffering the direst servitude under the persecutors of the name of Christ. Bound with chains and shackles, consumed by hunger, confined in horrible prisons, in filth and squalor, clothed with bitterness, those brethren for whom also Christ was willing to die were sitting in beggary and irons. To the task of liberating their oppressed brethren he invited them and stirred their hearts with longing to avenge such wrongs; he promised that aid from on high and eternal rewards with the elect awaited all who would undertake this pious work.

As with devoted perseverance he spread this message among nations, principalities, and kingdoms, he won instant favor with great and small. Voluntarily they gave a ready assent to his preaching and vowed to take the road to Jerusalem. Fitting upon their shoulders the sign of the quickening cross, they prepared for the journey. Not alone with the throngs of common people were his persuasive words effective, but even with the supreme rulers of the world and those who occupied the highest pinnacle of kingdoms. The most powerful and illustrious kings of the land, namely, Conrad, emperor of the Romans, and Louis, king of the Franks, with many princes of both kingdoms, embraced the word with equal desire for the same end. Upon their shoulders and garments they impressed the saving token of the revivifying cross in all devotion as a sign that they too would undertake the pilgrimage.[33]

[33] This expedition is usually called the Second Crusade. Eugenius III, like Bernard

19. *The emperor sets out first with his army and arrives at Constantinople. The sultan of Iconium sets ambuscades for him.*

THE two monarchs made all due arrangements for the government of their kingdoms and joined to their number those who in fervent longing had taken upon themselves the vows of salvation. When all necessary preparation for the march had been completed as befitted royal dignity, they set out upon the pilgrimage pleasing to God, in the month of May. They departed under unlucky auspices, however, and with sinister omens. For they started on the way as if contrary to the will of an angry God, and, in punishment for the sins of man, they accomplished nothing pleasing to Him on that entire pilgrimage. Nay, they even rendered worse the situation of those to whom they intended to bring succor.[34]

The leaders had decided to advance separately, each one conducting his own army, so that disagreements and contentions might not arise among the people. In this way, also, the necessaries of life for the legions might more easily be procured, and fodder for the horses and pack animals would be more abundant.

They traversed Bavaria, crossed the mighty river Danube at Ratisbon, and descended into Austria with the river on their left. They then entered the land of Hungary, where they received honorable treatment from the king of that country. Passing through that kingdom and the two Pannonias, they went through the provinces of the Bulgarians, namely, Moesia and Dacia Mediterranea, with Dacia Ripensis on the left. They reached Thrace, passed through the famous cities of Philippopolis and Adrianople, and finally arrived at the royal city.[35] They

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of Clairvaux, was a Cistercian, and Cistercian leadership of this crusade was as pronounced as the Cluniac leadership had been in the First. St. Bernard is usually credited with the persuasion of Conrad and Louis VII to enlist for the crusade despite the advice of leading ministers of the two monarchs. Eugenius III had sent out his first call for a crusade in December, 1145, which he repeated in March, 1146. The most complete study of this crusade is still that of Kugler, contained in his several works on the subject (see B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Analecten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Neue Analecten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzugs; Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*). These should be supplemented by biographies of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (see especially E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard abbé de Clairvaux*, and Byzantine histories of the period.

[34] This judgment was based on the ultimate failure of the enterprise and not upon any specific errors or wrongdoing at the outset.

[35] William presents a very summary account of this journey along the old pilgrim and crusaders' trail to Constantinople in contrast to the detailed account of the earlier

had a friendly interview with Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, and enjoyed a few days of rest, most necessary for the refreshment and relaxation of the armies after so many hardships.[36] Then they crossed the Hellespont, whose waters lave the banks of Constantinople and form the boundary between Europe and Asia, and entered Bithynia, the first province of Asia which one reaches. All the legions encamped in the village of Chalcedon, whence the city they had just left could be seen not far away. It was in this ancient city that the fourth holy synod of six hundred and thirty-six fathers convened in the time of the Emperor Martian and Pope Leo to combat the heresy of Eutyches, the monk and abbot who declared that there was but one nature in our Lord Jesus Christ.[37]

The sultan of Iconium had known for a long time that these great princes were on the march and, in great fear of their coming, he had already called for aid from the most remote parts of the Orient. Full of anxiety as to ways and means by which he might ward off the imminent dangers arising from the presence of so many enemies, he fortified cities, restored ruined strongholds, and implored aid from the neighboring peoples. With constant anxiety he awaited the arrival of the enemy who were said to be at his gates and, from day to day, looked forward with apprehension to the destruction of his people and the desolation of his country. Rumor said that the approaching host had never been equalled in number, that their cavalry forces alone would cover the whole surface of the land; the largest rivers would not suffice to furnish them drink, nor could the most fertile countries supply them with food. Although these reports were greatly exaggerated, yet the actual facts might well strike terror to the hearts of great chiefs who were not followers of the Christian faith. For, according to the

expedition. However, the Second Crusade was better planned and executed with much less trouble. Otto, bishop of Freising, accompanied Conrad on the journey and wrote an account of the crusade, which, however, William did not see.

36 The relations of Emperor Manuel with Emperor Conrad III and with King Louis VII were neither as simple nor as pleasant as William here summarizes them. Both of the latter, as soon as they decided to go on the crusade, had begun an interchange of letters and envoys with Manuel. When they neared Constantinople, Manuel's worries were even greater than had been those of Alexius. He was actually at war with Roger of Sicily at the time. His recently acquired possessions in Cilicia would be endangered by the crusaders, once they reached eastern Asia Minor. Chalandon has treated this problem, or series of problems, more fully than any other recent historian, and, though he is disposed to be more sympathetic towards Manuel than the facts fully justify, his account deserves great respect (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 262–315).

37 See earlier reference to the council in Book II, chap. 12, note 16.

uniform statement of men who took part in this expedition, there were in the army of the emperor alone about seventy thousand mailed knights, besides the people on foot, women and children, and light-armed cavalry. In the army of the king of France also it was estimated that there were seventy thousand valiant men wearing the breastplate, in addition to those on foot.[38] If God in His good pleasure had deigned to attend them and had granted them His mercy and saving grace, doubtless they might have subdued to the Christian faith not only the sultan but indeed all the provinces of the Orient. But the Lord in His just, although secret, judgment rejected their service and did not regard it as an acceptable offering, perchance because it was offered with unworthy hands.

20. *After crossing the Hellespont, the army of Emperor Conrad is led astray by the malice of the Greeks and drawn into very dangerous places.*

As soon as all the legions had been moved across the Hellespont, Emperor Conrad with some of the principal nobles of his suite took leave of the emperor and also sailed across the sea. The legions, each under command of its own leader, were then ordered to advance. Leaving Galatia, Paphlagonia, and the two provinces of Pontus on the left and Phrygia, Lydia, and Asia Minor on the right, Conrad marched straight through the center of Bithynia to Nicomedia, the metropolis of that land. On the right he passed Nicaea, the city where, in the time of Emperor Constantine, the synod of three hundred and eighteen holy fathers convened to combat the wicked doctrine of the unhappy Arius.[39] From here the entire army, in battle array, followed the shortest route to Lycaonia, the capital of which is Iconium.

At this place, the sultan had assembled large forces of armed men and also an immense body of Turks from the neighboring lands. He was awaiting a favorable time and place to attack the Christians as they tried to pass and thus to prevent their advance. By bribes and entreaties he had roused against our people all the kings, leaders, and chiefs of every degree, even in the most remote provinces of the East. By a constant succession of messengers, he had prayed them to consider that if such a mighty host of armed men were permitted to pass through

[38] Here again the numbers must be considered impressionistic rather than accurate.
[39] See earlier reference to the council of Nicaea in Book III, chap. 1, note 1.

the country without opposition, they would reduce the entire East to their sway by force of arms. A great number of nations responded quickly to his call and from the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Isauria, Cilicia, Media, and Parthia a vast multitude assembled. With the assistance of all these nations, he hoped that he might be able to resist with somewhat equal forces the mighty host which was said to be approaching.

On departing from Constantinople, Conrad had requested the emperor to furnish him with guides who knew the country and were well informed about the neighboring provinces. These men, however, proved to be far from trustworthy. It was understood that they had been furnished to lead the armies in all good faith so that the troops following them might not be exposed imprudently to dangers and difficulties or to lack of food while on the march. As soon as they had conducted the army into the land of the enemy, however, these guides informed the leaders that in order to take advantage of a shorter route, which led through unoccupied country, necessary food for a certain number of days must be carried with them. Within a few days thereafter, they faithfully promised that the armies would arrive at the far-famed city of Iconium and would find themselves in a most fertile country full of all kinds of provisions. Obedient to this injunction, the Christians loaded pack animals, carts, and all kinds of vehicles with provisions, for they trusted their guides and followed them in simple good faith.

The guides, however, led by the malice inherent in the Greek race and also by their customary hatred of the Christians, acted treacherously. Either because commanded by their master or because bribed by the Turks, they purposely led the legions by unfrequented routes and drew them into places which offered the enemy favorable opportunities to attack and overcome a credulous people.[40]

21. *The guides furnished by the Greek emperor to lead Emperor Conrad's army wickedly depart and leave the troops exposed to great danger.*

When the allotted number of days had passed and the expedition had not reached the destination so eagerly desired, the emperor ordered

[40] Chalandon, of course, discredits this charge of treachery and explains the disaster to Conrad's army on the theory that the people had become so enfeebled through thirst

the Greek guides to be brought before him. In the presence of his nobles he began to put searching questions to them: Why was it that the army had already been upon the march longer than had been stipulated in the beginning and yet had not reached its destination? The guides as usual resorted to falsehoods and asserted steadfastly that, with the help of God, all the legions would arrive at Iconium within three days. The emperor, a man without guile, readily believed their words and answered that he would endure these three days also, since he had faith in their promises. On the following night, camp was made in the usual manner, but while all were resting after their labors, these treacherous guides secretly fled in the dead of night and left the people who had been confided to their faithful care without leaders. At length the light of day returned and the time for resuming the march approached, but those who usually led the lines could not be found. The treachery of the deserters was finally reported to the emperor and the chiefs of the army, and their perfidy became known to all.

Moreover, these men of Belial, in order to add to their wickedness and heap crime upon crime, hastened to the army of the king of France, which was reported to be in the vicinity. There they falsely declared that Emperor Conrad, who had gone on ahead under their guidance, had been entirely successful and had gained an important victory over the enemy. He had seized Iconium by force of arms and had destroyed it from the very foundations.

It seems evident to us that they made this assertion either to induce the king to follow the same route and thus fall into the same perils, or, possibly, by leading him to believe that Conrad had been entirely successful, to prevent him from hurrying to the assistance of his imperilled brethren. It may be, however, that they invented this story to avert punishment from themselves. For if they had reported that the army had perished, they would have been seized as traitors, since it was by their wickedness that the people had rushed to their destruction. Whatever their intentions may have been, it is certain that it was their perfidy which led the betrayed army to descend into that abyss of death.

As soon as the emperor realized that the army was without guides,

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and hunger that they fell an easy prey to the fleet mounted Turks who hovered about (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 285–88).

he called a council of all the chiefs to consider what course of action must be taken. An utter lack of harmony was immediately disclosed; some declared that they must turn back, while others advised that they continue on their way. Well might it have been said of them in this crisis, "He poureth contempt upon princes and causeth them to wander in the wilderness where there is no way." [41]

While they were in this state of uncertainty, anxious over their ignorance of the country and concerned about the lack of provisions (for fodder for the horses and pack animals as well as all kinds of food supplies for the troops had entirely given out), there came a report that the enemy's army, a vast multitude of Turks, was near at hand. This proved to be true. The Christians were in a sterile wilderness, far from all cultivated land; they had been purposely led there, as we have said before, by their traitorous guides. They should have marched through Lycaonia, which they had left on the right. By this route they would have passed through a cultivated land full of all kinds of supplies and would have arrived at their destination in far less time. Instead, the Greeks led them to the left and forced the entire army to turn aside into the wilderness of Cappadocia, far from Iconium.

It was common talk, and probably quite true, that these perilous wanderings were devised with the knowledge and at the command of the Greek emperor, who has always envied the successful advance of the Christians. For it is well known that the Greeks have always looked with distrust on all increase of power by the Western nations (as they still do), especially by that of the Teutonic nation, as rivals of the empire. They take it ill that the king of the Teutons calls himself the emperor of the Romans. For thereby he seems to detract too much from the prestige of their own emperor, whom they themselves call monarch, that is, the one who rules supreme over all and therefore is the one and only emperor of the Romans.[42]

[41] Ps. 107:40.

[42] There was some foundation to this theory of jealousy. The inability of the two emperors to decide which should call upon the other when Conrad arrived at Constantinople caused not only embarrassment but actual trouble (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 277).

22. *The Turks make a sudden attack upon the Teutonic host; the legions are destroyed, but the emperor escapes.*

DURING this time, the emperor's army was suffering from hunger, from ignorance of the country, from long-continued privations, as well as from the difficulties of the roads, the lack of horses, and the burden of the baggage. Meanwhile, the Turkish satraps and officers of various ranks, well aware of the situation, assembled their forces and made a sudden attack upon the Christian camp. This unexpected action threw the legions into utter confusion, for they had not foreseen anything of the kind. The strength of the Turks lay in their swift horses, which had suffered from no lack of food, and in their light equipment of bows and arrows. With loud cries, they surrounded the camp and with their usual agility fell furiously upon our soldiers, who were retarded by their heavy armor. The Christians were superior to the foe in strength and practice in arms, yet, weighed down as they were with breastplates, greaves, and shields, they could not combat the Turks, nor could they pursue them very far from the camp. Their horses also, emaciated by hunger and the long marches, were utterly unable to gallop hither and yon. The Turks, on the contrary, charged en masse; while still at a distance they let fly countless showers of arrows which fell like hail upon the horses and their riders and brought death and wounds from afar. When the Christians tried to pursue, however, the Turks turned and fled upon their swift horses and thus escaped the sword of their foes. Our army, hemmed in on all sides, was in mortal danger from the constant showers of darts and arrows. They had no chance to retaliate or to engage the foe at close quarters, nor could they lay hold of the enemy. As often as they tried to make a counter-attack, the Turks broke ranks, eluded all their attempts, and galloped off in different directions. Then, when the Christians returned to their camp, the Turks reconstructed their lines, again surrounded our forces, and attacked even more furiously, as if they were besieging a town.

Thus, by the hidden, though just, purposes of God, the valor of these great Christian princes, whose arms and strength, courage and numbers had seemed incomparable, suddenly collapsed under the pressure of a rather mild warfare. Scarcely a vestige of their former glory remained, and merely a remnant of their vast forces. Of seventy thousand mailed knights and many companies of foot soldiers, countless

in number, barely a tenth part escaped, according to the statement of those who were on this expedition.[43] Some perished by hunger, others were cut down by the sword, and still others fell into the hands of the enemy as prisoners. The emperor escaped, however, with a few of his nobles. After several days, he succeeded with great difficulty in reaching the vicinity of Nicaea with the remnant of his followers.

But the victorious Turks, laden with spoils and enriched by countless treasures, with horses and arms even to superabundance, retired to their own fortresses. There, since they knew the country well, they eagerly awaited the coming of the king of France, for, according to report, he had reached practically these same parts. Since they had vanquished the superior forces of Emperor Conrad, they hoped even more easily to rout the army of the king of France. The result was, in fact, as they had anticipated.

The sultan of Iconium did not participate in this great adventure. Because God permitted it, a noble and powerful Turkish satrap called Paramus, who commanded the sultan's troops, accomplished this almost unhoped-for feat. The event took place in the month of November, in the year of the Incarnation 1146.

23. *The king of the Franks crosses the Hellespont and arrives with his host at Nicaea in Bithynia. The two sovereigns confer with one another. Emperor Conrad returns to Constantinople.*

MEANWHILE the king of the Franks, following almost the same route with his army, had arrived at Constantinople. There he remained for a short time. He held several private interviews with the emperor, who showed him great honor and, on his departure, presented him with bountiful gifts. The nobles of his suite also were treated with marked favor. From Constantinople the king passed into Bithynia with all his legions. At a point between the royal city and the Black Sea (which are distant from each other thirty miles), he crossed the Hellespont. Here it is at its narrowest, barely a mile in width. He then marched round the Nicomedian gulf which is so named from the adjacent city of Nicomedia, capital of Bithynia, and which also forms part of the

[43] William, then eighteen years old, probably talked with some of the survivors whom he met later at Jerusalem. His statement of the date of this disaster should be corrected to October 26, 1147. The proportion of the losses is probably fairly accurate.

Bosphorus or Hellespont. In the village of Nicaea, not very far from the city itself, the king established his camp until he should determine by what route to advance. He made careful inquiries about the emperor of the Romans, who had preceded him, and was told that the emperor had lost his army, but that he himself, a wanderer and a fugitive, had made his escape with a few of his nobles. At first this was merely a doubtful rumor, without trustworthy foundation. As time went on, however, it received definite confirmation. For a little later Frederick, duke of Swabia,[44] came to the army of the king of the Franks from the emperor's camp. He brought full and detailed information about the disaster, which up to that time had been known merely through vague and unreliable rumors.

The duke, a young man of admirable qualities, later succeeded his uncle, Emperor Conrad, as ruler of the Roman Empire, which he now governs with vigor and success. He had come to invite the king to a conference with the emperor, that they might consult together, albeit too late, over the route to be followed. On hearing of the tragic disaster which had befallen the emperor and the perils and destruction of their brethren, the entire army was moved with righteous indignation and pity. The king, deeply stirred by the duke's report, held counsel with his people. Then, under the duke's escort, he set out with some of his nobles to confer with the emperor, whose camp was not far away.

The two monarchs exchanged the customary salutations with the kiss of peace. They then engaged in a friendly conference, during which they decided to persevere in the accomplishment of their purpose and to join their forces for the advance march. Many from both hosts, however, and especially from that of the Teutons, disregarded their vows and returned to Constantinople. Their travelling money was exhausted, and the extreme hardships of the march and the necessary outlay terrified them.

After consulting with the chief commanders of both armies, the two monarchs abandoned the route which the emperor had previously taken on the left and directed the line of march toward Asia Minor. On their right were the two Phrygias and behind them Bithynia. They marched, now by the inland route, now by the road along the shore, with Philadelphia on the left, and came first to Smyrna. From there

[44] This was the future Frederick Barbarossa, king of Germany and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 1152–1190.

they proceeded to Ephesus, the capital of Asia Minor, famous for the life and preaching of John the Evangelist, and also the place of his burial. At Ephesus, the emperor commanded the legions which had survived to march back overland. He himself took ship and returned to Constantinople. The reasons for this action are unknown; perchance he was chagrined over the depleted numbers of the great host which he had led forth; perchance he found the arrogance of the Franks unendurable.[45] He was received by the emperor with even more marked distinction than before and remained at Constantinople with his nobles until the beginning of the following spring. The two sovereigns were closely united by marriage; for their wives were sisters, daughters of the elder Berengar, count of Sulzbach, a great and noble prince, very powerful in the kingdom of the Teutons.[46] Hence the emperor showed Conrad very great favor and, at the special request of the empress, lavished gifts upon him and his nobles most liberally.

24. *The king of the Franks proceeds by a different route to Ephesus. Here Guy of Ponthieu dies. In spite of the efforts of the foe, the Franks cross the river Meander.*

MEANWHILE the king of the Franks, much engaged with his nobles over preparations for the march, was tarrying at Ephesus to allow his army to recuperate. During this time, Count Guy of Ponthieu, a noble distinguished for his military skill and prowess, fell ill and died. He was buried with all due honor in the vestibule of the church at Ephesus. From here the king set out with the whole army and marched with all the speed possible toward the east. After a few days' march he reached the fords of the river Meander, beloved of swans. This is the river of which our Naso writes in the *Heroides:*

> So when destiny calls, cast down in the wet grass,
> The white swan sings at the shoals of the Meander.[47]

[45] The difference in speech, manners, and customs no doubt caused considerable friction. There was also the illness of Conrad. Manuel and his wife had come by ship to Ephesus, where Conrad was staying, and invited him to return with them to Constantinople, where Manuel himself looked after him (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 308).

[46] Bertha of Sulzbach had been betrothed to Manuel in 1142 before the death of Emperor John. Her name was changed to Irene and she was trained in Greek manners before her marriage in 1146 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 210, 260).

[47] Ovid *Her.* VII. 1–2.

Amid the green meadows on the banks of this river the king made his camp. Here for the first time, the longing of the Franks to see their foe was gratified, for as the Christians tried to approach the river, great numbers of Turks appeared on the opposite bank and prevented them from using the water. At last they found the fords, however, and, despite the enemy's efforts, forced a passage across the river and rushed upon the Turks. They killed many of them and took numerous prisoners. The rest turned and fled. The victorious Franks at once seized the Turkish camp, which was filled with spoils of the richest kind and supplies of every description, and by vigorous action made themselves masters of the farther bank. Filled with joy over the victory and the rich spoils which they had seized, the Christians passed a quiet night and, at dawn, prepared to resume the march.

Thence they advanced to Laodicea, a city of that same locality. Here they supplied themselves with provisions for several days, as was their custom, and again set forth as with one mind.

25. *The Frankish army suffers a most disastrous defeat. The vanguard which had gone on ahead escapes.*

A PRECIPITOUS mountain, very difficult of ascent, blocked the path of the advancing army. According to the plan of march, it must be surmounted that day. It was customary upon this campaign to designate each day a certain number of distinguished men to act as leaders—some to conduct the advance guard and others to bring up the rear as protection for the non-militant throng and especially for the crowd of people on foot. On these men also devolved the duty of planning with the nobles the route to be followed, the length of the march, and the location of the camp for the next day. On this particular day, the choice fell, in the order of his turn, upon a certain nobleman from Aquitaine named Geoffrey de Rancogne. Accordingly, he went on ahead with the standard of the king and ascended the mountain with the vanguard. His orders were that the vanguard should make camp on the heights. When he reached the summit, however, the greater part of the day still remained, and Geoffrey decided, notwithstanding his orders, to advance a little farther, for he felt that the march had been too short that day. The guides assured him that there was a better spot for the camp near by. Accordingly, he went on farther. The

people who were following the vanguard supposed that the camp was to be placed on the summit of the mountain, and, in the belief that the day's march was nearly completed, they began rather carelessly to lag behind. Thus the army was divided; some had already crossed the ridge, while others were still loitering upon it. The Turks, ever on the alert for an opportunity to attack, immediately recognized the situation; they were, in fact, ever following alongside the army with this very end in view, and from a distance they kept close watch on the movements of the Christians. The way was narrow and the ranks were separated, because the larger and stronger force had gone on ahead; the Turks knew that the situation of the rear ranks could not easily become known, nor could help be sent to them in their extremity. They took advantage of the favorable opportunity and seized the summit of the mountain, so as to cause still greater confusion between our van and the rear guard. Then in battle array, they fell upon our forces, and before the latter could seize arms the Turks had broken up their lines by force. No longer was the fight carried on with bows and arrows; it was fought at close quarters with the sword and brought death and destruction to the Christians. All who tried to flee were most cruelly pursued. Our people were hindered by the narrow defiles, and their horses were exhausted by the long marches and the difficulty of the roads. In addition, they were hindered by the enormous amount of baggage. Yet they resisted as with one accord and with unflinching courage fought valiantly on behalf of life and liberty and in defense of their companions of the way. They carried on the combat with swords and lances and by both words and example cheered each other to continued effort.

The Turks, inspired by the hope of victory, likewise endeavored to animate each other; they called to mind how, only a few days before, they had routed a much greater army with less danger and had easily triumphed over forces more numerous and far stronger.

The battle was long fought and of doubtful outcome. Finally, however, in punishment for our sins, the infidels conquered. Many Christians were killed and large numbers made prisoners; our army was reduced to a very few. Many noble and illustrious men perished that day, men notable for their military deeds and well worthy of pious remembrance. Among the number were the count of Varennes, a man preëminent even among great lords, Gauchiers de Montjoy, Evrard

de Breteuil, Itiers de Meingnac, and many others. Their names we do not remember, but we believe that they are written in heaven and their memory will be held in benediction forever.[48]

That day the glorious reputation of the Franks was lost through a misfortune most fatal and disastrous for the Christians; their valor, up to this time formidable to the nations, was crushed to earth. Henceforward it was as a mockery in the eyes of those unclean races to whom formerly it had been a terror.

Why was it, O blessed Lord Jesus, that this people, so devoted to Thee, who longed to adore the traces of Thy footprints and to kiss the venerated places which Thou hadst consecrated by Thy bodily presence, suffered defeat at the hand of those who hated Thee? Truly, Thy judgments are as a bottomless pit and there is no one who can understand them. For Thou, alone, O Lord, art able to do all things and there is no one who can resist Thy will.

26. *The king escapes by chance and joins the advance guard. The remnant of the army reaches Attalia and from there crosses over into Syria.*

MEANWHILE, the king, rather by chance than by his own efforts, escaped amid the great peril and confusion. In the silence of midnight, without a guide, he climbed the slope of the mountain so often mentioned and, with a few attendants, reached the camp which had been placed somewhat farther on. As has been said, the vanguard, following the royal standard, had traversed the narrow passes of the mountain without difficulty and had established camp without opposition in a suitable location. They were utterly unaware of all that had happened to the army in their rear. Yet when they found that the arrival of the troops was interrupted and great delay ensued, an ominous foreboding of some disaster prevailed, an inkling that all was not as could be desired. But when those who had escaped with the king arrived at the camp, the sad disaster became known with certainty. Then sorrow fell upon the army, and grievous anxiety seized the hearts of all. With tremulous voice and tearful sighs, each sought for those most dear to

[48] William's information about the French army is more complete and accurate than about the German army, a portion of which, under the leadership of Otto, bishop of Freising, had preceded the French on this road and had likewise met disaster at this pass.

him, and when they were found missing, grief was redoubled. The camp resounded with lamentations, and the troops were torn with anguish. Throughout the entire camp there was not a place which was not filled with mourning for friends and household companions. One sought his father, another his master. Here a woman was searching everywhere for her son, there another for her husband. Those whose search was fruitless passed a sleepless night, burdened with anxious fear lest the worst had happened to the absent ones. During the night, however, there arrived at the camp some of each class. These, rather by chance than by their own wisdom, had escaped death by hiding among the bushes and rocks or in underground caverns under the protection of the kindly darkness. This disaster occurred in January in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1146.[49]

From this time, there began to be a shortage of bread and all other provisions in the camp. Moreover, for many days thereafter, they had no market of any kind. But there was an even worse trouble. They had no guides to lead them and they were wandering now here, now there, without knowledge of the locality. Finally, however, they entered Pamphylia, over steep mountain passes and through deep valleys, and with great difficulty, although without conflict with the enemy, succeeded in reaching Attalia, the capital of that district. Attalia lies upon the seacoast and is subject to the emperor of Constantinople. It possesses very rich fields, which are, nevertheless, of no advantage to the townspeople, for they are surrounded by enemies on all sides who hinder their cultivation. Therefore, the fertile soil lies fallow, since there is no one to work it. Yet the place has many other advantages which it offers freely to visitors. It is most delightfully situated, it abounds in clear and healthful waters, and it is planted with fruit-bearing trees. The grain supply is brought from overseas in ample quantities, so that those resorting there are well supplied with the necessaries of life.

It borders very closely, however, on the land of the enemy, and since it was found impossible to endure their continual attacks, it became tributary to them. Through this connection, Attalia maintains trade in necessaries with the enemy. Our soldiers, unacquainted with the Greek language, corrupted the name of this city to Satalia. Accordingly that entire portion of the sea, from the promontory of Lissi-

[49] This may be a copyist's error, for the year was 1148.

dona to the island of Cyprus, is called the Attalic sea and is known in common parlance as the Satalian gulf.

At Attalia the king of the Franks and his people suffered from a serious shortage of food brought on by the great number of people who had come thither; in fact, the survivors of the army, and above all the poor, nearly perished of famine. Here the king left the people on foot and with his nobles went on board ship. Isauria and Cilicia were passed on the left, and the island of Cyprus on the right. After a short sea voyage with favorable winds, they sailed into the mouth of the Orontes river, which flows by Antioch, and landed at the place which is now called the Port of St. Simeon, near the ancient city of Seleucia, ten miles from Antioch.[50]

27. *Raymond, prince of Antioch, receives the king of the Franks with great honor at the Port of St. Simeon and conducts him to Antioch. Later, however, they are wickedly alienated.*

For many days Raymond, prince of Antioch, had eagerly awaited the arrival of the king of the Franks. When he learned that the king had landed in his domains, he summoned all the nobles of the land and the chief leaders of the people and went out to meet him with a chosen escort. He greeted the king with much reverence and conducted him with great pomp into the city of Antioch, where he was met by the clergy and the people. Long before this time—in fact, as soon as he heard that Louis was coming—Raymond had conceived the idea that by his aid he might be able to enlarge the principality of Antioch. With this in mind, therefore, even before the king started on the pilgrimage, the prince had sent to him in France a large store of noble gifts and treasures of great price in the hope of winning his favor. He also counted greatly on the interest of the queen with the lord king, for she had been his inseparable companion on his pilgrimage. She was Raymond's niece, the eldest daughter of Count William of Poitou, his brother.[51]

[50] His arrival here is dated March 19, 1148.

[51] This is the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine, prominent in the history of both France and England. Her betrothal to Louis had been brought about largely through the efforts of Suger, abbot of St. Denis and virtually prime minister of the kingdom. He anticipated the death of William X, duke of Aquitaine, without male heir and hoped through the marriage to enlarge the kingdom. William X died about the time of the marriage.

As we have said, therefore, Raymond showed the king every attention on his arrival. He likewise displayed a similar care for the nobles and chief men in the royal retinue and gave them many proofs of his great liberality. In short, he outdid all in showing honor to each one according to his rank and handled everything with the greatest magnificence. He felt a lively hope that with the assistance of the king and his troops he would be able to subjugate the neighboring cities, namely, Aleppo, Shayzar, and several others. Nor would this hope have been futile, could he have induced the king and his chief men to undertake the work. For the arrival of King Louis had brought such fear to our enemies that now they not only distrusted their own strength but even despaired of life itself.[52]

Raymond had already more than once approached the king privately in regard to the plans which he had in mind. Now he came before the members of the king's suite and his own nobles and explained with due formality how his request could be accomplished without difficulty and at the same time be of advantage and renown to themselves. The king, however, ardently desired to go to Jerusalem to fulfil his vows, and his determination was irrevocable. When Raymond found that he could not induce the king to join him, his attitude changed. Frustrated in his ambitious designs, he began to hate the king's ways; he openly plotted against him and took means to do him injury. He resolved also to deprive him of his wife, either by force or by secret intrigue. The queen readily assented to this design, for she was a foolish woman.[53] Her conduct before and after this time showed her to be, as we have said, far from circumspect. Contrary to her royal

[52] The prestige of the king of the Franks is attested by Qalanisi, who mentions Conrad as though he were merely a noble in the former's army (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 280–81).

[53] It must be borne in mind that, when William wrote this, Eleanor had been long separated from Louis VII and had taken her inheritance from Louis of France to Henry II of England. Louis and Eleanor were estranged when they returned from the crusade. They were of incompatible temperament, socially active and pleasure-loving Eleanor contrasting with the pious, almost puritanical Louis. Eleanor was thrilled by the elaborate social life of the East, both at Constantinople and at Antioch. Whether her indiscretions involved any more than overindulgence in this social life may be questioned. It became customary for French writers to place the more sinister interpretation upon the matter, so that legends soon circulated about her amours with various persons, including even Saladin, who at this time was about ten years of age. The sources of William's information about this matter were obviously French (see *R.K.J.*, p. 248, note 3).

dignity, she disregarded her marriage vows and was unfaithful to her husband.

As soon as the king discovered these plots, he took means to provide for his life and safety by anticipating the designs of the prince. By the advice of his chief nobles, he hastened his departure and secretly left Antioch with his people. Thus the splendid aspect of his affairs was completely changed, and the end was quite unlike the beginning. His coming had been attended with pomp and glory; but fortune is fickle, and his departure was ignominious.

Some people attribute this outcome to the king's own base conduct. They maintain that he received his just deserts because he did not accede to the request of a great prince from whom he and his followers had received kind treatment. This is of especial interest, because these persons constantly affirm that if the king would have devoted himself to that work, one or more of the above-named cities might easily have been taken.

28. *The winter being over, Emperor Conrad arrives in Syria by sea. Count Alphonse also lands at the city of Acre. He dies at Caesarea.*

EMPEROR CONRAD passed the winter in the royal city. He was treated with the utmost courtesy by the emperor of Constantinople, as befitted so great a prince, and on his departure received many and splendid gifts. Attended by his escort of nobles, he set sail for the East in a fleet which was provided by his imperial highness and landed at the port of Acre. From there he went on to Jerusalem. King Baldwin and Fulcher, patriarch of precious memory, accompanied by the clergy and the entire people, met him outside the city and, to the sound of hymns and chants, conducted him into Jerusalem.[54]

About that same time there also landed at the port of Acre a splendid and illustrious man, Alphonse, count of Toulouse.[55] He was a son of the elder Count Raymond, that great leader who rendered such important service on the first expedition. Alphonse was eminent because of his own worth but still more so because of the precious memory left by his father. While on his way to Jerusalem to give thanks for

[54] Conrad arrived in Jerusalem about the second week in April, 1148.

[55] See Book X, note 54.

the successful accomplishment of his pilgrimage, he stopped at the coast city of Caesarea. A few days after reaching there, however, he fell sick and died. It was rumored that he was poisoned, but the author of the fell crime was not discovered. The arrival of this man of famous memory had been anticipated with eagerness by the entire people, for it was hoped that he would bring to the kingdom the happy and prosperous omens of his father.

29. *The king of the Franks leaves Antioch and proceeds to Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem is sent to meet him.*

MEANWHILE, news was received at Jerusalem that the king of the Franks had left Antioch and was approaching the land of Tripoli. The nobles at once unanimously resolved to send Fulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem of precious memory, to invite the king with fitting words and salutary counsel to visit the kingdom. For it was feared that the prince of Antioch might become reconciled to him and call him back or that he might be detained by the count of Tripoli, his kinsman. In either case, the desires of the people of Jerusalem would be hindered.

The possessions of the Latins in the East were divided into four principalities. The first to the south was the kingdom of Jerusalem, which began at the brook between Jubail and Beirut, martime cities of the province of Phoenicia, and ended at the desert which is beyond Daron. The second toward the north was the county of Tripoli, which began at the rivulet just mentioned and extended to another stream between Maraclea and Valenia, likewise maritime cities. The third was the principality of Antioch. This began at the last-named rivulet and extended toward the west to Tarsus in Cilicia. The county of Edessa, the fourth division, began at the forest called Marrim and extended out toward the east beyond the Euphrates.

From the first, the great and powerful lords of these countries had cherished the hope that through the valiant assistance of these sovereigns who were coming they might be able to enlarge their own territories and extend their boundaries immensely. All had powerful enemies whose hated cities, so near their own territories, they longed to add to their own domains. All were anxious over their own affairs and eager to extend their lands. Accordingly, each one, intent on anticipating the others, sent messengers with gifts and invitations to the two monarchs. Of these, the hopes of the king and people of Jerusalem

seemed most likely to be realized. Love and reverent devotion for the holy places naturally drew all thither; moreover, the emperor was now with them. There was reason to believe that the king of the Franks would also hasten thither, both to accomplish his pilgrimage and to offer his prayers, and also that he might engage in some work for the advancement of Christianity, as decided by common counsel.

The chief men of the realm greatly feared that the king might be detained in the vicinity of Aleppo by the prince, to whom he was closely bound by the ties of marriage and affection, a contingency which seemed quite probable. They feared also that the queen might intervene. They therefore sent the patriarch to meet him.

When they learned, however, that the king and the prince had parted with far from friendly feelings, they felt increased hope that he would leave there without delay and come to Jerusalem. Yet to guard against the tricks of fortune and to anticipate anything that might happen, they sent the venerable patriarch to use his influence with the king. Nor was this hope in vain; the king was persuaded by Fulcher's words and proceeded at once to Jerusalem.[56] All the clergy and people went out to meet him on his arrival. With all due honor and ceremony he was welcomed to the city and, to the accompaniment of hymns and chants, was led with his nobles to the venerable places.

When at last his prayers had been accomplished according to custom, a general court was proclaimed at the city of Acre to consider the results of this great pilgrimage, the completion of such great labors, and also the enlargement of the realm. On the appointed day they assembled at Acre, as had been arranged. Then, together with the nobles of the realm who possessed an accurate knowledge of affairs and places, they entered into a careful consideration as to what plan was most expedient.

[56] William's clear analysis reveals one of the great weaknesses of the Latin East, but William apparently does not condemn the rivalry so long as Jerusalem gains by it.

HERE ENDS THE SIXTEENTH BOOK

HERE BEGINS THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK

THE CAPTURE OF ASCALON OFFSETS THE FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

1. *A general council is held at the city of Acre on the coast. The names of the princes who attended are given.*

IT seems well worth while and quite in harmony with the present history that the names of the nobles who were present at the council just mentioned, men who had come from lands of great importance, should be recorded here for the benefit of posterity. Foremost among these was the famous Conrad, king of the Teutons and emperor of the Romans. He was accompanied by the following ecclesiastical nobles of his court: Otto, bishop of Freising, his brother, a man of letters; [1] Stephen, bishop of Metz; and Henry, bishop of Toul, brother of Count Thierry of Flanders. Theotwin, bishop of Porto, the papal legate, a Teuton by birth, also accompanied the emperor's train by command of Pope Eugenius.

Among the secular princes present were Henry, duke of Austria, the emperor's brother; Duke Guelf, a distinguished and powerful noble; and Frederick, the illustrious duke of the Swabians and Vindelicians [probably Bavarians], son of the emperor's eldest brother. The last-named prince was a young man of remarkable character who later succeeded his uncle Conrad and now rules the Roman Empire with vigor and courage. There were present also Hermann, margrave of Verona; Berthold of Andechs, later duke of Bavaria; [the elder] William, margrave of Montferrat, the emperor's brother-in-law; and Guy, count of Blandras, whose wife was the sister of the margrave just named. The two nobles last mentioned, both great and distinguished

[1] Otto, bishop of Freising, the great German historian of the twelfth century, was a half brother of Conrad III. Their mother, widow of Conrad's father, married the duke of Austria. Otto, one of the younger members of a very large family, had been destined for an ecclesiastical career. When he finished his studies at Paris he was converted to the monastic life and entered the new Cistercian order. He became an abbot and later was chosen bishop. He accompanied Conrad on the crusade and was in charge of one of the detachments on the march across Asia Minor. His account of the crusade, however, is very meager, consisting chiefly of incidental mention in his two chief historical works, the *Chronicle* and the *Deeds of Frederick I.*

princes, were from Lombardy. Other noted men of high rank, whose names and titles we do not recall, also attended.[2]

Louis, most pious king of the Franks, of famous memory in the Lord, was also present. With him were Godfrey, bishop of Langres; Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux; Guy of Florence, cardinal-priest of the church of Rome, with title St. Chrysogonus, the legate of the apostolic see; Robert, count of Perche, the king's brother; and Henry, count of Troyes, son of the elder Count Theobald and also son-in-law of the king, a young man of fine character. With the king also were Thierry, the magnificent count of Flanders, brother-in-law of the king of Jerusalem; and Ives de Nesle from Soissons, a wise and loyal man. Many other important nobles of high rank were also present. All are worthy of remembrance, but since it would take too long to record them here, their names are intentionally omitted.[3]

From our own lands there were present Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, a youth of great promise, and his mother, a wise and circumspect woman, strong of heart and not inferior in wisdom to any prince whatsoever. They were accompanied by the Patriarch Fulcher; Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Rorgo, bishop of Acre; Bernard, bishop of Sidon; William, bishop of Beirut; Adam, bishop of Banyas; Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem; Robert, master of the Knights of the Temple; and Raymond, master of the Hospital.[4]

Among the lay nobles were: Manasses, the royal constable; Philip of Nablus; Elinandus of Tiberias; Gerard of Sidon; Walter of Caesarea; Payens, lord of the country which lies beyond the Jordan; the elder Balian; Humphrey of Toron; Guy of Beirut, and many others. To name each one individually would take far too long. All these great

[2] William's list of the German dignitaries is, as he confesses, not complete. The "Blandras" is probably Biandrate in Italy. Röhricht has added many names to this list (see R. Röhricht, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Land*, pp. 27–41, and *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 249).

[3] The author's greater familiarity with the French is here definitely stated. It is also evident in the greater amount and accuracy of his information about them. This fact led to the belief that he had used a French source, the *Gesta Ludovici*, for his information. The conclusion of the scholars' debate on this question, however, is that the *Gesta Ludovici* derived this portion of its chronicle from William's account (see Introduction, note 4).

[4] The archbishop of Tyre is missing from this nearly complete list of the prelates of Jerusalem. Ralph, the royal chancellor, who claimed the office, had not been confirmed by the pope. It is not improbable that William, then a theological student about eighteen years old, was himself present at Acre. It is unfortunate that he did not report more of the discussion at the council in light of the later events.

men had assembled, as we have said, at the city of Acre for the purpose of considering, first of all, the best time and place when, by the will of God, they might endeavor to enlarge the kingdom and add to the glory of the Christian name.

2. *They decide to lay siege to the city of Damascus and march thither as agreed upon.*

ACCORDINGLY, the matter was thoroughly discussed. Various opinions of diverse factions were offered and arguments pro and con presented, as is customary in matters of such importance. At last it was agreed by all that under the circumstances it would be best to besiege Damascus, a city of great menace to us. When this decision was finally reached, the herald was ordered to proclaim that upon the appointed day all with one accord must be ready to lead their troops to those parts. Accordingly, the entire military strength of the realm, both cavalry and infantry, natives and pilgrims alike, was mustered. The two great sovereigns, beloved of God, also arrived with their forces. Then, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year 1147 of the Incarnation of our Lord, led by the Cross of Salvation, the united armies proceeded, as had been arranged, to the city of Tiberias.[5] Thence, the entire host was conducted by the shortest route along the sea of Galilee to Banyas, which is Caesarea Philippi. Here the leaders conferred with persons well acquainted with the situation of Damascus and the adjacent country. Then, after consulting with their own leading men, they decided that the best way to blockade Damascus was first of all to take the orchards which surrounded the greater part of the city and afforded it much protection. When these had been seized the city itself could undoubtedly be easily taken.

In pursuance of this plan, therefore, they resumed the march. Crossing famous Mt. Lebanon which lies between Caesarea Philippi and Damascus, they descended into the plain at the village of Daria, four or five miles from the city. From this place the metropolis and the surrounding plain could be easily seen.

[5] The year should, of course, be 1148. It is not certain whether this is merely a copyist's error or a mistake in William's chronology.

3. *The situation of Damascus is described.*

DAMASCUS is the largest city of Lesser Syria, sometimes called also the Phoenicia of Lebanon. It is also the metropolis of that region, for, as we read, "the head of Syria is Damascus."[6] The name of the city is derived from its reputed founder, a servant of Abraham, and is, being interpreted, the bloody city or the city full of blood. It lies in a plain which is arid and sterile except as it is irrigated by ancient canals which bring the water from above for its benefit. From a neighboring mountain ridge in the upper part of that region, a river descends and is received in canals, whence its waters can be led at will through the plain and distributed over the various parts of the lands below to fertilize the sterile soil. Since the supply is very abundant, the river also waters the orchards on both banks, which are planted with fruit trees, and then continues on its course past the eastern wall of the city.

At Daria, since the city was now so near, the sovereigns drew up their forces in battle formation and assigned the legions to their proper places in the order of march. For, if they advanced without method, quarrels might arise which would hinder the work before them.

Because of its supposed familiarity with the country, the division led by the king of Jerusalem was, by the common decision of the princes, directed to lead the way and open a path for the legions following. To the king of the Franks and his army was assigned the second place or center, that they might aid those ahead if need arose. By the same authority, the emperor was to hold the third or rear position, in readiness to resist the enemy if, perchance, an attack should be made from behind, and thus to guard the troops ahead from surprise in the rear. When the three armies had been arranged in this strategic order, they moved the camp forward and endeavored to approach close to the city.

On the west, the direction from which our army was approaching, and also on the north, the orchards stretched out five miles or more in the direction of Lebanon and, like a dense, gloomy forest, encircled the city far and wide. To indicate the limits of each orchard and also to prevent trespassers entering at will, these groves are enclosed by walls of mud, for stone is scarce in that region. These enclose and protect the orchards in such a way that the holding of each owner is clearly

[6] Is. 7 : 8.

defined. Paths and public ways are left free, narrow to be sure, yet wide enough to allow the gardeners and caretakers to pass through them with the pack animals which carry the fruit to the city.

These orchards are of the greatest protection to the city. The vast number of trees planted close together and the narrow paths made it difficult—in fact, well nigh impossible—for anyone to approach Damascus from that side. Yet, from the very first, our leaders had determined to lead the army through the orchards and in this way open an approach to the city. There were two reasons for this: first, because after the most strongly fortified places on which the people of Damascus placed their greatest hope had been taken, all else would seem light and easily accomplished; secondly, because they wished to give the troops the benefit of the fruit and the water.

The king of Jerusalem, accordingly, was the first to lead his men through those narrow orchard paths. The army advanced with extreme difficulty, however, sometimes hindered by the narrow ways and again harassed by the wiles of the enemy who lay hidden in the copses. Occasionally, it was even necessary to engage in open conflict, for the foe had already blocked the approach and seized the winding paths. The people of the city had come out into the orchards as with one accord, that they might try to stop the passage of the army, both from cover and by open attack.

Within the orchards themselves, moreover, rose high buildings well defended by men whose possessions lay close by and who were determined to fight for them. From these vantage points they kept up a constant downpour of arrows and other missiles which effectually protected the gardens and prevented all approach. Arrows shot from a distance also made the public thoroughfares very unsafe for travel. Nor did these formidable measures against our advance proceed from one part of the gardens only; from every direction there was equal danger for any incautious passer-by. Peril of instant death from another source was also to be feared. Along the wall inside lurked men armed with lances who, themselves unseen, could look out through small peepholes carefully arranged in the walls and stab the passer-by from the side. It is said that many perished miserably in this way that day. Innumerable other dangers of various kinds also beset all who tried to traverse those narrow ways.

4. *The Christians force their way into the orchards and, in spite of the enemy's efforts, take possession of the river with a strong hand. A remarkable feat of the emperor, well worthy of wonder, is described.*

THE Christians, well aware of the situation, pressed on all the more fiercely. They broke down the barricades by force and eagerly took possession of the orchards. All persons found within the enclosures or in the houses there were either put to the sword or taken captive. On learning this, the townspeople who had come out to help defend the orchards departed in terror lest the same fate should overtake them and fled to the city in crowds. So, since the enemy had been either routed or slain, our troops entered without further opposition.

It was realized that the Christians would presently advance from the orchards to besiege the city. Accordingly, the cavalry forces of Damascus and of their allies who had come to help them hastened to the river which flows by the city. By using their bows and ballistae they hoped to keep the weary soldiers from the river and to prevent them from relieving their intense thirst by means of its eagerly desired waters. On hearing that the river was so near, the Christians had, indeed, hurried thither, intent on satisfying the cruel thirst which their strenuous labors and the clouds of dust raised by the feet of horses and men had induced. The sight of the large forces massed on the river bank caused them to halt for a little. Soon, however, they rallied. Necessity furnished them courage and boldness; once and again they strove to gain the river but without success.

While the king and his knights were exerting themselves thus to no purpose, the emperor, in command of the forces following, demanded to know why the army did not advance. He was told that the enemy was in possession of the river and would not allow our forces to pass. Enraged at this news, Conrad with his knights galloped swiftly forward through the king's lines and reached the fighters who were trying to win the river. Here all leaped down from their horses and became foot soldiers, as is the custom of the Teutons when a desperate crisis occurs. Holding their shields before them, they engaged the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight with swords. The Damascenes at first resisted bravely, but soon, unable to sustain the onslaught, they abandoned the river and fled to the city with all possible haste.

During this engagement, the emperor is reported to have performed a memorable feat. He is said to have slain in a most remarkable way a Turkish knight who was making a strenuous and courageous resistance. With one blow of the sword, he severed from the body of his enemy the head and neck, the left shoulder with the arm attached, and also a part of the side. This indeed caused such terror, not only to those citizens who witnessed the feat but even to those who merely heard the story from others, that they lost all hope of resisting and despaired even of life itself.[7]

5. *The citizens, in their despair, meditate flight. They bribe some of the Christian leaders, at whose instigation the army is transferred to the opposite side of the city.*

So the river was won and the bank freely conceded. The Christians now encamped in widespread ranks around the city and, without opposition, enjoyed at pleasure the river and the orchards thus won by force. The citizens were overwhelmed with astonishment at the number and valor of the Christians. They began to doubt whether their strength was sufficient to withstand them, and in terror lest their foes should suddenly fall upon them, they took counsel together and, with that cleverness which ever attends those in adverse and distressing circumstances, resorted to desperate measures. With tall beams of immense size they barricaded all the streets on the side of the city where our camp was located, for their only hope lay in the chance that they might escape in the opposite direction with their wives and children, while the Christians were engaged in tearing down these barriers.

To all appearance it seemed certain that, if divine power was propitious, the city would soon be taken by the Christians. But He, who is "terrible in his doing toward the children of men,"[8] judged otherwise. The city was in desperate straits, her citizens had lost all hope of resistance and were preparing to leave with all their effects in the hope of saving their lives. At this crisis, however, in punishment for

[7] This feat recalls the similar feat of Godfrey at the siege of Antioch. Both appear legendary. Qalanisi, who was in Damascus during the siege, heard nothing of it (see H. A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 283). Röhricht, however, is disposed to accept it, regarding the feat as another example of the proverbial "Schwabenstreich" (see *R. K. J.*, p. 252, note 1).

[8] Ps. 66: 5.

our sins, the Damascenes began to work upon the cupidity of some of our people. By offering inducements, they attempted to capture the hearts of those whose bodily strength they could not hope to overcome. Skilful arguments led certain of our nobles to assume the role of the traitor Judas and induced them, on assurance of receiving a great sum of money already collected, to endeavor to raise the siege. Led on by avarice, the root of all evil, these men allowed themselves to be so corrupted by bribes and promises that they descended into the depths of crime. Their wicked suggestions persuaded the king and the pilgrim princes, who fully relied upon their loyalty and assiduity, to leave the orchards and move the armies to the opposite side of the city. In order to conceal their guilt under some plausible pretext, they said that on the opposite side of the city which faced south and east there were no protecting orchards and neither river nor moat to hinder the approach to the fortifications. The low wall, built of unbaked bricks, they declared, could scarcely sustain the first attack. There would be little need of machines or strenuous efforts on that side, for the wall would fall at the first attempt and it would not be difficult to force a passage into the city. Their sole purpose in presenting these arguments was to cause the removal of the army from its present position, for here the city was particularly hard pressed and powerless to hold out, while on the other side the siege could not possibly be long maintained. This specious talk was believed by the kings and all the principal leaders of the united host. The position which had been won with great toil and loss of men was abandoned, and under the direction of the traitors all the legions were moved, and camp was established on the opposite side of the city.

They soon perceived, however, that this position was far away from the abundant fruit and the convenient supply of water, and as food was already beginning to fail they realized that treachery had been at work. Then, all too late, they began to murmur that they had been maliciously induced to move from that most advantageous position.[9]

[9] This maneuver as here described does little credit to the intelligence of the leaders of the expedition. None of the Arab writers mention such a shift of the Christian camp. Qalanisi, the best authority on the siege, gives a day-by-day description of the battles from Saturday to Thursday with a statement of the location. According to him, the Christians remained in the same general area until the day when they withdrew from the siege entirely (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 282–87). Stevenson has refused to accept William's statement about the change.

6. *Food fails in the Christian camp. The wickedness of the traitors is revealed. The siege is raised and our people return home.*

Food now began to fail in the camp. Before setting out on the campaign, the Christians had been led to believe that the city would be taken without delay, and hence supplies for a few days only had been brought. This was especially the case with the pilgrims, and for it they could not be blamed, since they had no knowledge of the country. They had been persuaded to believe that Damascus would be easily taken at the first attack; in the meantime, even if all other food should be lacking, they had been assured that a vast army could be fed on the fruit which could be had for nothing. Great doubt and perplexity assailed the Christians in this emergency. Consultations were held openly and in private as to what course should be taken. To return to the position they had left seemed difficult, in fact, impossible. For as soon as the Christians departed, the enemy, their end accomplished, immediately entered in and established even stronger defenses than before. The roads by which the Christians had previously entered were now barricaded with immense beams and heavy masses of rocks, and a large body of archers, located there, now prevented all possibility of entrance. On the other hand, to make the attack from the present position of the camp would require some delay, a matter which the inadequacy of the food supply would not permit.

The pilgrim princes therefore took counsel with one another. All too clearly they now perceived the treachery of those to whose loyalty they had entrusted their lives and interests and abhorred the perfidy by which they had been deceived. Convinced that their undertaking had no chance of success, they determined to abandon it and return home. Thus, because of our sins, the kings and princes who had gathered in untold numbers were compelled to retreat without accomplishing their purpose. Covered with confusion and fear, they returned to the kingdom over the same road by which they had come. Henceforward, as long as they remained in the Orient, and, indeed, ever after, they looked askance on all the ways of our leaders. They justly declined all their plans as treacherous and showed utter indifference about the affairs of the kingdom. Even when permitted to return to their own lands, the memory of the wrongs which they had suffered

still rankled, and they regarded with abhorrence the wicked conduct of those nobles. Not only was this true in regard to themselves, but their influence caused others who had not been present there to slacken in love toward the kingdom. As a result, fewer people, and those less fervent in spirit, undertook this pilgrimage thereafter. Moreover, even to the present day, those who do come fear lest they be caught in the same toils and hence make as short a stay as possible.

7. *Various opinions are expressed as to the responsibility for this great treachery. It is proposed to lay siege to Ascalon a second time, but the attempt is unsuccessful.*

I RECALL that I have often interviewed wise men and those whose memory of those times is still fresh, particularly with a view to using the information thus obtained in the present history.[10] I endeavored to learn the reason for this great wrong; who were the instigators of such treachery; and how so detestable a crime could have been carried through. I found that the reports vary greatly in regard to this matter. Some think that a certain act of the count of Flanders was responsible; for, as has been said, he was with the army on this expedition.[11] After our legions arrived before Damascus, when the orchards and the river had already been seized by force and the city lay under siege, he is said to have approached each of the kings separately, one after another, and urgently demanded that the city when taken be given to him. It is said that this was granted. Although some of the great lords of our realm gave their consent, yet others, on hearing of it, were indignant. They resented the fact that this great prince, whose own possessions should

[10] William here reveals one of his favorite methods of obtaining information. Note his unwillingness to accept one account alone or even to indicate a strong personal preference. The failure of this crusade was a great blow to the expectations which Europe had entertained for it, not only because it was led by two great monarchs, but even more because it had been sponsored by Bernard of Clairvaux, who was already widely regarded as a saint. Only treachery would satisfy the latter's many friends as the explanation of the failure. William apparently shared the feeling (see E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux*).

[11] Theodore, or Thierry, of Flanders visited the Holy Land at least three times (1137, 1148, and 1157), each time accompanied by a considerable force which did some fighting for the Latin states. Perhaps this led to the impression that he desired to gain territory there for himself. His wife, Sibylla, it must be remembered, was a daughter of King Fulk and therefore half sister of young Baldwin III. According to Robert of Torigni, she ultimately entered a convent in the Holy Land. There is no real basis for the charge here made. It does however reflect a chronic suspicion which the Latin nobles in the East felt toward the nobles from the West.

have sufficed for him and who was seemingly fighting without recompense for the glory of the Lord, insisted that so large a portion of the kingdom be given to him. They themselves were hoping that whatever increase accrued to the realm through the valiant efforts of these princes might be used to enlarge their own possessions. Actuated by resentment, therefore, they stooped to this wicked course, for they preferred that the Damascenes should keep their city rather than to see it given to the count. It seemed utterly unjust that they who had endured untold privations and whose lives had been spent in fighting for the kingdom should now be passed over without hope of reward, while others who had only recently come should gather in the fruits which they themselves had earned by long-continued labor.

Others say that the prince of Antioch used all his influence to cause the king's enterprise to fail. He was incensed because the latter had parted from him in anger and, despite many kindnesses, had not assisted him in any way. Accordingly, he prevailed on some of the nobles in the army to manage affairs in such a way that the king was compelled to abandon the project and retire ingloriously.

Still other stories are to the effect that nothing happened except that the enemy bribed certain persons by a vast sum of money to bring about this great disaster. They still speak of it as marvellous that afterwards all this money so wickedly obtained was found to be spurious and utterly worthless.[12]

Thus opinions differed as to the responsibility for this detestable act, but I have been unable to obtain definite information on the subject. Whoever the guilty ones are, however, they may be sure that in due time they will obtain the reward which they justly deserve, unless, indeed, they seek forgiveness, when God, in His gracious mercy, may grant them pardon.[13]

[12] This charge also appears somewhat legendary. Two later Syrian writers claimed that Elinandus or Helinandus of Tiberias was the guilty person, and that the fifty thousand gold pieces which he received from Damascus were later found to be spurious. It must be put to William's credit that he refused to attach any name to the charge.

[13] The charge of treachery for the failure of the siege of Damascus and of the Second Crusade was also made by later writers against the Hospitallers, the Templars, and even Baldwin III, none of whom William includes in his list. One or two very important facts have been regularly overlooked in the discussion. The army that besieged Damascus was not a very large one, probably no larger than the one which had attempted the same task twenty years before. There were more and greater names in the army, each betokening a large following in the West, but not here, because most of the leaders had come by boat from Attalia or other ports of Asia Minor,

Thus it was, as has been related, that our people returned without glory. The Damascenes rejoiced in their departure, for fear of the Christians had lain heavy upon them. As for our people, on the contrary, "my harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep." [14]

On returning to the kingdom, the kings again called an assembly of the nobles and tried, but in vain, to arrange for undertaking some other work which would render their memory glorious in the eyes of posterity. It was suggested by some that they lay siege to Ascalon, which was still in the hands of the infidels. Since this city lay nearly in the center of the kingdom, everything necessary could easily be transported thither and it would be a short and easy task, they maintained, to restore it to the Christian faith. Many similar proposals were made, but each was abandoned as the first had been, and almost before it was conceived it was rejected. For the Lord in His wrath seemed to render all their undertakings of no avail.

8. *The Emperor Conrad returns to his own land, but the king of the Franks tarries in Syria.*

THE Emperor Conrad now perceived that the Lord had withdrawn his favor from him and had denied him the privilege of taking further part in the affairs of the kingdom. He therefore ordered his ships to be made ready, said farewell, and returned to his own realm. Within a few years after this, he died at Bamberg and was there buried with much magnificence in the great church. He was a man of fine appearance, pious and merciful, distinguished for his lofty spirit and for his wide experience in military affairs. His life and character were exemplary in every respect, and his memory is held in benediction.[15]

Frederick, the illustrious duke of Swabia, who had been the in-

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while their less fortunate followers had to follow the land route and were cut down by famine, thirst, and Turks. The army which besieged Damascus, therefore, consisted of too many officers and not enough troops. Qalanisi adds a factor which undoubtedly also played its part, namely, that Muslims summoned by letter were arriving in constantly increasing numbers and Nureddin himself was on the way to relieve Damascus. This news discouraged the Christians (see B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweitten Kreuzzugs*, p. 200; F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, p. 84).

[14] Job 30: 31.

[15] Conrad III died in 1152 and was succeeded, as William states, by his nephew Frederick I, Barbarossa, who ruled until 1190.

separable companion of the emperor on his pilgrimage, suceeded him on the throne. He was a young man of fine character, the son of Conrad's eldest brother, and he it is who today rules the empire with vigor and success.

The king of the Franks passed a year among us. Then, at the time of the spring crossing, after celebrating Easter at Jerusalem, he returned to his own land with his wife and nobles. On his arrival there, remembering the wrongs which he had suffered from his wife on the journey and, in fact, during the entire pilgrimage, he decided to put her away. An annulment was solemnly granted in the presence of the bishops of his realm on the ground of blood relationship.[16] Immediately, without lapse of time, and even before she returned to Aquitaine, her paternal inheritance, she was taken to wife by Henry, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. Shortly after the marriage, Henry succeeded Stephen, king of the Angles, who died without male children.

The king of the Franks, happier in his second choice, then espoused Maria, daughter of the emperor of Spain, a maiden pleasing to God and highly esteemed for her saintly life and character.[17]

9. *Nureddin invades the land of Antioch; Prince Raymond attacks him; a battle ensues; Raymond is slain.*

From this time, the condition of the Latins in the East became visibly worse. Our enemies saw that the labors of our most powerful kings and leaders had been fruitless and all their efforts vain; they mocked at the shattered strength and broken glory of those who represented the substantial foundations of the Christians. With impunity they had scorned the actual presence of those whose very names had formerly terrified them. Hence their presumption and boldness rose to such

[16] Louis VII returned to France in the summer of 1149. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, who had originally arranged the marriage, sought to prevent the separation of the estranged couple and was successful up to the time of his death in 1151. At the beginning of spring in 1152, however, Louis had the marriage declared void on the grounds of consanguinity. Eleanor was so much sought by ambitious suitors that she had to flee to avoid being captured. She selected Henry of Anjou as her husband and was married to him little more than a month after the annulment. He became king of England in 1154 and, with Eleanor's inheritance, ruled over half of France as well.

[17] Her name was Constance, not Maria. She was the daughter of Alfonso VII, who is distinguished among the rulers of Castile and Leon as the "emperor." He was crowned "emperor in Spain" in 1135 in the presence of many Spanish princes, both Christian and Muslim. The title had been claimed by other earlier rulers and its memory lingered on after his time, but Alfonso VII is the one with whom the title is peculiarly associated (see R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, I, 89–91).

heights that they no longer feared the Christian forces and did not hesitate to attack them with unwonted vigor. Immediately after the departure of the two sovereigns, Nureddin, the son of Zangi who was mentioned above, mustered a vast army from all over the Orient and began to devastate the country around Antioch with unusual boldness. Perceiving that the land of the Latin princes was destitute of aid, he decided to invest the fortress called Neva.[18] Reliable news of this movement was brought to Raymond, prince of Antioch. Without waiting for the escort of his cavalry which he had ordered to be called, he at once hurried rashly to the place with a few men, for he was a man of undaunted and impetuous courage who allowed himself to be ruled by the advice of no one in matters of this kind. He found Nureddin still intent on the siege of the castle named above.

When Nureddin heard that the prince was coming, he hesitated to wait and encounter him, for he feared that Raymond might be bringing large forces with him. He therefore left the siege and retired to a place of safety. Here he remained until he could ascertain through repeated reports what kind of forces the prince had with him and whether still larger reserves were expected.

Elated by his first success and, as usual, undertaking more than he should have done, the prince began to be somewhat careless.[19] Although he possessed fortresses near by where he might have remained in safety with his followers and thence led them back without danger, he preferred to trust to the open plain. He deemed it unworthy that he should seem to have retired even temporarily, through fear of Nureddin, and preferred to expose himself to the wiles of the enemy. When Nureddin perceived that the prince had received no additional aid, he believed that he could easily conquer the forces that Raymond had brought with him. That night, therefore, he surrounded the prince's company and stormed the camp as if he were besieging a city.

When morning dawned, Raymond saw that he was ringed in by

[18] William fails to mention the earlier attack upon the fortress of Areima in Tripoli. According to Arab historians, Raymond II of Tripoli invited Nureddin and Anar, whose forces had been united when the former came to the relief of Damascus, to attack this fortress, which was then held by the widow and son of Alphonse of Toulouse. Raymond feared their pretensions to his prinicipality. Nureddin and Anar captured the fortress and carried off Bertram and his mother as prisoners. This happened shortly after the siege of Damascus had been abandoned (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 164).

[19] Nureddin's campaign in the territory of Antioch late in 1148 had been unsuccessful. Raymond of Antioch had indeed gained a victory over a portion of Nureddin's army.

the enemy's hosts, and too late, alas, he began to feel doubtful about his own strength. Nevertheless, he drew up his lines in battle formation, stationed his knights in order, and prepared to fight at close quarters. In this way the battle began; but Raymond's forces, being inferior in strength, were unable to withstand the great numbers of the foe. They turned and fled. The prince was left with only a few of his men around him. He fought valiantly, like the high-spirited and courageous warrior he was, but finally, wearied by killing and exhausted in spirit, he was slain by a stroke of the sword in the midst of the slaughter which he had wrought. The Turks cut off his head and right arm and left the mutilated remains among the corpses of the slain on the field.

Among others who fell in that engagement was that great and powerful knight, forever regretted by his own land, Renaud of Marash, to whom the count of Edessa had given his own daughter in marriage. Other nobles also fell at the same place, but their names are lost.

Raymond was a man of lofty spirit, one who had had much experience in warfare; he was greatly dreaded by the enemy, yet he was unlucky. The many noble and valiant deeds which he wrought in the principality are worthy of a special account, but we must hasten to resume the general history and can not delay for details of this kind or allow the pen to linger over them.

Raymond was slain in the year 1148 of the Incarnation of the Lord, on the twenty-seventh day of June, which is the feast day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. He was in the thirteenth year of his rule.[20] The place where he fell is called the Walled Fountain. It lies between the city of Apamea and the fortress of Rugia. The body of the prince was found among the other dead and was recognized by certain marks and scars. It was borne to Antioch and there interred with solemn rites amid the tombs of his predecessors, in the vestibule of the church of the Prince of the Apostles.

[20] This disaster occurred June 29, 1149. Nureddin followed up the victory by a successful siege of Apamea, which he captured July 26 (Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 165).

10. *Nureddin treats the entire region according to his own pleasure. The king hurries thither to render aid. The sultan of Iconium invades the land of the count of Edessa.*

In token of his victory and to increase his own prestige, Nureddin sent Raymond's head and right arm (which he had caused to be cut off for the purpose) to the caliph of Bagdad, the mightiest prince and monarch of the Saracens, as proof that the most formidable persecutor of the Gentiles was dead. It was then sent on to all the other Turkish satraps throughout the Orient.

The people of Antioch, deprived of the support of their great leader, abandoned themselves without restraint to grief. With plaintive words and tearful lamentations they recalled the great achievements of that valiant man. The report of his death not only cast gloom over those in the vicinity, but to all far and wide it carried woe and filled the hearts of both great and small with bitter sorrow.

Nureddin, like his father, was a mighty persecutor of the Christian name and faith. Since the prince of the land and the main part of his valiant forces had fallen in battle, he saw that the whole province lay at his mercy. Accordingly, he at once sent forth his troops and began to overrun the whole country in hostile fashion. After passing close to Antioch and burning everything in that vicinity, he went on to the monastery of St. Simeon, which lies high up on the mountains between Antioch and the sea. Here also he acted freely according to his own good pleasure and treated all with unrestrained license. From there he went down to the sea, which he now saw for the first time; and, in token that he had come as conqueror even to the sea, he bathed there in the presence of his army. On the return march, in passing, he seized the fortress of Harim, scarcely ten miles from Antioch, and at once carefully strengthened it with arms, food, and soldiers, so that it might be able to endure a siege of many days.

Panic now seized upon the entire people, and the land was humbled before him, because the Lord had given into his hand the flower of the army and the prince of the land. There was no one to offer powerful protection against the dangers which threatened them. Constance, the widow of Prince Raymond, had been left with two sons and two daughters [21] in some charge of the state and principality, but there was no

[21] Constance was still a very young woman, scarcely twenty-two years old at the death of her husband.

leader to undertake the duties of the prince and to rouse the people from their state of dejection. In this emergency Aimery, the patriarch of Antioch, an able man of great wealth, came forward as protector of the deeply afflicted land. Contrary to his usual habits, he supplied money liberally to hire troops and thus provided temporarily for the immediate necessities of the land.[22]

The news of Raymond's death and the desperate condition of Antioch overwhelmed the king of Jerusalem with consternation. He at once mustered troops for the relief of his brethren in distress and hastened to the land of Antioch. The disheartened people, who felt no confidence in themselves, were greatly comforted by his presence. He united the forces which he had led with him with troops from that entire region and called on the people to resist. To help them in regaining their wonted courage, he laid siege to the fortress of Harim, which, as was stated above, had been lately taken by the enemy. The place had been so carefully fortified, however, that, after spending several days there without success, he gave up the attempt and returned to Antioch.

The sultan of Iconium, on hearing of the death of the prince, also went down into Syria with an immense host.[23] He took many cities and fortresses in that land and finally laid siege to Turbessel, though Count Joscelin and his wife and children were within it. During this time, the king sent Humphrey the constable with sixty knights to protect the fortress of Ezaz and to prevent its being taken by the Turks.

The count finally released all the sultan's subjects whom he was holding as prisoners and, in addition, gave him twelve suits of armor. Thereupon, peace was concluded between them; the sultan departed and the count, delivered from the siege, proceeded the same day to Ezaz. Thence he hastened to Antioch to thank the king for the kindness which he had showed toward him. Then, after visiting that monarch, he said farewell and returned to his own land accompanied by the modest escort which he had brought with him.[24]

The king assumed the responsibility of the distressed country and for that purpose remained at Antioch until affairs were reduced to

[22] Aimery, whose election William had not approved, was in difficulties with the papacy at this time. His aid, under the circumstances, is all the more commendable.

[23] This was Masud, son of Qilij Arslan, who ruled the sultanate of Rum or Iconium 1116–1156.

[24] This visit of Baldwin III and Joscelin II must be dated in the latter part of 1149.

order as far as time and place permitted. Then, when some degree of tranquillity had been established, he went back to his own land to attend to his private affairs.

11. *After the king's departure from Antioch, the count of Edessa is captured by the enemy and dies ignominiously.*

JOSCELIN the Younger, count of Edessa, was far inferior to his father in character. He was a lazy, idle man, given over to low and dissolute pleasures, one who spurned good ways and followed base pursuits. He had pursued the prince of Antioch with insatiable hatred and regarded the fall of the latter as most fortunate for himself. He paid but slight attention to the truth of the saying, "When your neighbor's house is burning, your own property is in danger." [25] At the summons of the patriarch, it is said, he set out for Antioch at night. Attended only by a young man who was leading his horse, he had left his escort and turned aside to relieve the needs of nature, when, unknown both to those ahead and those following, he was attacked by brigands who rushed forth from ambush. He was seized and led in chains to Aleppo. There, overcome by the squalid conditions of the prison and the heavy iron chains, wasted by mental and physical sufferings, he reaped the result of his dissolute ways and came to a wretched end.

At dawn, the members of his escort, entirely unaware of what had happened, anxiously sought for their lord but could not find him. When their search proved without result, they turned back and reported the disaster that had overtaken them. Again the whole land was dazed with consternation. Hitherto the people had felt no compassion for the misfortunes of their neighbors, but now, overwhelmed by disaster themselves, they learned, by a similar experience, how to sympathize with the troubles of others. Some time later, it was learned from reliable sources that the count was a prisoner at Aleppo.[26]

His wife, a chaste and sober woman, one who feared God and found favor in His sight, was left with a minor son and two daughters. With the assistance of the principal men still left in the kingdom, she tried to govern the people to the best of her ability; and, far beyond the

[25] Horace *Ep.* I. XVIII. 84.

[26] Joscelin II had been captured by some of Nureddin's troops. According to Arab accounts he was kept in prison at Aleppo for nine years until the time of his death and forced to endure tortures of various kinds (see *R. K. J.*, p. 265). Qalanisi (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 300) dates his capture as May 5, 1150.

strength of a woman, she busied herself in strengthening the fortresses of the land and supplying them with arms, men, and food.

Thus, in punishment for our sins, these two countries were deprived of the wise counsels of their princes and, under the government of women, were holding their own with difficulty.

12. *The king and the lords of the realm rebuild Gaza, near Ascalon.*

Shortly after these events occurred in the land of Antioch, divine mercy visited the kingdom. Rising out of the depths of depression into which they had fallen because of the repeated disasters that had overtaken them, the king and his nobles again took heart and resolved to rebuild Gaza. By this course, they hoped to put a more effective curb on their redoutable enemies, the people of Ascalon, and to prevent their disastrous raids.

Gaza, a very ancient city, lay about ten miles south of Ascalon. It was now in ruins and entirely uninhabited. This place they resolved to reconstruct, so that Ascalon might be hemmed in on the south just as it was on the north and east by the fortresses they had built there. From this direction also repeated attacks against that city could be made and aggressive warfare carried on without ceasing. Accordingly, on the appointed day the entire people assembled as one man at the place designated. They attacked the work with concerted efforts and each vied with his neighbor in assisting to rebuild the place.

This same Gaza, a most ancient city, was one of the five cities of the Philistines. It was celebrated for its buildings, and many handsome churches and spacious houses of marble and huge stones, though now in ruins, still gave splendid evidence of its ancient glory. Many reservoirs and wells of living water also still remained. It was built on a slight eminence and enclosed within its walls much widespread territory.

The Christians realized that it would not be expedient to rebuild the whole city and also that their strength might not be sufficient for such a task at that time. They therefore took a part of the hill, laid foundations of suitable depth, and built a fortress notable for its wall and towers. Within a short time, by the help of God, the work was successfully completed. When entirely finished in all its parts, it was committed by general consent to the care of the Knights of the Tem-

ple, to be held by them in perpetuity together with all the adjacent district. This charge the brothers, brave men and valiant warriors, have faithfully and wisely guarded even to this time. Again and again they have vigorously assaulted Ascalon, sometimes openly and again by attacks from ambush. As a result, those enemies who formerly overran and desolated the whole region and made themselves dreaded by the Christians, now consider themselves most fortunate if, by entreaties or money, they can obtain a temporary peace and permission to dwell quietly within their walls.

Gaza proved useful not only in restraining Ascalon, for whose annoyance it had been built, but, after that city had been conquered, it also served as a fortified boundary at the south and was a great protection to that district against the Egyptians.

In the early spring, when the interior of the fortress was partly finished, the king and the patriarch returned to Jerusalem.[27] They left at Gaza the Knights of the Temple, to whose care the castle was committed. Now, the Egyptians were in the habit of sending additional forces three or four times a year to reinforce the strength of the Ascalonites.[28] After the king's departure, it happened that these forces appeared in large numbers before the stronghold at Gaza and made a furious attack on the place, whither the townspeople had fled through fear of the foe. After several days had been wasted in the siege, however, the officers in command perceived that their efforts were in vain and departed for Ascalon. From that day the strength of the foe was apparently weakened and their power of injuring decreased until gradually they ceased to harry the lands around them.

The Egyptian army, also, which, as we have said, had so often brought aid to the now afflicted city, presently began to come by sea only. They feared the ambuscades arising from the fortress lying on the way and stood in great awe of the knights.

[27] The building of this fortress must have occurred in the winter of 1149–1150. According to Qalanisi the king was still engaged in that work when he was summoned by Damascus to help repel Nureddin's attack upon that city. Anar had died August 28, 1149. The combination of unusually heavy rains in April and the coming of Baldwin III discouraged Nureddin at this time so that he signed a treaty of peace with Damascus May 1, 1150 (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 299–300).

[28] William persists in his statement that the garrison was changed three or four times each year, though the settled policy of the Egyptians was to change it twice each year. The first serious test of this fortress occurred in 1152. Perhaps William has that in mind (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 312).

13. *Serious discord arises between the king and his mother; he is crowned without her knowledge.*

At this time, the affairs of the kingdom in the East were progressing satisfactorily and a certain degree of tranquillity prevailed. This condition was somewhat impaired, however, by the fact that the county of Edessa had passed into the power of our enemies and was thus lost to us; and, also because the land of Antioch was constantly subject to hostile attacks. Presently, Satan, the enemy of man, who is ready to sow the seeds of tares, began to look with envy upon our prosperity and sought to disturb our peace by exciting civil dissensions. The origin and cause of the trouble was as follows. As has been related, Queen Melisend, of glorious and pious memory in the Lord, was left, on the death of her husband, with two children still under age. Acting as their legal guardian, she assumed as by hereditary right the care and administration of the realm. With the advice of the barons of the realm, strenuously and faithfully, beyond the strength and courage of women, she had ruled as regent up to that time. Her eldest son, Baldwin, of whose acts we are now writing, lived in entire harmony with her and wisely complied with her dictates, even after he ascended the throne.

Among others on whose assistance and counsel she relied was her kinsman, Manasses, a man of high rank and her intimate friend. As soon as she undertook the government, she made him constable and put him in supreme command of the army. He, taking advantage of the queen's favor, is said to have conducted himself very haughtily. He assumed an insolent attitude of superiority toward the elders of the realm and refused to show them proper respect. This roused intense hatred toward him on the part of the nobles, and, if the authority of the queen had not been exerted, they would have carried their animosity into action. Manasses had married the widow of the elder Balian, a noble matron, mother of the three brothers, Hugh, Baldwin, and Balian of Ramlah. By this alliance he had acquired much wealth and had greatly increased his possessions. The king was foremost, both in feeling and act, among those who hated Manasses and claimed that the man was alienating his mother's good will from him and thwarting her munificence.

There were many who hated the power and evil domination of this man. They continually fanned the flame of the king's dislike toward

him and constantly urged that he remove his mother from the control of the kingdom. Now that he had reached years of maturity, they said, it was not fitting that he should be ruled by the will of a woman. He ought to assume some of the responsibility of governing the realm himself.[29]

Influenced by the counsels of these advisers and others like them, the king determined to be crowned at Jerusalem on Easter day. The patriarch and other wise men who desired peace for the kingdom begged him earnestly to allow his mother to participate in his glory. By the advice of the counsellors just mentioned, however, he deferred the time which had been set for the ceremony in order that his mother should not be crowned with him. Then unexpectedly, on the following day, without summoning his mother he appeared in public, crowned with the laurel.

14. *The kingdom is divided between the mother and son. The king enters Jerusalem by force and makes his mother a prisoner in the tower of David. Peace and tranquillity are finally restored.*

WHEN the solemnity was over, the king called an assembly of his nobles, Count Ives of Soissons and Walter, the castellan of St. Omer, being also present. Baldwin went to his mother and demanded that she at once divide the kingdom with him and assign to him a portion of his ancestral heritage. After much deliberation on both sides, the inheritance was finally divided. The king was given the choice and took for his share the maritime cities in the lands of Tyre and Acre with their dependencies. Jerusalem and Nablus, also with the cities pertaining to them, were left to the queen. Thus they were separated from one another, and the people hoped that, for the sake of peace, the agreement determined upon might endure and that they would be contented with the portion which had fallen to each of them. At this time, also, the king appointed as his constable and commander of the army a certain magnificent noble, Humphrey of Toron, who had great

[29] Baldwin III reached the age of twenty-one in the year 1151. The legal age at which a king might reign in Jerusalem was fifteen. Baldwin III must have become increasingly restive under the rule of his mother and her able but unpopular constable. It would seem reasonable to expect this trouble in 1151, though Röhricht has put it in the following year (see *R. K. J.*, pp. 268–70).

and extensive possessions in Phoenicia among the mountains which lie near Tyre.

But not even in this way was the wish to persecute the queen stilled. On the contrary, the still-smouldering fire was rekindled on trivial pretexts and blazed forth into a conflagration far more dangerous than before. At the instigation of those same nobles to whose counsels he had formerly harkened, the king again began to make trouble for his mother. He proposed to seize that portion of the kingdom which she had received by the good will of both, and thus wholly exclude her. On learning of his design, the queen left Nablus in the care of some of her loyal nobles and hurried to Jerusalem.

The king, in the meantime, mustered as large a force as possible and besieged Manasses in one of his own castles called Mirabel. The latter was forced to surrender and compelled to renounce the kingdom and all the region on this side of the sea [Palestine]. The king then seized Nablus and advanced to Jerusalem in pursuit of his mother.

Certain nobles whose possessions lay within the queen's domains and who were attached to her by merely nominal loyalty disregarded their oaths of fealty and withdrew from her. The few who adhered to her cause, however, preserved a strict loyalty. Among these were her son, Amaury, count of Jaffa, a very young man; Philip of Nablus; and Rohard the Elder, with a few others whose names are unknown.

When the queen heard that her son was advancing with an army, she retired to the citadel with her household staff and loyal followers and trusted herself to the defenses of the fortress. But the Patriarch Fulcher, of good memory, perceived that dangerous times and days of peril were threatening. Desiring to intervene as peacemaker and plead for proposals of peace, he took with him religious and God-fearing men from among the clergy and went out to meet the king. He admonished him to desist from his wicked project, to abide by the terms of the agreement, and to suffer his mother to rest in peace. As these warnings were of no avail, however, he returned to the city in utter detestation of the king's purpose.

The king, bent on carrying out his intention, placed his camp before the city, and the citizens, to avert the royal wrath, finally opened the gates and admitted him with his troops. He at once laid siege to the citadel, whither his mother had retreated. He set up his engines in position for assault and, with ballistae, bows, and hurling machines,

stormed it in enemy fashion. So incessant were the attacks that the besieged were denied any chance to rest. They, on their part, resisted with all their might and strove to repel force by force. Using the same methods employed by the besieging force outside, they hesitated not to hurl back injuries upon their enemies and to work equal destruction upon them.

The contest lasted for several days with great peril to both sides, for the king, although he made little progress in capturing the citadel, was still loath to withdraw. At length, however, certain individuals came forward as mediators of peace and amity. The queen was induced to be content with the city of Nablus and its territory and to resign Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, to the king. A guarantee was offered on the part of the king and a solemn oath given that he would not molest her in the possession of that city in perpetuity. Thus they were restored to the good graces of one another; and as the morning star which shines forth in the midst of darkness tranquillity again returned to the kingdom and the church.

15. *The sultan of Iconium again invades the county of Edessa. The king repairs thither with all haste.*

NEWS of the deplorable disaster which had resulted in the capture of the count of Edessa was brought to the king of Jerusalem, and from reliable sources he learned that Edessa, left entirely without a defender, was lying exposed to the wiles of the enemy. That entire province and the land of Antioch as well, abandoned to feminine rule, required the king's care. In response to this urgent need, Baldwin took with him Humphrey the constable and Guy of Beirut and repaired to the land of Tripoli. From the queen's domains he had been unable to obtain any response, although he had summoned each of her nobles by name. At Tripoli he was joined by the count of that land and his knights, and the whole force proceeded as rapidly as possible to Antioch.

It was said everywhere, and it was in fact true, that a powerful Turkish prince, the sultan of Iconium, with immense cavalry forces had invaded that country and seized nearly all the region bordering on his own territory. The inhabitants, unable to resist and to withstand the might of his army, had surrendered to him all their cities and fortresses on condition of being granted a safe and unhindered exit with their wives and children and safe conduct to Turbessel. That place was

better fortified than the others and had more inhabitants, the count had his permanent residence there, and it appeared to be, as yet, undisturbed. But when he, the sultan, had seized all the district with the exception of a few fortresses, he was obliged to return home to attend to more important affairs. Even so, the hardships of the provincials were not lessened, nor was their anxiety diminished. For Nureddin, that most troublesome persecutor of our people and a very powerful Turkish prince, was harrying the entire region. So incessant were his attacks that no one dared to appear outside the fortresses. Thus that wretched people was continually ground, as it were, between two millstones. It was tortured beyond endurance by two exceedingly great princes, although barely able to endure the violence of one.

16. *The emperor of Constantinople sends an army to the land of Antioch. He demands that the county of Edessa be surrendered to him. He obtains his demand. The fortresses are surrendered to the Greeks. The king leads the Latins forth.*[30]

In the meantime, the emperor of Constantinople, learning of the desperate condition of Edessa, had sent thither one of his nobles with a great store of supplies and a large force of his own knights. He offered to the countess a fixed annual revenue sufficient to afford herself and her children an honorable livelihood always, if, in return, she would surrender into his control the fortresses still in her possession. Because of his immense riches, he was confident that if the province were resigned to him he could protect it unharmed from the incursions of the Turks and without difficulty restore to his empire those parts which had been lost.

When the king arrived at Antioch and the reason for the coming of the imperial envoys was disclosed, they themselves also explaining their mission, a disagreement arose among the nobles of that land. Some said that affairs had not yet reached such an extremity that this course was necessary; others maintained, on the contrary, that action must be taken before the land had fallen entirely into the hand of the enemy. In the midst of these uncertainties the king saw that the country

[30] Emperor Manuel's attention had been aroused by the events of 1149. The situation seemed to offer an unusual opportunity to realize ancestral claims upon the region. He not only reinforced his army in the neighborhood, but also prepared to extend his interests in both Edessa and Antioch. The transactions here recorded must be dated in 1150 (see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 424–25).

could not long continue in its present state; the responsibilities of his own kingdom would not permit him to remain there very long; nor had he sufficient forces to enable him conveniently to rule two provinces lying a journey of fifteen days apart. In consideration also of the fact that Antioch, midway between the two countries, had been for several years without the protection of a prince, he came to the conclusion that it was best to transfer to the Greeks, under the conditions proposed, the strongholds which still remained. He felt but little confidence that the province could be maintained in good condition by the Greek forces, yet he preferred that disaster should overtake it while it was under their power rather than that the downfall of a people already in jeopardy and the ruin of their imperilled country should be laid to him. With the consent of the countess and her children, therefore, a treaty satisfactory to both parties was concluded, based on the terms stated above. A day was also set when the king should go down to that county with all his forces to surrender all the fortresses and put the emperor's men in possession. At the appointed time, according to agreement, the king, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and noblemen both from the kingdom and from Antioch, marched into the land of the count of Edessa to Turbessel. The Greek deputies attended him. There he took under his protection the countess and her children and all others of both sexes, whether Latins or Armenians, who wished to leave, and surrendered the land to the Greeks. The fortresses which up to this time remained in the possession of the Christians were: Turbessel, Hantab, Ravendal, Ranculat, Bile, Samosata, and possibly some others. All these were given over into the power of the Greeks.

The king then prepared for the march. With him went all the people who desired to leave, together with their pack animals and a great amount of baggage, for each man proposed to take with him his entire household and domestic staff as well as all his furniture. So with this great crowd of unwarlike people and an enormous amount of baggage, the king hastened to depart, that he might lead them to a place of safety.

17. *Nureddin meets the king on the way and succeeds in stopping the exodus. The king returns to Antioch with some difficulty. Nureddin thrusts forth the Greeks and seizes the entire region.*

THE news that the people of Edessa, in despair of retaining the land, had surrendered their fortresses to the mild and effeminate Greeks and that the king had marched thither to conduct the people away reached Nureddin. The consciousness of the fear felt by the Christians made him still bolder. He at once mustered armed forces from all the adjacent regions and descended suddenly upon those parts where he hoped to encounter the king with the people who had so greatly distrusted their own strength. If he could meet them under such circumstances, hindered as they were by an excessive amount of baggage, it would be greatly to his advantage. Accordingly, scarcely had the king reached the city of Tulupa, not more than five or six miles from Turbessel, when Nureddin poured forth his forces over the whole land. There was a fortress near by, however, called Hantab, past which the Christians were to pursue their course. Realizing their danger and wishing to hasten, they drew up their lines in battle formation and arranged their forces in good order in expectation of an immediate encounter. The enemy's troops, also in battle formation, eagerly awaited our approach as if confident of victory. Yet matters turned out contrary to their expectation. Our army, led by the mercy of God, reached that fortress in safety, and there the weary men and beasts were permitted to rest all that night. Meanwhile, the leaders, in council assembled, deliberated on the plan of march for the following day.

Certain of the principal nobles demanded that the fortress be given over to their charge; with the help of God they believed that their strength was sufficient to hold the place against the attack of the Turks. Among those from the kingdom who held this view was Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable,[31] a man of high courage. Robert de Sourdeval, a powerful noble from the principality of Antioch, also concurred in this opinion. The king, however, was convinced that neither of the two had strength or power sufficient for the task; he rejected the

[31] There is a slight chronological confusion here. Humphrey of Toron was made constable by Baldwin III when the latter assumed sole rule in 1151 or 1152, whereas the transfer of these fortresses of Edessa to the Greeks was made in 1150. Humphrey of Toron was no doubt with Baldwin but not yet constable.

offer of both as unworthy of consideration and insisted on keeping the treaty. The place was delivered to the Greeks and the people ordered to prepare to continue the march.

In that throng were to be seen men of high birth and noble matrons with highborn maidens and little children. With tears and sobs, they were leaving their native soil, the homes of their ancestors and the land of their fathers and, in deep distress, were migrating to the land of strangers. Hearts of adamant might well have been moved by the groans and lamentations of this people as they went forth into exile.

When day again returned, the baggage was arranged and the march resumed. The enemy also formed in line of march and advanced along with them on either side, ready to swoop down upon the column from every direction. When the Christians saw that great array in marching order, they rearranged their own battalions with the five hundred knights whom they had with them and assigned regular places to all. The king was to march ahead with the vanguard and direct the advance of the crowds on foot. The count of Tripoli and the royal constable, Humphrey, were assigned to protect the rear divisions. With the largest and strongest forces they were to sustain the attacks of the foe and defend the people from their violence. The nobles of Antioch were placed on the left and the right of the column, that a strong force of brave men and armed knights might encircle the multitude who had been placed in the center.

Throughout that entire day, until sunset, the Christians advanced in this order. Without intermission, they were harried by intolerable evils, repeated attacks, and skirmishes at close quarters. Showers of arrows rained upon the advancing troops until all the baggage bristled with darts like a porcupine. Dust and heat, always prevalent in August, exhausted the people beyond endurance and, in addition, severe thirst assailed them. Finally, just as the sun was sinking to rest, the Turks, who had no food supplies with them and who had, moreover, lost some of their nobles, gave the signal for retreat. Overcome with wonder at the incomparable perseverance and steadfastness of the Christians, they now ceased to follow our army.

Humphrey, the constable, armed with his bow, was pursuing the retreating infidels a little apart from the army when a soldier from the enemy's ranks approached him. Laying down his arms, he clasped his hands, first on one side, then on the other, in sign of reverence. He

was a confidential retainer of a very powerful Turkish noble who was bound to the constable in a fraternal alliance and that very closely. This man had been sent to greet Humphrey and to inform him of conditions in the hostile army. He reported that Nureddin intended to return with his army to his own land that very night, for all the provisions in his camp were exhausted and he could not pursue the Christians farther. The messenger then returned to his own people, and the constable went back to the camp. He communicated the news that he had received to the king, and, as night was now at hand, the entire company encamped at a place called Joha. There was no further trouble. During the following days, the king conducted the people through the wood called Marrim, to territory which was under the jurisdiction of the Christians. He then returned to Antioch.

Nureddin now perceived that the land of the count was left without the aid of the Latins. Accordingly, taking advantage of the unwarlike character of the Greeks to whose charge it had been resigned, he began to trouble it sorely. The Greeks found themselves unable to sustain his repeated attacks. In the end, he sent large forces and laid siege to the strongholds. The Greeks were driven out by force and, within a year, he had seized the whole region.[32]

Thus, because of our sins, that exceedingly wealthy province, full of streams, woods, and pastures, a land with most productive soil and abounding in all kinds of commodities, a place capable of affording sufficient support for five hundred knights, passed into the enemy's hands and even to the present day is alienated from our jurisdiction.

The church of Antioch suffered the loss of three archbishoprics in that land, namely, those at Edessa, Hierapolis, and Coritium. These churches, much against their will, are still held by the infidels in the superstition of the Gentiles.

18. *The king advises the princess to marry one of the princes to rule her realm, but his advice is not heeded. He goes thence to Tripoli on his way home.*

GREAT was the anxiety of King Baldwin of Jerusalem at this time on behalf of Antioch and the lands adjacent to it. He feared lest, deprived

[32] Territories were soon lost, it is true, but most of them were captured by Masud in the next three or four years. Nureddin acquired many of them after the death of Masud in 1155 or 1156.

as it was of the protection of its prince, it might fall into the hand of the enemy and suffer the pitiable fate of Edessa, as just related. This would cause still more trouble and bring intolerable loss upon the Christian people. He himself was not free to remain longer at Antioch, since the responsibilities of his own kingdom required his return. He therefore repeatedly advised the princess to choose one of the nobles as a husband, by whose counsel and efforts the principality might be governed.

There were in the land at that time a number of noble and distinguished men attached to the camp of the king. Among them were Ives de Nesle, count of Soissons, a distinguished man, wise and discreet, of great influence in the kingdom of the Franks; Walter de Falkenberg,[33] castellan of St. Omer, who was later lord of Tiberias, a discreet man and very courteous, wise in counsel and valiant in arms; and also Ralph de Merle, a noble of the highest rank, experienced in the practice of arms and noted for his good sense. Any one of these seemed with justice quite capable of protecting the region. The princess, however, dreaded the yoke of marriage and preferred a free and independent life. She paid little heed to the needs of her people and was far more interested in enjoying the pleasures of life.[34]

The king, well aware of her predilection, called a general council at Tripoli, consisting of the nobles of the kingdom and the principality. To this he invited the patriarch of Antioch and his suffragans and also the princess with her nobles. His mother, Queen Melisend, was also present, attended by the princes of the kingdom. After subjects of general interest had received careful attention, the matter of the marriage of the princess was given consideration. Neither the king nor the count, her kinsmen, neither the queen nor the countess of Tripoli, her two aunts, was able to induce her to yield and thus provide for herself and her land.

It was rumored, however, that she was guided by the advice of the patriarch. He, being a very artful and subtle man, is said to have supported her in this mistake, in order that he might have a freer hand in the government of the land—a thing which he greatly desired. Since

[33] Walter de Falkenberg was a member of the famous family of castellans of St. Omer, one of whom, Hugh, had been the second lord of Tiberias (R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jerusalem*, II, App. 1; see also note 40).

[34] Emperor Manuel was quite as much interested in having Constance accept a suitable husband as was Baldwin III. His choice, however, was a Greek, Caesar John, his own brother-in-law (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 426).

nothing could be accomplished in respect to this matter, the assembly broke up and all returned home.[35]

19. *The king and his mother meet at Tripoli to try to effect a reconciliation between the count and his wife, but without results. The count is killed by the Assassins at the city gate.*

DURING this time an enmity arising from jealousy sprang up between the count of Tripoli and his wife, a sister of Queen Melisend. It was in the hope of settling this unpleasantness and at the same time of visiting her niece, the princess of Antioch, that Queen Melisend had come thither. Since she had met with but little success in patching up the matter, however, she determined to take her sister back with her, and, with this end in view, the two had already left the city of Tripoli. The count accompanied the princess for a time on her journey; then, after a little time, he took leave of her and returned. As he was entering the city gate, without thought of evil mishap, he was struck down by the swords of the Assassins at the entrance to the gate between the barbican and the wall and perished miserably. With him was slain also that distinguished nobleman mentioned above, Ralph de Merle, and one of his knights, both of whom had chanced to be with the count on that journey.

During this time the king, free from care, was enjoying himself over a game of dice in the city, unconscious of all that had happened. At the news of the count's murder, the whole city was roused. The people flew to arms and without discrimination put to the sword all those who were found to differ either in language or dress from the Latins. In this way it was hoped that the perpetrators of the foul deed might be found.

Roused by the sudden uproar, the king learned of the count's murder. Saddened and greatly depressed, he could not refrain from tears and sighs, and ordered that his mother and aunt be recalled at once. On their return, the body was committed to the tomb with due magnificence amid the lamentations and tears of all. By the king's order, all the nobles of those parts then swore allegiance to the countess and her children.

[35] The time of this meeting at Tripoli is not clear. It might have occurred on Baldwin's return from the north late in 1150, but the events of the next chapter are apparently intertwined with this and involve the death of Raymond II of Tripoli, which cannot be placed earlier than 1151 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 170, note 5).

The count left a son of the same name, Raymond, hardly twelve years old, and a younger daughter called Melisend. When the king had arranged affairs in this way, he returned to the kingdom accompanied by his mother and the nobles of his court.

20. *A great army of Turks advances against Jerusalem to take it, but the Christians march forth and defeat them with much valor.*

NOT very long after this, certain Turkish satraps surnamed Hiaroquin, powerful men of distinguished lineage among their own people, assembled a great number of Turks and determined to go to seize Jerusalem as belonging to them by hereditary right.[36] For, prior to its deliverance by the Christians, the sacred city is said to have belonged to them by ancestral heritage. Their mother was a zealous advocate of this course and reproached her sons because they had allowed themselves to be exiled for so long from their hereditary possessions.

Moved by the incessant admonitions of their aged mother, they set out on the march at the head of a large number of knights with the intention of accomplishing their desired end, if the Lord should so permit. At Damascus they tarried for a while to refresh their troops and recruit their strength. The people of that city tried in vain to divert them from their foolish project, but they refused to listen. They replenished their supplies, rearranged the baggage, and again resumed their march to Jerusalem, as if without doubt of success. With their numerous train they crossed the Jordan and went up into the mountainous country where the holy city lies and came to the Mount of Olives, which towers above Jerusalem and is adjacent to it. Thence they could gain an unobstructed view of all the venerable places and especially of the temple of the Lord, which they hold in peculiar reverence; in fact, the outlook embraced the whole city.

Most of the armed forces of the region had gone to Nablus, where they feared the enemy might assemble since the city itself was without fortifications. When the people who were left at Jerusalem saw the

[36] This interesting undertaking by descendants of the Turks who had held Jerusalem up to 1098 is not mentioned by Qalanisi. The leader whom William calls Hiaroquin (probably for Yaruk) has been identified as Timurtash of Maridin, of the Ortuqid dynasty. Both Röhricht and Stevenson accept the identification. Despite William's statement that the expedition stopped at Damascus on its way, it is not mentioned in the Damascus Chronicle (see *R. K. J.*, p. 271).

army of Turks advancing, they feared that it would soon descend upon them. They at once seized their weapons and, invoking aid from heaven, marched zealously forth against the enemy, eager to engage them.

The road which goes down from Jerusalem to Jericho and thence to the Jordan is very rough and dangerous. The many steep and precipitous places render both the ascent and the descent very difficult for travellers even when the road is unchallenged and there is no reason for fear. When the foe entered this road, the Christians fell furiously upon them and put them to flight in panic. Many fell headlong and perished without the aid of the sword, for the cliffs and narrow defiles afforded no easy passage to fugitives. Some who had taken to the more level roads tried to continue their flight, but here too they encountered the swords of the Christians and, mortally wounded, met sudden death. Their horses, fatigued by the hardships of the long march, were unable to endure the rough road; they gave out utterly and refused to obey their riders. The Turks were thus forced to become foot soldiers. Burdened by their arms and wholly unaccustomed to hardships, they were cut down like sheep by the swords of their pursuers. So terrible was the massacre of both men and horses that the progress of the Christians was hindered. Yet all the more eagerly they pursued their advantage. Scorning thought of plunder, they passed by the spoils and continued the fierce slaughter, for it was regarded as the supreme reward to be bathed in the blood of the foe.

As soon as the people who had assembled at Nablus heard that this enemy was marching to attack Jerusalem, they left as with one accord and rushed to the fords of the Jordan to prevent the Turks from crossing. They attacked on the side those who had escaped their pursuers, caught them off guard, and slew them. The hand of the Lord was indeed heavy upon our enemies that day, for, as it is written, "That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten."[37] Those who thought they had escaped their pursuers, thanks to the speed of their horses or in some other way, fell by the swords of the Christians who attacked them from another direction. Others who had entered the Jordan ahead of the main line, through their ignorance of the fords, were seized by the tumultuous waves and drowned in the river. Thus the host which had gone up with many thousands, strong in the

[37] Joel 1:4.

pride of their might, relying on the strength of their cavalry, returned to their own land reduced to a small number and covered with confusion and terror. It is reported that about five thousand of the enemy were killed that day.

This happened on the ninth day before the Kalends of December [November 23] in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1152 and the ninth year of the reign of King Baldwin, the fourth king of Jerusalem.[38]

Laden with the spoils of the foe and driving before them as trophies much plunder in the shape of cattle, the Christians returned to Jerusalem to offer solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the Lord.

21. *The king and the barons of the realm repair to Ascalon with the intention of devastating the orchards which encircle the city. Improving on their original plan, however, they lay siege to the city.*

THIS victory, granted by divine favor, raised the hopes of the Christians greatly. Accordingly, the Lord directing their purposes, it was unanimously resolved, by the wish of the least as well as the greatest, to try in some way to injure their enemies in that vicinity who had so often brought serious trouble on them, namely, the people of Ascalon.

It seemed the most satisfactory plan for the time being to try to destroy with a strong force the orchards in the vicinity of Ascalon. These were of great value to the citizens, and, in this way, some loss might be inflicted upon the insolent foe. With this purpose in view, the entire strength of the realm was gathered in large numbers before the city just mentioned. If this plan could be successfully carried out they felt that it would be sufficient.

But divine mercy in marvellous fashion attended the Christians assembled before that city and suddenly began to spur them on to greater things. Scarcely had our forces taken up a position before the city when a panic seized on the townspeople. In great haste they retreated within the city, and not a man dared venture outside the walls to meet our soldiers. Taking advantage, therefore, of the enemy's terrified condition, the Christians, directed by divine grace, decided

[38] This statement of the date is formal and appears to be correct. William has not applied his determination to Count Godfrey as the first king, which would have made Baldwin III the fifth king. The reckoning of 1152 as the ninth regnal year of Baldwin III serves as a point of comparison with other formal dates used by William.

to besiege the city also. Messengers were at once sent throughout the kingdom to announce the plan, inspired by God, and to summon those who had remained at home, that no one might fail to be present on the day appointed.

Those who had been called assembled joyfully and without delay. They joined their comrades who had preceded them and encamped with the others around the city. And that all might continue steadfast in their undertaking without thought of wavering, they bound themselves by solemn oath, one to another, that they would not abandon the siege till the city had been taken. Thus the whole strength of the kingdom having been convoked and the people assembled with unanimity of purpose, the king and the patriarch with the other nobles of the realm, both secular and ecclesiastic, accompanied by the life-giving and venerated sign of the Cross of the Lord, encamped before Ascalon under happy auspices on the eighth day before the Kalends of February.[39]

There were present the following prelates of the church: Fulcher, the lord patriarch of Jerusalem; Peter, archbishop of Tyre; Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Frederick, bishop of Acre; and Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem. There were certain abbots present also. Bernard de Tremelay, master of the Knights Templars; and Raymond, master of the Hospital, also attended.

Among the lay princes present were: Hugh d'Ibelin, Philip of Nablus, Humphrey of Toron, Simon of Tiberias, Gerard of Sidon, Guy of Beirut, Maurice of Montreal, Renaud de Châtillon and Walter of St. Omer. These last two served the king for pay.[40]

The tents were set up and arranged in a circle and definite and suitable quarters assigned to each noble. They then applied themselves loyally to the work in hand, with wisdom and foresight putting forth the efforts which so important a task demanded.

[39] January 25, 1153.

[40] It is interesting to note that nobles of some importance, such as Walter, castellan of St. Omer, served for pay. Both of these men were noble adventurers each of whom gained a place in Latin Syria through marriage. There is a very brief collection of references to Walter de Falkenberg, castellan of St. Omer, by Giry (see A. Giry, "Les Châtelains de Saint-Omer 1042–1386," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes,* XXXV [1874], 341–43). Renaud de Châtillon is the subject of an extended biography (see G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*).

22. *The situation of the city is described and its advantages set forth.*

Ascalon is one of the five cities of the Philistines. It lies upon the seacoast in the form of a semicircle, the chord or diameter of which extends along the shore, while the arc or bow lies on the land looking toward the east. The entire city rests in a basin, as it were, sloping to the sea and is surrounded on all sides by artificial mounds, upon which rise the walls with towers at frequent intervals. The whole is built of solid masonry, held together by cement which is harder than stone. The walls are wide, of goodly thickness and proportionate height. The city is furthermore encircled by outworks built with the same solidity and most carefully fortified. There are no springs within the confines of the walls, nor are there any near by, but wells, both without and within the city, furnish an abundant supply of fresh water fit for drinking. As a further precaution, the citizens had constructed within the town cisterns to receive the rain water.

There are four gates in the circuit of the wall, strongly defended by lofty and massive towers. The first of these, facing east, is called the Greater gate and sometimes the gate of Jerusalem, because it faces toward the Holy City. It is surmounted by two very lofty towers which serve as a strong protection for the city below. In the barbican before this gate are three or four smaller gates through which one passes to the main entrance by various winding ways.

The second gate faces the west. It is called the Sea gate, because through it the people have egress to the sea. The third to the south looks toward the city of Gaza, to which reference has been made above, whence also it takes its name. The fourth, with outlook toward the north, is called the gate of Jaffa from the neighboring city which lies on this same coast.

Ascalon is at a disadvantage, however, from the fact that its location admits of neither a port nor any other safe harborage for ships. The shore is very sandy, and the violent winds make the surrounding sea so tempestuous that it is generally feared by all who approach it except in very calm weather.

The soil of the fields surrounding the city is overlaid with sand and is consequently unfit for agriculture, yet it is well adapted to the culture of vineyards and fruit trees. There are, however, a few valleys on the

north which, when well fertilized and irrigated with water from the wells, furnish the townspeople with a certain amount of fruits and vegetables.

There was a large population in that city, even the least of whom—and, indeed, according to the general report, even the youngest babes—received pay from the treasury of the caliph of Egypt. That monarch and his princes felt the utmost solicitude for Ascalon, realizing that if it should fall and come into the power of the Christians there would be nothing to prevent our leaders from invading Egypt without let or hindrance and seizing that kingdom by force.

They regarded Ascalon as a bulwark, therefore, and four times a year [41] with lavish munificence they furnished assistance to the city, both by land and by sea. As long as Ascalon held out and our people exhausted their zealous efforts upon it, the Egyptians themselves might enjoy the coveted peace. At great expense, therefore, they furnished the city with everything needful and at regular intervals sent arms, food, and fresh troops, for while the Christians were occupied with Ascalon the Egyptians felt less anxiety over our dreaded strength.

23. *Siege operations are begun; officers are placed in command of the fleet and also of the land army.*

For fifty years and more after the Lord had given the rest of the Land of Promise into the hands of the Christian people, Ascalon had resisted all our attempts and shown itself a formidable rival to us. The Christians finally resolved to besiege the place. This was an arduous and almost impossible feat, for Ascalon was well defended by walls and barbicans, towers and embankments, and equipped with an incredible amount of arms and provisions. In addition, it had a large population well trained and thoroughly versed in the practice of arms. In fact, from the very beginning of the siege even unto the end the number of defenders was double that of the besieging host.

The king, the patriarch, Peter, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, and other great men of the realm, princes as well as prelates of the church, and the citizens of each city set up their tents separately and blockaded the city by land. The fleet of fifteen ships, beaked and equipped to sail, was placed in the command of Gerard of Sidon, one of

[41] See Book XVII, note 28; Book XIII, note 39.

the great barons of the realm.[42] He was to prevent any approach from the sea and likewise to frustrate all attempts at egress from the city. Almost daily our people, now the knights and again the foot soldiers, made attacks upon the city. The townspeople, however, met these attempts with courage and resisted with spirit, for they were fighting for their wives and children and, what is far more important, for liberty itself. In these engagements, as usually happens under such conditions, victory fell now to the citizens and again to the Christians, but on the whole success more often fell to the lot of our forces.

There was said to be such security in that camp, such opportunities of buying all kinds of commodities, that the people in their tents and pavilions lived as they were accustomed to do at home in their walled cities.

The townspeople guarded the city with especial care at night. Relays of watchers were employed, and even the leading men of the city took their turn at patrolling the walls, passing the greater part of the night without sleeping. Along the walls and on the ramparts of the towers were placed glass lamps fed by oil and provided with transparent covers to protect the flame. These made it as bright as day and assisted the watchers while they were making the rounds of the walls.

In the Christian camp detachments of sentinels were also provided for the protection of our troops. The watch never ceased, for it was feared that the citizens might attack the camp under cover of night. There was also danger that the Egyptians, hastening to the aid of Ascalon, might suddenly and unexpectedly fall upon the army, although scouts had been stationed in many places around Gaza to give timely warning of the enemy's approach.

24. *During the second month of the siege, a crossing of pilgrims occurs. This is of great assistance to the Christians in carrying on the blockade.*

THE siege continued for two months without change. About Easter time, the customary crossing took place which brought great numbers of pilgrims thither. After taking counsel together, the Christians dispatched messengers from the army forbidding all sailors and pilgrims,

[42] This is one of the clearest indications of the existence of a royal fleet. Whether the ships were built or bought for the occasion or were part of a permanent force is not stated, though the appointment of Gerard of Sidon as commander would seem to be purely temporary.

by the king's command, to return home. All, under promise of pay, were invited to take part in the siege, a labor so acceptable to God.[43] All vessels also, whether great or small, were ordered to sail to Ascalon. Within a very few days, therefore, all the ships that had come in that crossing arrived before the city, sped by a favoring breeze, and great forces of pilgrims, both knights and foot soldiers, joined our ranks. Thus, day by day, the strength of the army increased. Great was the joy in camp, and hope of winning the victory was unbounded.

Among the enemy, on the contrary, grief and anxiety prevailed ever more and more. They began to feel less confident of their own strength and, although more frequently challenged, sallied forth less often to the conflict. Again and again they besought the caliph of Egypt to send them aid as soon as possible, for otherwise they must soon give way. Accordingly, the caliph took active measures for their relief. He ordered the nobles responsible for such work to prepare a fleet and muster an army. He had the tall ships loaded with arms, provisions, and engines of war, appointed commanders, and provided for the necessary expenses, all the while chiding delay and commanding haste.

In the meantime, the Christians had purchased ships for a great sum and removed the masts. Workmen were then called in and ordered to build a very high tower of the wood. This was carefully protected against fire and other untoward accidents by wickerwork and hides, both inside and out, that the fighters who were to attack the city from it might be quite safe. The material which was left from the wooden ships was used to construct hurling engines, which were then placed in strategic positions for battering down the walls. Covered sheds were also made from the same material under protection of which the embankments might be approached and levelled in safety. All these preparations were duly made and the section of wall to which the engines could be most easily applied carefully considered. Then when the greater part of the embankment had been levelled, as mentioned above, the tower was moved with loud shouts to the wall. From its top a view of the entire city could be gained and a hand-to-hand fight with the defenders in the towers near by carried on. The townspeople, however, now from the walls and now from the mounds, boldly and persistently used their bows and arrows to harass those concealed within the mov-

[43] The use of money had become increasingly common in the conduct of warfare in the East by this time. It could purchase many forms of service ranging from manual labor to responsible military aid.

able towers. All their efforts were in vain, however, for they were unable to harm those who were pushing the engine forward. A great crowd of defenders was then massed at the section of the wall opposite the tower, and the bolder spirits among them were ordered to try their strength there in a continual fight with the assailants in the movable tower.

Incessant fighting was also going on at the same time at various points elsewhere along the walls. Scarcely a day passed without carnage, to say nothing of the great number of wounded on both sides. We have heard stories of memorable deeds wrought at that siege by certain individuals and of the remarkable valor shown both by the enemy and the Christians. Since we are writing a general history, however, little attention can be paid to incidents of this kind.

25. *During the fifth month of the siege, the Egyptian fleet arrives at Ascalon, an event which affords much consolation to the besieged.*

For five consecutive months our leaders had persevered in the siege, and the strength of the foe was apparently becoming somewhat impaired. The prospect of taking the city seemed brighter than usual, when suddenly the Egyptian fleet, borne by favoring breezes, appeared before the city. At sight of it the Ascalonites raised their hands to the heavens and, with loud shouts, cried out that the Christians would now have to retreat or soon perish. When Gerard of Sidon, the commander of the Christian fleet, perceived that the ships were nearing the city, he tried to hinder their progress by attacking them with his small number of galleys. At last, however, alarmed at the large numbers of the foe, he turned back again and took measures for life and safety by flight.

The enemy's force sailed boldly toward the city with the long-deferred assistance for the beseiged. The fleet consisted, according to report, of seventy galleys and some other ships laden to the limit with men, arms, and food. The vessels were of immense size and had all been sent for the aid of the city by the Egyptian prince mentioned above. Thus reinforced, the enemy once more began hostilities, and, as with strength renewed, more boldly and more frequently they now challenged us to fight. The citizens themselves, who well knew the prowess of our men, were somewhat wary, but the rougher element and

the newcomers thirsted for glory and longed to show their strength and courage. They rushed into the conflict without caution and fell in large numbers, until, having experienced the steadfast courage of the Christians, they learned to deliver their attacks with more caution and to sustain our onslaughts with more moderation.

26. *Constance, princess of Antioch, weds Renaud de Châtillon. Nureddin seizes the kingdom of Damascus by force. Amalrich is placed over the church at Sidon.*

WHILE these things were happening in the camp before Ascalon, the Lady Constance, widow of Prince Raymond of Antioch, who, after the fashion of women, had refused many distinguished nobles, secretly chose as her husband Renaud de Châtillon, a knight in the pay of the king. She did not wish this to be made public, however, until she had secured the authority and consent of the king, her cousin, under whose protection her principality lay. Accordingly, Renaud hastened to the army to communicate her intention to the king and, after obtaining his consent, returned to Antioch and married the princess. Many there were, however, who marvelled that a woman so eminent, so distinguished and powerful, who had been the wife of a very illustrious man, should stoop to marry an ordinary knight.[44]

During this time also, Nureddin, a man of much foresight and discretion, learned of the death of his father-in-law, Anar.[45] This distinguished man, the commander in chief of the army of Damascus and the administrator of the king's affairs, had always strenuously resisted all the projects of his son-in-law. Nureddin was aware that the king of Jerusalem with all the chivalry of the land had been for some time engaged in beseiging Ascalon, and he felt confident that Baldwin would not willingly abandon that undertaking to respond to the appeals of the Damascenes for assistance against himself. He therefore seized the opportunity and marched against Damascus with a large army to take the kingdom by force. The people received him with favor, however,

[44] This statement is somewhat inconsistent with both William's earlier statement regarding Walter of St. Omer and his list of prominent leaders at Ascalon among whom he included both Renaud de Châtillon and Walter, castellan of St. Omer.

[45] Anar had died August 28, 1149, according to Qalanisi, who describes the event in some detail (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 294–95). Nureddin made attempts to gain Damascus after Anar's death as well as before. He finally succeeded in April, 1154, having prepared the way by a sort of blockade of foodstuffs (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 320–21).

and surrendered voluntarily; whereupon he removed their monarch, a dissolute and worthless man, from power and forced him to fly to the Orient, a fugitive and exile over the earth. This change was decidedly disastrous to the interests of the kingdom. In place of a man without power, whose weakness rendered him harmless to the Christians and who up to this time, as if subject, had rendered them an annual tribute, a formidable adversary arose. For just as "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation," [46] according to the words of the Saviour, so many kingdoms when united tend to gain strength from one another and rise with greater strength against a common foe.

Thus, after Nureddin had taken Damascus and subdued all the region round about, he desired to assist Ascalon as far as was possible from such a distance. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Christians, he besieged the city of Banyas, which lies at the extreme end of the kingdom. He hoped that our people, on being summoned to the relief of the beleaguered city, would abandon the siege of Ascalon. But by the mercy of God which guided us, his great hopes were not realized, and neither of his projects succeeded. For he was unsuccessful in the siege of Banyas, and the Christians, by the aid of the Lord, compelled Ascalon to surrender.[47]

About this time, also, Bernard, bishop of Sidon, of blessed memory, died, and Amalrich, of pious memory in the Lord, was chosen in his place. Amalrich was abbot of the regular canons of the order of the Premonstratensians in the monastery of St. Habakkuk, or St. Joseph of Arimathea. He was a sincere and God-fearing man of godly life. Since no one was allowed to go far away from the besieged city, he is said to have received the gift of consecration in the church at Lydda from the hands of Peter, archbishop of Tyre, of revered memory.

27. *The besiegers make a furious assault upon the city. The citizens try to burn the machine outside the walls. A portion of the city wall falls. Some of the Christians, while attempting to rush in, are killed. Our army abandons hope.*

MEANWHILE, those who were engaged in this campaign pressed on their project with great energy and kept up vigorous assaults on the

[46] Mat. 12: 25.

[47] Nureddin had called upon the people of Damascus to aid him in the siege of Banyas under the terms of his latest treaty with them. Though they joined him, it

city without intermission. This was especially the case around the Greater gate, as it is called, where the attacks were renewed again and again with results most disastrous to the citizens. Volleys of mighty rocks hurled from the casting machines threatened to weaken the walls and towers and to overthrow from their very foundations the houses within the city. Great was the slaughter which resulted. With their bows and arrows, the soldiers in the movable tower also wrought great destruction not only upon the defenders who were resisting them from the top of the towers and walls, but also on those who were forced by necessity to move about the city. In comparison with the ills which assailed them from this tower all the trials which the citizens endured at other points, however hard, appeared light.

They took counsel, therefore, with one another. Profiting especially by the advice of those who had had much experience in matters of this nature, they resolved, no matter at what risk and danger, to destroy that machine. Dry wood and other material suitable for kindling and increasing the flames were to be thrown between the wall and the tower. This was to be set on fire stealthily and the tower burned. There seemed to be no other hope, nor had they courage to resist longer, for they were now reduced to the lowest depths of despair.

Certain brave men, noted for their strength and courage, men who considered the safety of their fellow citizens before their own, immediately responded to the appeal and offered to undertake the dangerous task. Wood was carried to the part of the wall nearest to the tower and thrown over into the space outside between the wall and the machine. When a great pile of wood had been built up, sufficient in their judgment to burn the tower, they poured upon it from above pitch, oil, and other liquids provocative of fire, anything which would make a fiercer flame. As soon as it blazed up, however, divine clemency was manifested toward us; for, although the flames at once increased in violence, a strong wind from the east sprang up which turned the entire fury of the flames against the walls. This wind, then, by its own fury, drove the fire against the wall, and an incessant gale, which continued throughout the entire night, reduced it to ashes. About dawn an entire portion of the wall, between two towers, crumbled away entirely with a noise that roused the whole army.

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was with a feeling of distrust which finally led to quarrels between them and the abandonment of the siege in June, 1153 (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 315–16).

But the mass as it fell struck against the tower with such force that some of the necessary parts of the machine, which the fire had been unable to injure, were shattered. The sentinels on duty at the top and on the projections were almost thrown to the ground. Roused at the sound of the crash, the entire army seized arms and rushed to the place, eager to enter at once as if an entrance had been opened from on high. But Bernard de Tremelay, the master of the Templars, and his brethren had reached there much before the rest; he held the opening and allowed none but his own men to enter. It was charged that he kept the rest back in order that his own people, being the first to enter, might obtain the greater and richer portion of the spoils and plunder.[48] For when a city is taken by assault, custom among the Christians has made it a law, even to this day, that whatever anyone on entering seizes for himself, that he may hold in perpetual right for himself and his heirs. If all had entered with equal chance, the city might have been taken and the spoils would have been sufficient for all. But "it is rare that an enterprise bad in inception and perverse in purpose has a good ending," for "Gain basely obtained brings no good results." [49] Through cupidity, they refused to allow their comrades to share in the booty, therefore they alone justly suffered peril of death. About forty entered, but the rest were not able to follow.

Up to this time the citizens had feared for their very lives and were prepared to endure extreme measures without resistance. Now, however, perceiving that these few were cut off from their comrades, they fell upon them with renewed strength and courage and killed them. They then rallied their forces and, as with courage reborn, again seized the arms which they had laid down as if defeated and rushed with one accord to the place where the wall had fallen in. There, by joining together immense beams and huge blocks of wood, of which the ships afforded a large supply, they filled the breach, closed the opening, and with the utmost ardor made the place impenetrable.

After strengthening the towers next to the burned area on both sides, which had been abandoned because of the furious flames, they again girded themselves for the combat and renewed the fight. Of their own accord, as if with no thought of their former reverses, they chal-

[48] This charge of cupidity against the Templars is regarded by Lundgreen as a reflection of William's prejudice against the order, and unjustified by the facts, which could be explained in other ways.

[49] Ovid *Am.* I. x. 48.

lenged us to battle. The fighters in the tower, however, knowing that its foundations had been weakened and that the lower part of the solid frame had been injured, felt no confidence in it and accordingly fought with little energy.

The enemy, for our undoing, suspended the bodies of our slain by ropes from the ramparts of the wall and, with taunting words and gestures, gave vent to the joy which they felt. But deepest grief soon took the place of this joy, and the events which followed plainly showed how true is the saying, "Pride goeth before destruction and an haughty spirit before a fall." [50]

The Christians, on the contrary, were prostrated in mind and heart. Overcome by grief, in bitterness of spirit, they became faint-hearted and lost all hope of ultimate victory.

28. *Again the Christians are comforted; they are encouraged to continue the siege and press on more zealously than ever.*

In the meantime, the king, appalled at the terrible calamity, called the chiefs together. When they had assembled in his tent (the patriarch and the archbishop of Tyre and other prelates of the church being also in attendance), he placed before them the Life-giving Cross and anxiously inquired what was to be done in such a great change of fortune. As, in the fear of God, they deliberated with the utmost solicitude, there arose a division of opinion which split the assembly into two parties. For some, doubtful of their power to win the city, maintained that they had wasted their efforts there for a long time in vain. Their forces had been slain in large numbers, the leaders either wounded or taken prisoners; even their resources had given out. They contended that the city was impregnable; the citizens had an abundance of all commodities, their strength was frequently repaired, while ours was failing. They advised a return.

Others, of a saner mind, counselled that they persevere, hoping in the mercy of the Lord, who was not wont to abandon those who with pious long-suffering trusted in Him. It was of little use, they said, for an enterprise to have a good beginning unless it was brought to a like end. Much time and expense had indeed been employed, but it was with the hope of a more abundant reward of which, though it seemed

[50] Pr. 16: 18.

deferred, God would not deprive them. Their forces had indeed fallen, but yet the hope remained that they would find a glorious resurrection; for the promise to the faithful was: "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy" [51] and "Seek, and ye shall find." [52] Reasoning in this way, they advised against returning and strove to induce the Christians to persevere as strong men in this task. Almost all the lay princes upheld the opinion of the first faction; the king, also, wearied by adverse fate, seemed to lean toward that view.

The patriarch, the archbishop of Tyre, and all the clergy, also Raymond, the master of the Hospitallers, and his brethren agreed with the opposite faction.

Thus the assembly was divided and all gave various reasons supporting opposite opinions. But divine mercy, ever present with them, caused the opinion of the patriarch to prevail, for it seemed to have greater merit and promised more glory.[53] It was therefore unanimously resolved to return to the Lord and, after imploring aid from Heaven, to persevere in the task they had undertaken until the Dayspring from on high should visit them and look with favor upon their labors.

Accordingly, with unanimity of purpose, all seized their arms and, returning to the task in hand, ordered the trumpets to sound the signal. The clarion's call and the voice of the herald soon summoned the whole people to battle. Eager to avenge the wrongs of their murdered brethren, the people gathered before the city with unusual fervor and with avidity challenged the foe to battle. To survey our ranks, it was as if they had suffered no loss or had, at least, received fresh reinforcements. Seized with a mad fury for extermination, they rushed upon the enemy and attacked them so fiercely that the foe marvelled and stood dumbfounded before the evidence of our insuperable strength and indomitable perseverance. Although they made desperate efforts to retaliate with equal fury, it was all in vain, for they could not stand against the shock of our troops or avoid their swords. The battle that day was waged between far from equal forces, yet knights and foot soldiers alike won the palm of victory everywhere and triumphed at every point over the foe.

[51] Jno. 16: 20. [52] Mat. 7: 7.

[53] It is of interest to note at this point not only another instance of the aggressive, vigorous attitude of Patriarch Fulcher, but also of the coöperation of Fulcher with the Hospitallers, who were apparently the only military group strongly in favor of continued operations.

Thus great slaughter was wrought upon the enemy, and the injury suffered by the Christians three days before was returned in overwhelming measure. There was not a household in the city whose domestic circle was not touched with deepest anguish. The city was covered with confusion, and the woes already experienced seemed light by comparison with the present peril. At no time, from the beginning of the siege even to that time, had similar disasters befallen them, nor had they ever experienced equal losses. For, since the flower of their kingdom was destroyed and the rulers of the city killed, they lacked counsel, valor languished, and all hope of resistance vanished.

By general consent, therefore, certain of their principal leaders were sent to the king as ambassadors. They were to ask a temporary truce for the purpose of exchanging the bodies of the dead, that each side might have the privilege, according to its own custom, of rendering the last honors with fitting funeral rites.

The terms demanded met with the approval of the Christians. The bodies of the dead were exchanged and committed to the tomb with solemn obsequies.

29. *The people of Ascalon give way to despair; by general consent they are disposed to surrender.*

When the people of Ascalon saw the evidence of the slaughter of their host and perceived the mighty strength which the Lord had directed against them, the grief and consternation of their hearts was renewed, and, in proportion to the magnitude of their distress, their courage melted away. Moreover, that nothing might be lacking to the sum of their misfortunes, that same day a further disaster overtook them. Forty of their gallant soldiers were dragging a mighty beam to a place where it was needed when a huge stone, cast by our hurling machine, fell upon the beam and crushed it completely, together with the men moving it.

Then, in bitterness of heart, struggling under the weight of troubles, the surviving elders of the city called the people together. With tears and lamentations they assembled; among the throng were women clasping their little ones to their breasts and feeble old men whose last breath was almost spent. Then, with the general consent of all, certain wise and eloquent men addressed the assembled people as follows: "Men of Ascalon, you who dwell within these gates, you know, and no

one better than you, how we have for fifty years waged a dangerous and difficult struggle against this redoubtable people, so persistent in their purpose. You know full well by actual experience how often they have overthrown our sires in battle and how many times, stepping into the places of their fathers, our sons have renewed the struggle to repel their injuries. The hope of preserving this spot whence we derived our origin, of defending our wives and children and that far greater privilege, liberty, has ever led us on. For forty-four years this strife has continued, since the time when that people, so troublesome to us, came upon us from the most remote regions of the West and with a strong hand took violent possession of the whole region from Tarsus of Cilicia even unto Egypt. This city alone, by reason of the valorous efforts of our forefathers, has remained intact, in the midst of such strong adversaries, even unto the present day. Yet the hazards endured up to this time, when compared with those now threatening us, may be deemed little or nothing. Even now, not one among us has less inclination to resist, but the army is wasted away, the supplies are exhausted, the burden of hardships is unendurable. The mighty host of the enemy is ever on the watch and exceedingly persistent; their constant molestations have weakened our strength, both of body and mind, and deprived us of the power to prolong the struggle.

"Accordingly, it seems expedient to the chief men of Ascalon, if you also agree, that we try to extricate ourselves at this time from our present sufferings. Let us send envoys on behalf of the whole people to that powerful king who is besieging us, and endeavor to obtain on definite terms permission to depart freely with our wives and children, servants and maidservants, and all our goods. In return, we, on our part, will agree to surrender the city to him—with groans do we utter these words—in order to put an end to such terrible misfortunes." [54]

30. *Envoys chosen from the leading men of the city are sent to the king. They obtain from him permission to depart freely with their wives and children and all their substance. The city is surrendered.*

THIS speech seemed good in the eyes of all, and it was approved with loud shouts of assent, as is usual under such circumstances. Wise and

[54] This speech must, of course, be regarded as William's own imaginative reconstruction. It offers an interesting instance of his sympathetic appreciation of the plight of the enemy.

discreet men of venerable and revered appearance were chosen from the assembled people to convey to the king and his nobles the proposition which they had decided upon. These envoys, on receipt of permission to advance under safe conduct, issued forth from the gate and approached the presence of the king.

When all the princes had assembled, as requested by the envoys, the proposition was placed before them, and the terms stipulated were explained in detail. The ambassadors were then asked to retire for a time while the king conferred with his leading counsellors as to their advice. They, however, burst forth into tears of joy and, with eyes and hands raised aloft to heaven, returned profound thanks to their Creator, who had deigned to bestow upon them, all unworthy as they were, such abundant favor.

The messengers were then recalled. A unanimous answer was given them, namely that the terms offered would be accepted, if, within the three following days, they should vacate the entire city. To this the envoys assented, but asked that it be confirmed by an oath to give strength to the treaty. An oath was accordingly taken with due solemnity, the king and certain chosen nobles giving their hand that, in good faith, without evil designs, they would keep all the terms of the aforesaid agreement. They then surrendered the hostages, whom the king had demanded by name, and returned joyfully to their own domains. A number of Christian knights accompanied them to place the king's standard over the loftiest tower of the city in token of victory.

When our army, who were waiting in eager expectation, saw the royal standards floating from the highest towers, a great shout burst from the exultant company. Cries of praise not unaccompanied by tears rose to heaven as from one voice, saying, "Blessed be the God of our fathers who has not deserted those who trusted in Him; and blessed be the Name of His Majesty which is holy, because today we have seen wondrous things."

Although according to the treaty a truce of three successive days had been granted to the townspeople, yet so greatly did they fear the presence of the Christians that within two days all their preparations were completed. Then, girt for the journey, they set out with their wives and children, servants and maidservants, and all kinds of paraphernalia. In accordance with the agreement, the king furnished them guides as

far as al-Arish, an ancient city lying in the desert, and sent them away in peace.

The king and the patriarch, accompanied by the other princes of the realm and the prelates of the church, together with all the clergy and the entire people, then entered the city with hymns and spiritual songs, led by the Cross of the Lord. The Cross was borne into the principal chapel of the Turks, a building of exceeding beauty, later consecrated in honor of the apostle Paul. After the divine rites and services of thanksgiving had been solemnized there, all withdrew to the quarters assigned to them and passed a joyous day, memorable forever.[55]

Within a few days thereafter the patriarch organized the church in Ascalon. He established there a definite number of canons and gave them fixed incomes called prebends. He also ordained as bishop of the city one Absalom, a regular canon of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, although Gerald, bishop of Bethlehem, vigorously protested against this appointment and forbade that it be made. Later the case was referred by appeal to the pope at Rome. The latter removed the bishop consecrated by the patriarch and granted to the bishop of Bethlehem the church at Ascalon with all its possessions, to be held by him and the church at Bethlehem in perpetual right.[56]

By his mother's advice, the king distributed possessions and the lands dependent thereon both within and without the city to those who had well deserved them; to some, also for a price.[57] The city of Ascalon he generously bestowed upon his young brother Amaury, count of Jaffa. Ascalon was taken on the twelfth day of August in the

[55] William had seen this chapel before he wrote this account, which is another evidence of his unusual interest in architecture. The vividness of his description of the siege almost suggests that William himself was present during part of it, though he nowhere indicates his presence. He was about twenty-three years old at the time and still a student, probably at Jerusalem, which was not very far away.

[56] The relationship of Bethlehem and Ascalon was thus reversed from its traditional organization. However, this problem had arisen during the First Crusade, and the precedent was then established for the papal action (see Book IX, chap. 1, note 2; Book XI, chap. 12). Ascalon might have been maintained as a separate bishopric, but the protests of Gerald and Ralph, who became his successor in the bishopric of Bethlehem, succeeded in having it made subject to that see. The question was decided by Pope Hadrian IV.

[57] It is of interest to note that the king's mother had not lost her interest in the management of affairs despite her defeat a year or two before. The sale of privileges indicated by William reflects the importance of the commercial element in the Latin states.

year 1154 of the Incarnation of the Lord and the tenth year of the reign of King Baldwin III.[58]

A deplorable calamity overtook the unfortunate people of Ascalon on their journey down to Egypt. When the men who had been appointed by the king to guide them on their way and to see that no one molested them departed, the refugees were attacked by one Nocquinus, a Turk, strong in arms but of evil life and utterly disloyal. This man had shared their hardships and for a long time had fought with them for pay. He pretended that he wished to accompany them on the journey to Egypt. When he saw that the guides had left them, however, he scornfully cast aside all good faith and humanity and fell upon them. Then, after robbing them of all their goods, he departed and left them to wander in the wilderness.[59]

[58] The errors in this date may be due to copyists. The year should be 1153 and the day of the month probably August 22 instead of 12 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 171, note 3).

[59] No other accounts mention this incident of Nocquinus, but such raids were probably too common to arouse comment by Arab historians, even though this one did arouse William's sympathy.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK

HERE BEGINS THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

LATIN JERUSALEM AT ITS HEIGHT UNDER BALDWIN III: THE LURE OF EGYPT

1. *The patriarch of Antioch is shamefully abused by Renaud de Châtillon. He takes refuge in the kingdom. A severe famine spreads over the land.*

RENAUD DE CHÂTILLON had married the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, as has been related above. From the first he had perceived that this marriage was displeasing to the patriarch, and as the prelate continued to maintain the same attitude, Renaud looked with suspicion on all he did.[1] The patriarch, a very rich and powerful man whose authority was supreme, often expressed himself rather freely, both in public and in private, about Renaud and his doings, and, as is usually the case, these remarks were reported to the prince by persons who sought to increase the hatred between the two. Thereupon, Renaud was moved to violent and inexorable wrath. He laid violent hands upon the patriarch and with diabolic daring caused the venerable man to be seized and ignominiously conducted to the citadel which towers high above Antioch. Then—a most abominable act—he forced the aged priest, a successor of Peter, the chief of the apostles, although an almost helpless invalid, to sit in the blazing sun throughout a summer's day, his bare head smeared with honey. No one, for piety's sake, offered him any relief from the relentless rays of the sun or tried to drive away the flies.

When news of this outrage reached the king of Jerusalem, he was overwhelmed with amazement and dismay at the mad conduct of the foolish prince. Almost beside himself with consternation, he dispatched to Renaud two venerable envoys, Frederick, bishop of Acre, and Ralph, the chancellor. They were the bearers of a letter in which the king, by virtue of his royal authority, reproved the prince for his outrageous act and warned him to turn from his wicked ways. When the prince

[1] This episode of the quarrel of Renaud de Châtillon and Patriarch Aimery extended over a number of years. William's reason for placing it here is doubtless the fact that Renaud married Constance in 1153. The incidents which he recites, however, extended all the way to 1160 if not beyond.

had heard the messengers and perused the king's letter, he released the patriarch, but not without heaping much abuse upon him. The goods which had been taken by violence from the prelate and his people were also completely restored. In the end, however, the patriarch left the land of Antioch and repaired to the kingdom of Jerusalem. He was kindly received by the king and his wise mother, as indeed by the patriarch and all the bishops of the kingdom, and there he remained for several years.

In the following year, a severe famine spread over the whole land.[2] The Lord, filled with anger toward us, took away our main support, bread, so that a measure of wheat was sold for four gold pieces. In fact, had it not been that a supply of grain was found in Ascalon when that city was taken, famine would have invaded the land and the people would have almost wholly perished. For fifty years, through fear of hostilities, the fields around Ascalon had lain without cultivation. But during the years following its capture, the land was under the care of the farmer, and the people of that district, relieved from fear of the enemy, could freely cultivate the ground. Hence the entire kingdom enjoyed such abundance that all former years, in comparison with the present, might with justice be called sterile and fruitless. The soil, so long uncultivated and deprived of the care of the plough, had retained within itself all its strength; as a result it responded to the farmer's care with multiplied interest and produced a sixtyfold crop.

2. *On the death of Anastasius, Hadrian is elected pope. Emperor Frederick is crowned at Rome. A serious enmity arises between the pope and King William of Sicily.*

WHILE these events were happening in the lands of the Orient, Pope Anastasius IV died at Rome and Adrian III [Hadrian IV] was chosen in his stead.[3] This pope was English by birth, from the castle of St. Albans. He had been abbot of the regular canons in the church of St.

[2] This famine of 1154 is also mentioned as occurring in Damascus in that year. Qalanisi, however, ascribes it there to a deliberate blockade of Damascus by Nureddin, who forbade the usual export of grain from the north (H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 317).

[3] Hadrian IV (not III), Nicholas Breakspear, was elected pope toward the end of the year 1154. He was the first and thus far the only pope of English birth. The main events of his life as given here are substantially correct, though the place of his birth is usually given as Langley, near St. Albans (see *Dictionary of National Biography*; also *Catholic Encyclopedia*).

Rufus, near the city of Avignon, in Provence, in the diocese of Arles. Thence he was called to the church of Rome by Pope Eugenius of precious memory and was ordained bishop of Albano under the name Nicholas. Later, he was sent as legate by Anastasius, the successor of Pope Eugenius, to Norway, the most remote province of the West. On his return after the death of this pope, he was present at the election and was unanimously chosen pope by the clergy and people and given the name Hadrian.

This same year, it happened that Frederick, king of the Teutons, although not yet emperor, went down into Italy with large forces and laid siege to Tortona, a city of Lombardy. The siege was long continued, but when the place was finally taken, he determined to go to Rome and there be crowned emperor.[4]

During the same time, also, serious enmity arising from various causes developed between Pope Hadrian, of whom we have been speaking, and William, king of Sicily, son of Roger of good memory. The discord between the two had reached a point of such open animosity that the pope hurled the sentence of excommunication against the king and began deadly warfare against him.[5]

Nevertheless, Frederick, bent upon his purpose, hastened on his way and within a few days advanced from Lombardy to Rome, where his sudden arrival gave rise to some suspicion in the minds of the pope and the whole Roman church. At last, however, through the work of certain mediators, the customary terms were arranged, and on the sixth day before the Kalends of July [June 26] Frederick was crowned with great ceremony in the church of St. Peter and proclaimed emperor.[6]

Three days later, on the feast day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the king, adorned with the imperial insignia, and the pope, wearing the distinctive decorations of the supreme pontifical office, joined

[4] Tortona was captured April 18, 1155, after a siege of nine weeks. After a short rest in Genoa, Frederick moved toward Rome, visiting a number of towns, including Bologna, on the way (see H. Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Friederich I*, I, 301–36).

[5] The trouble between William I of Sicily and the papacy had begun before the election of Hadrian IV. Hadrian refused to recognize William as king and continued the struggle which now became open warfare (see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 194 ff.).

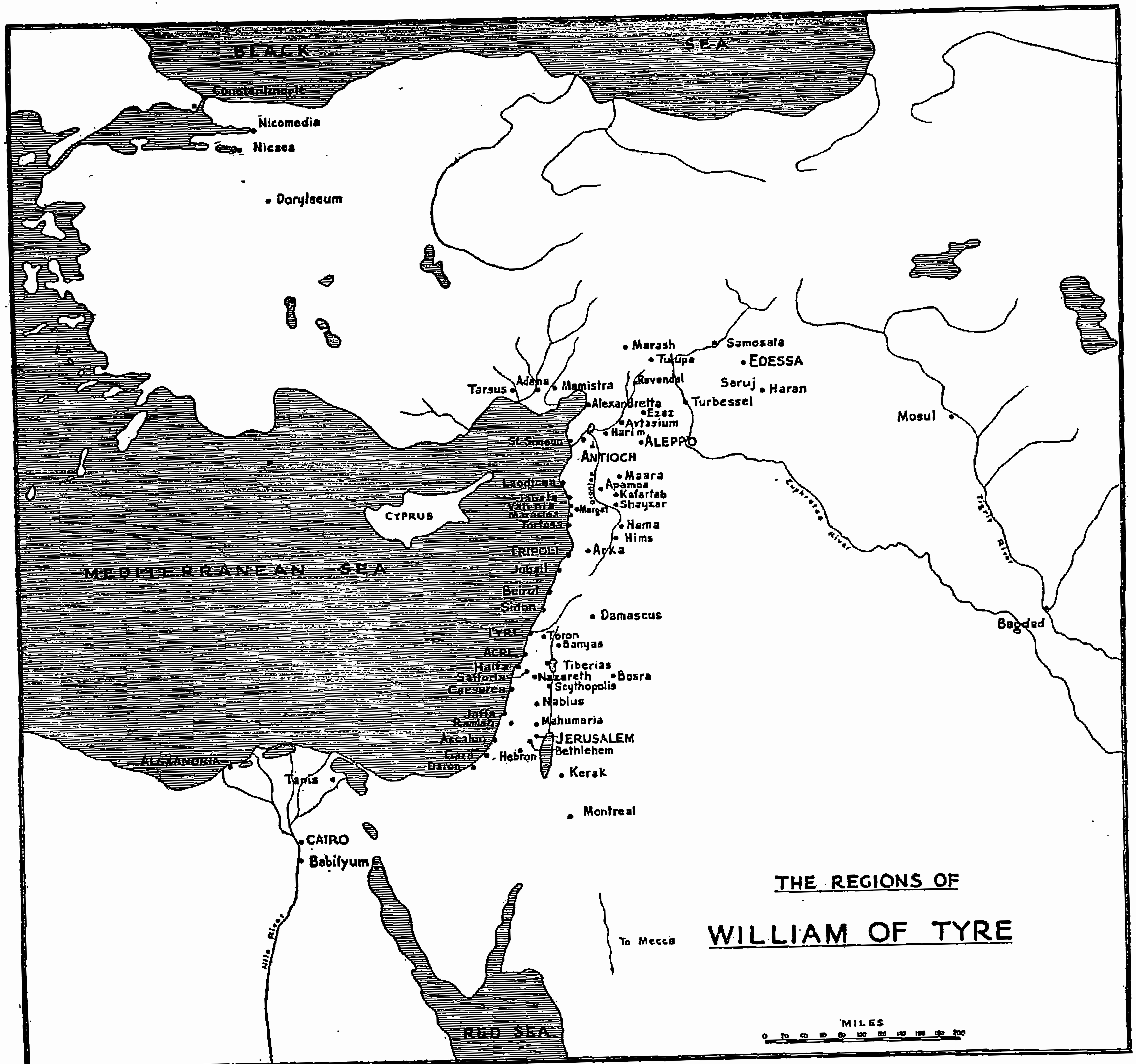
[6] The meeting of Hadrian and Frederick was attended with a series of misunderstandings. The famous incident of Frederick's refusal to hold the pope's stirrup occurred at this time. The coronation of Frederick as emperor took place somewhat earlier than William's date—June 18, 1155 (see Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher*, I, 335–36).

forces at a place called the Lucan bridge, near the city of Tivoli. Thence, amid the rejoicing of clergy and people and crowned with the laurel, they proceeded on their way together, and when the festal day was over parted from one another in good accord. The emperor hastened to Ancona, whither the affairs of the empire called him, and the pope proceeded to the vicinity of Rome, where he tarried for a while in the hill cities.

Meanwhile, the king of Sicily had ordered his nobles to lay siege to the city of Benevento, which was the peculiar property of the Roman church, and to blockade the town as closely as possible. The pope was annoyed beyond measure at this action. Desirous of repaying an ill turn with equal measure, he endeavored to stir up the king's own nobles against him, nor were his wishes in that respect ungratified. Success attended his efforts, for he persuaded the most powerful count of Sicily, Robert of Bassavilla, the son of the king's aunt, and many other nobles besides to rise against their lord by promising that they should never lack the aid and counsel of the Roman church.[7] Moreover, many illustrious and powerful nobles who had been deprived of their patrimony and driven from the realm as exiles by William and his father were induced by the pope's admonitions to return to the kingdom and resume possession of the property which belonged to them by hereditary right. In the number were Robert of Sorrento, prince of Capua, Count Andreas of Rapacanina, and many others. To all these the pope gave his solemn assurance as pope that the church of Rome would never fail them. Notwithstanding this promise, he urged both the Roman emperor and the emperor of Constantinople—the former, who was still in Italy, openly by word of mouth and the latter privately by letters—to seize the kingdom of Sicily.[8]

[7] The revolt of William's cousin, Robert of Loritello, and other nobles of southern Italy created a critical situation into which either Frederick Barbarossa or Manuel might inject a decisive influence. Manuel's representatives were quick to take advantage of the situation, although Manuel was too occupied elsewhere to send any considerable army.

[8] Whether Hadrian negotiated with both at the same time or with Manuel after Frederick had indicated his inability to interfere at the moment is uncertain. There is some question whether the initiative in the relations between Hadrian and the Greeks was taken by the former or the latter. (F. Chalandon, *Les Commène*, II, 358–60).


THE REGIONS OF
WILLIAM OF TYRE
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Dorylaeum
CYPRUS
Tarsus
Adana
Mamistra
Marash
Samosata
Tulupa
EDESSA
Ravendel
Seruj
Haran
Alexandretta
Turbessel
Ezaz
Artasium
Harim
ALEPPO
St Simeon
ANTIOCH
Mosul
Laodicea
Maara
Apamea
Kafartab
Shayzar
Valenia
Maraclea
Tortosa
Hama
Hims
TRIPOLI
Arka
Jubail
Beirut
Sidon
Damascus
TYRE
Toron
Banyas
ACRE
Haifa
Tiberias
Safforia
Nazareth
Bosra
Caesarea
Scythopolis
Nablus
Jaffa
Ramlah
Mahumaria
Ascalon
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Gaza
Hebron
Daron
Kerak
Montreal
ALEXANDRIA
Tanis
CAIRO
Babilyum
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Bagdad
Nile River
To Mecca
MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200

3. *An altercation arises between the patriarch and the brethren of the Hospital over the question of tithes and also over certain injuries done to the churches by that order.*

WHILE the churches of Italy were in this unsettled state and affairs in the kingdom of Sicily were likewise disturbed, our part of the Orient was not free from troubles. For, at the very time when, by divine favor, the city of Ascalon was restored to the Christians, when the affairs of the kingdom also were progressing satisfactorily and crops were abundant, the enemy of man, begrudging the tranquillity granted by the Lord, began to sow tares. For Raymond, master of the house of the Hospital, together with his brethren who were also filled with the same spirit (although in other respects he seemed to be a religious and God-fearing man), began to cause great trouble to the patriarch and the other prelates of the church over matters of parochial jurisdiction and tithes. The Hospitallers were in the habit of receiving to the celebration of the holy sacrament, without discrimination or question, those who had been excommunicated by their own bishops or interdicted by name and who, thus, in punishment for their sins, were cut off from the church. Neither did they refuse the viaticum and extreme unction to these same persons when sick, or deny them burial. When, because of crimes committed, silence was imposed upon all the churches or upon those of a certain city or castle, the Hospitallers were wont to ring their bells and call more loudly than usual, to summon those under interdict to divine service. This they did that they themselves might enjoy the offerings and other revenues which rightly belonged to the mother churches, that, while others were sorrowing, they alone might rejoice.[9] They forgot the words of the illustrious preacher who said, "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." [10]

Moreover, they did not present their priests to the bishop of the place, according to the ancient law of the sacred canons, that they might have the consent of their superiors to celebrate the holy offices in their dioceses. Nor did they, when it became necessary to remove a priest

[9] Great friction between the secular and regular clergy usually arose shortly after the founding of each new order. This was aggravated by the greater mobility of the later orders. When the military orders were given the right to have their own chaplains and their exemption from local prelates, instances of conflicting jurisdiction were certain. William here recites a nearly complete list of grievances which the local prelates held against the military orders.

[10] Ro. 12:15.

from his parish, whether justly or unjustly, make this known to their bishops. They absolutely refused to give tithes from their own benefices and from all the revenues devolving, by whatever right, upon them. All the bishops had this grievance against them; all the cathedral churches everywhere suffered this same loss. The most intolerable wrong of all, however, a thing abhorrent to all Christians, was done to the patriarch and the holy church at Jerusalem. For, before the very doors of the church of the Holy Resurrection, to show their insolent contempt for the church itself, they began to erect an edifice far higher and more costly than that church which had been consecrated by the precious blood of our Saviour, who hung upon the cross—the church which afforded Him an acceptable sepulchre within its walls after the agony of the crucifixion.[11]

Moreover, whenever the lord patriarch went up to speak to the people, according to custom, from the place where the Saviour of mankind hung for our salvation and thus bought complete redemption for the whole world, they endeavored to hinder the celebration of the office entrusted to him. With intentional malice they set their many great bells ringing so loudly and persistently that the voice of the patriarch could not rise above the din, nor could the people, in spite of all his efforts, hear him. The patriarch often complained to the citizens of the outrageous conduct of the Hospitallers, which was perfectly obvious. Yet, though many besought them to cease, they remained incorrigible, and even threatened that eventually they would use measures still more strenuous. This threat they carried out; for they carried their presumption to such extremes that, in a spirit of audacious fury, they armed and, breaking into the church beloved of God as into the house of a common person, hurled forth showers of arrows, as if against a den of robbers. These arrows were later collected and tied into a bundle, and we ourselves as well as many others saw them hanging from a rope before the place of Calvary where the Lord was crucified.[12]

[11] This was the main building of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem, probably in all Palestine. It had to be large to meet their expanded needs, the housing of their knights, the care of the sick, as well as their business interests. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jerusalem about 1163, describes it as housing four hundred knights in addition to the sick and visiting pilgrims. Probably no offense was intended by this enlargement of their building, but during the quarrel the secular prelates so interpreted it.

[12] Such an outrage would seem to represent an advanced stage in the friction between the Hospitallers and the secular church, near the time of the appeal to Rome. The incident attests William's own presence in Jerusalem about this time.

Those who have made a careful study of this subject believe that the Roman church was primarily responsible for this great evil, although perhaps unwittingly and without having given sufficient consideration to the privilege which was demanded. For it was the church which unjustly removed the house of the Hospital from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom it had been rightly subject.[13] Hence the Hospitallers have neither reverence toward God nor regard for any man except those whom they fear. Yet not indiscriminately do we accuse all of arrogance, a sin most odious to God, and the mother of all vices. We believe, indeed, that in so large a body it would be almost impossible that all should proceed by the same path without any variation of conduct.

In order to explain in this history how from a modest beginning this house has developed so powerfully and how unjustly it has acted and still continues to act against the churches of God, it is necessary to begin the story somewhat farther back; this, with the help of God, we shall endeavor to do without deviating in the least from the truth.

4. *The origin and development of the house of the Hospital is described.*

IN the time of the Roman Emperor Heraclius, according to ancient histories, the power of the people of Arabia became very great against him. As a result, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with all Syria and Egypt and the adjacent provinces, because of our sins fell into the hands of enemies of the Christian faith and name. Nevertheless, although the holy places were thus under the power of the enemy from time to time, many people from the West visited them for the sake of devotion or business, possibly for both. Among those from the West who ventured at that time to go to the holy places for the purpose of trade, were certain men from Italy who were known as Amalfitani from the name of their city.[14]

[13] The reference is to the various papal privileges from that of Innocent II, March 29, 1139, to that of Anastasius IV, February 17, 1154. Each of these grants involved some extension of privilege, and it was doubtless the one of Anastasius IV which precipitated the trouble in Jerusalem (see F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, App. I, 183–85).

[14] Amalfi was one of the principal commercial cities of the western Mediterranean before the crusades. Its affiliations were with Constantinople, but it was practically independent (see W. von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, I, 98–108).

The city of Amalfi lies between lofty mountains and the sea. To the east, about seven miles distant by sea, is the noble city of Salerno. To the west lie Sorrento and Naples, the city of Virgil; to the south, about two hundred miles away across the Tyrrhenian sea, is Sicily.[15] The people of Amalfi, as has been said, were the first who, for the sake of gain, attempted to carry to the Orient foreign wares hitherto unknown to the East. Because of the necessary articles which they brought thither, they obtained very advantageous terms from the principal men of those lands and were permitted to come there freely. The people also were favorably disposed toward them.[16]

At that epoch the prince of Egypt held all the coastal region from the city of Jabala, situated on the shore near Laodicea in Syria, as far as Alexandria, the last city in Egypt. Over each city was placed a governor who made the power of the prince feared far and wide. The Amalfitani, however, enjoyed the full favor of the king as well as of his nobles and were able to travel in perfect safety all over the country as traders and dealers in the useful articles which they carried. Faithful to the traditions of their fathers and the Christian profession, these merchants were in the habit of visiting the holy places whenever opportunity offered. They had no house of their own at Jerusalem, however, where they might remain for a while, as they had in the coast cities. To carry out a long-cherished plan, therefore, they assembled as many people of their own city as possible and visited the caliph of Egypt. They gained the good will of the people of his household, presented a petition in writing, and received a favorable response, in accordance with their desires.

5. *How the caliph of Egypt, at the petition of the Amalfitani, ordered a place to be set aside for them where they might build a church.*

A WRITTEN order was accordingly sent to the governor of Jerusalem, directing that a very ample area at Jerusalem, in that part of the city occupied by the Christians, be designated at their request for the people

[15] Here, as in a number of places, William reveals a familiarity with southern Italy which suggests a personal acquaintance. Why he regards Naples as Virgil's city is not clear.

[16] William's sympathetic appreciation of commerce appears here as elsewhere. It is doubtful whether the people of Amalfi were the first or only people to bring the products of the West to the Levant, but their definite connection with Jerusalem condones this exclusive notice by William (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*).

of Amalfi, friends and carriers of useful articles. There they were to erect such a building as they desired. The city was divided at that time, as it is today, into four almost equal parts; of these that quarter alone which contains the Sepulchre of the Lord had been granted to the faithful as the place of their abode. The rest of the city, with the Temple of the Lord, was occupied exclusively by infidels.

In accordance with the caliph's command, a place sufficiently large for the necessary buildings was set aside for the people of Amalfi. Offerings of money were collected from the merchants, and before the door of the church of the Resurrection of the Lord, barely a stone's throw away, they built a monastery in honor of the holy and glorious mother of God, the Ever Virgin Mary.[17] In connection with this there were suitable offices for the use of the monks and for the entertainment of guests from their own city.

When the place was finished, they brought an abbot and monks from Amalfi and established the monastery under a regular rule as a place of holy life acceptable to the Lord. Since those who had founded the place and maintained it in religion were men of the Latin race, it has been called from that time until this the monastery of the Latins.

Even in those days it often happened that chaste and holy widows came to Jerusalem to kiss the revered places. Regardless of natural timidity, they had met without fear the numberless dangers of the way. Since there was no place within the portals of the monastery where such pilgrims might be honorably received, the same pious men who had founded the monastery made a suitable provision for these people also, that when devout women came they might not lack a chapel, a house, and separate quarters of their own. A little convent was finally established there, by divine mercy, in honor of that pious sinner, Mary Magdalene, and a regular number of sisters placed there to minister to women pilgrims.

During these same perilous times there also flocked thither people of other nations, both nobles and those of the middle class.[18] As there

[17] This procedure may or may not have been followed at the time, but the statement suggests what was probably the procedure in such matters in William's own time. Heyd believes that most of the credit for these establishments at Jerusalem should be given to a certain lord of Amalfi, Maurus, who died in 1071 (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* I, 104–6). He would date the rebuilding of these monasteries between 1063 and 1071 during the reign of Caliph Mustansir.

[18] Literally of the second class, *secundae classis.* Social classes were more clearly differentiated in William's time than they had been earlier, even as late as 1100.

was no approach to the Holy City except through hostile lands, pilgrims had usually exhausted their travelling money by the time they reached Jerusalem. Wretched and helpless, a prey to all the hardships of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, such pilgrims were forced to wait before the city gates until they had paid a gold coin, when they were permitted to enter the city. Even after they finally gained admission and had visited the holy places one after another, they had no means of resting even for a single day, except as it was offered in a fraternal spirit by the brothers of this monastery. All the other dwellers in Jerusalem were Saracens and infidels with the exception of the patriarch, the clergy and the miserable Syrian people. These latter were so overburdened by daily exactions of manifold corvees and extra services, and by work of the most menial nature, that they could scarcely breathe. They lived in the direst poverty and in continual fear of death.

Since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims. There they received these people, whether sick or well, lest they be found strangled by night on the streets. In addition to offering shelter in the hospital, they arranged that the fragments remaining from the food supplies of the two monasteries, namely, of the monks and of the nuns, should be spared for the daily sustenance of such people.

Furthermore, they erected in that place an altar in honor of St. John the Almoner. This John was a native of Cyprus, a holy man and worthy of praise in every respect. Later, because of his merits, he became patriarch of Alexandria. He was especially noted for his works of piety, and his devoted zeal and generous almsgiving will ever be celebrated by each church of the saints. Hence he was called by the holy fathers *Eleymon*, which, being interpreted, is "merciful." [19]

This venerable foundation which thus stretched out the hand of charity to its fellow men had neither revenues nor possessions; but each year the citizens of Amalfi, both those at home and those who followed the business of trading abroad, collected money from their own number as a voluntary offering. This they sent to the abbot of

[19] See Book I, note 52.

the hospital, whoever he might be at the time, by the hands of those who were going to Jerusalem. From this money food and shelter were provided for the brethren and sisters and the remainder was used to extend some assistance to the Christian pilgrims who came to the hospital.[20]

For many years this place existed under those conditions, until it pleased the Supreme Maker of the world to purge from the superstitions of the Gentiles that city which He had made clean with His own blood. There came at last a Christian people, led by chiefs under the protection of God, to whom the Saviour willed that the kingdom be surrendered. At that time there was found in the convent for women, serving as abbess, a certain holy woman devoted to God, named Agnes. This noble woman, a Roman by birth and of high lineage according to the flesh, continued to live at Jerusalem for some years after the city was restored to the Christian faith.[21]

In the hospital also was found one Gerald, a man of upright life who, under the orders of the abbot and monks, had long rendered devoted service to the poor in that place during the supremacy of the enemy. Gerald was later succeeded by that Raymond of whom we are now speaking.[22]

6. *The patriarch, with most of the bishops of the East, goes to Rome to visit Pope Hadrian.*

FROM this modest beginning the importance of the brethren of this house increased so greatly that first they withdrew from the jurisdiction of the abbot, and then, as their wealth multiplied greatly, they were released from the hand and power of the patriarch by the Roman church.[23] After this dangerous liberty was obtained, they never again showed any reverence to the prelates of the church and absolutely

[20] William has oversimplified the support of these monasteries. There is evidence that collections of money were made in southern France and doubtless elsewhere to support this work (see Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 105).

[21] Agnes and Gerald are semilegendary persons, whose memory is treasured in the history of the Hospitallers because of their mention here. William has mentioned Gerald earlier (Book VII, chap. 23; see E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, chap. 2 *passim*. Fulcher of Chartres wrote an epitaph for Gerald at the time of his death, 1120 (H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 641–42, note 25).

[22] Raymond du Puy, second master of the Hospital, 1120–1160. For a brief sketch of his life and administration of the order, see King, *Hospitallers*, chaps. 3 and 4.

[23] See note 13.

refused to give tithes from any of their estates regardless of conditions under which these had come into their possession. Influenced by this example, many of those places which are called venerable, both monasteries and hospitals, eventually fell away from their allegiance because of their wealth.[24] Many of these the church had originally established out of pure liberality, in her usual spirit of piety, and had led them along to an enviable state of prosperity. But they abandoned their pious mother, who had at first nourished them like babes on her own milk and later, as time went on, had supplied them with more solid food; so that with justice may the church complain of them, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." [25] May the Lord spare such and permit them to return to their right mind, that they may learn to serve with reverence the mother whom they have abandoned. May He be even more indulgent than to that one who, although he himself had an hundred sheep, desired the one ewe lamb of the poor man. To that man the Lord said, "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?" [26] Woe to that one, whoever he may be! For according to the word of the prophet, "He is a man of blood."

Again and again the patriarch and other prelates of the church demanded their rights from these same brethren, but ever in vain, until at last, as has been said, both parties had recourse to the court of the pontiff at Rome. The patriarch, although a very aged man, indeed almost a centenarian, set out thither. He took with him some of the prelates of the church: namely, Peter, archbishop of Tyre, with his suffragans; Frederick, bishop of Acre; and Amalrich, bishop of Sidon;

[24] Doubtless such establishments as the bishopric of Bethlehem, that of Nazareth, and many monasteries such as those on Mt. Sion, Mt. Tabor, Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat are included under this characterization. William never was disposed to recognize the difficulties which these foundations caused the church. Pious pilgrims from all parts of Christendom insisted upon making bequests to these establishments. These grants were usually in the form of income from properties equally scattered, or even of pieces of land. There was no adequate method of insuring the permanence of such grants except through the papacy, whose authority was acknowledged universally. The patriarch of Jerusalem was scarcely in a position to guarantee such protection. Hence the several establishments sought privileges from the papacy. As has been indicated a number of times, the papal curia was uncertain of the aspirations of the patriarchs, whether of Jerusalem or Antioch, and hence was all the more ready to grant such privileges and with them exemption from the jurisdiction of the patriarch and from that of local bishop and archbishop. It was this last fact which Archbishop William especially resented.

[25] Is. 1 : 2. [26] I Ki. 21 : 19.

Baldwin, archbishop of Caesarea; Constantine, bishop of Lydda; Renier, bishop of Sebaste; and Herbert, bishop of Tiberias. As soon as the pleasant spring weather returned and the turbulence of the wintry waves began to subside under the influence of the west wind, they set forth on their journey and, after a prosperous voyage, by the will of God, came safely to the coast city of Otranto in Apulia.[27]

7. *The emperor of Constantinople, with the pope's consent, invades Apulia. The patriarch arrives at the court with his escort.*

At the time when the lord patriarch and the bishops of the Orient landed in Apulia, as has been related, the emperor of Constantinople, at the suggestion of the pope, had sent some of his nobles with a vast sum of money to invade that region by armed force. This was done with the consent of the chief men of those parts. Consequently, when the patriarch and his suite arrived at Brindisi from Otranto, the emperor's people were already in possession of that city. The entire place had been surrendered by the citizens with the exception of the citadel, where a few faithful adherents of the king still remained. Moreover, Count Robert, who was mentioned above, together with those who had joined him more through hatred of the king than through attachment to himself, had seized by force the two famous cities, Taranto and Bari, with all the coast region to the very boundaries of the kingdom. Robert, prince of Capua, and Count Andreas, great and distinguished men, had taken possession of the entire land of Campania, commonly called the Land of Labor, as far as Salerno, Naples, and San Germano. The whole country, in fact, was in such an unsettled state that those who wished to pass through it found no peace or security anywhere.[28] Frederick, the emperor of the Romans, was still in the vicinity of Ancona with his legions, but the forces which he had brought with him into Italy had suffered great losses; many of the greatest and most noble princes of the empire had perished, so that barely a tenth of his host remained.[29] The survivors wished to return

[27] This journey must have occurred in the spring of 1155 to fit in with the events in Italy to which William alludes.

[28] These events of the war in southern Italy are described at length by Chalandon (see Chalandon, *Normans*, Vol. II, chap. 7).

[29] Frederick had been approached both by emissaries of the pope and later of Emperor Manuel to interfere in southern Italy. He was sorely tempted and only reluctantly,

to their own land, and the emperor, since he could not hold them back, was preparing to return also; very unwillingly, however, for many matters still remained which required his presence, most important of all the campaign against the king of Sicily.

The patriarch and his fellow travellers, therefore, anxiously considered by what route they might most safely pass through such an unsettled country in order to reach the pope, for war and sedition everywhere seemed to cut off all approach to him. The shortest road was by way of Benevento, but that city was under siege by Arsequinus, chancellor of the king of Sicily.[30] The patriarch sent messengers thither to ask for an escort, but the chancellor absolutely refused to allow the party to pass through that region. Finally, by the advice of certain wise men, Patriarch Fulcher decided to follow the shore route and arrived at Ancona with all his suite. Thence he sent some of his bishops to convey his salutations to the emperor of the Romans (who was now on the eve of departing for his own country, as has been stated) and to obtain from him imperial letters for the pope, in connection with his own mission. In this the envoys were successful, although the emperor, anxious to return home, had already passed beyond the cities of Sinigaglia and Pesaro.[31]

The patriarch with all his cortège then directed his journey toward Rome, in close pursuit of the pope, who had already left the city of Narni. At Rome the party remained for several days; learning, however, that the pope had stopped at Ferentino, the patriarch hastened thither in the hope of accomplishing the matter which had brought him to Italy.[32]

Some said that the pope intentionally avoided the patriarch in order to weary him and increase the burden of his expenses. They asserted that long ago the Hospitallers had visited him and had bribed him by the lavish use of gifts so that he was most favorably inclined toward them. Others said that the pope had hastened his journey in behalf of Benevento, which was under siege. The fact was plain, how-

through force of circumstances, declined their invitation (see Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher*, I, 367 *et passim*).

[30] This was Asclettin, according to Chalandon.

[31] The envoys of Patriarch Fulcher overtook Frederick, probably early in August, 1155. William appears to be familiar with this famous old Roman road whose sequence of towns he lists correctly (Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher*, I, 371).

[32] Hadrian must have reached Benevento about October 1, 1155 (Chalandon, *Normans*, Vol. II, chap. 7 *passim*).

ever, that the pope and his entire court had received the Hospitallers with great cordiality, but had, on the contrary, repelled the patriarch and his people with contemptuous wrath, like illegitimate and undeserving sons.[33]

8. *Pope Hadrian hurries to Benevento. The patriarch also makes haste thither and lays the case before him, but the court, bribed by lavish gifts, refuses justice. The patriarch returns without accomplishing his object.*

On his arrival at Ferentino, the patriarch at once presented himself before the pontiff, according to custom. He was not favorably received, and the treatment accorded him was still worse. The cardinals were, for the most part, opposed to him. He arrived, therefore, at a clear understanding of the pope's attitude toward him. Nevertheless, being a man of resolute character, he acted on the advice of some of his wise counsellors and concealed his feelings. He was constantly in attendance on the pope and appeared assiduously in the consistory on feast days surrounded by his train of reverend bishops. He was always assisted by a throng of advocates ready to do their office whenever it should be necessary.[34]

An audience was finally granted to the two parties, and the matter was argued for many days without result. At last the patriarch perceived, and indeed was informed by some of his intimate friends, that he had no chance of success. He therefore took leave and started on his return journey in embarrassment and fear, his situation rather injured than improved. Of all the throng of cardinals only two or three were found who, following after Christ, piously desired to aid His servant in that cause. These were Octavius and John of St. Martin, who had been an archdeacon of the patriarch when the latter was archbishop of Tyre.[35] All the others, led astray by gifts, followed the

[33] The treatment of Patriarch Fulcher on this occasion is not unlike that received by other Latin patriarchs at the papal court. That the Hospitallers, like the Templars, were in great favor there at the time is certain.

[34] The presence of advocates at the papal court to aid appellants for papal attention and favor reflects the enormous increase of business which claimed the pope's attention. These "advocates" professed to know how to reach the pope's presence and offered their services for a price, which was soon to lead to charges of venality at the court.

[35] This recital affords an intimate glimpse of the practical operation of the papal curia. In the course of time, the widespread church orders tended to depend upon certain cardinals for aid. The secular hierarchy whose business with the curia was more intermittent were usually not so fortunate.

ways of Balaam, the son of Bosor. But the pope, actuated by responsibilities at home, crossed Campania and repaired to Benevento.

In the meantime, William, king of Sicily, had been informed through numerous messengers of the troubles in Italy. He learned that Count Robert of Bassavilla, aided by the Greeks, had seized the land of Apulia by force of arms; that the prince of Capua and Count Andreas were extending their rule far and wide in Campania; and that the pope had repaired to Benevento, whence he was supplying forces and encouragement to all the rulers just mentioned. Thereupon William immediately levied troops from all parts of Sicily and Calabria and marched into Apulia at the head of a very large force. Count Robert immediately fled. In the first battle near Brindisi, William defeated the Greek forces and, after completely destroying that army, took their commanders captive and bound them in chains. Thus by force of arms, attended by good luck, he turned into his own coffers the vast treasures which the Greeks had brought with them. Then, having regained the whole region which had revolted from him and restored the people to favor, he laid siege to Benevento. There he brought great trouble upon the pope and his cardinals as well as upon the city itself; for the food supply began to fail and all became exceedingly anxious about their safety. Through envoys acting as mediators, peace was finally concluded between the pope and the king, under certain secret terms. All those, however, who, at the pope's solicitation, had become involved in these great dangers and hardships were excluded from the treaty.[36]

Perceiving that matters had turned out contrary to their expectations and that the pope had made a peace for himself and the church of Rome without obtaining grace for them from the king, the nobles realized that they were in a desperate plight. Anxiously they sought to find some way by which they might be able to retire from the kingdom in safety. Robert and Andreas, with certain other nobles, hurried into Lombardy and presented themselves before the emperor. The prince of Capua, more unfortunate than the others, was taken prisoner by his own bearers, while he was preparing to cross the Gariglano river by boat. He had sent his people on ahead and was

[36] There is some uncertainty about the exact dates of these events. The defeat of the Greeks at Brindisi is dated in April, 1156, the treaty of Hadrian with William I, June 18, 1156 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 361–70).

himself waiting with a few knights to cross to the opposite shore when he was seized. He was handed over to loyal subjects of the king and carried to Sicily, where he was cruelly blinded and confined in prison until his miserable existence ended.[37]

9. *A civil outbreak occurs in Egypt. The sultan flees and is slain by the Christians. His son, Nosceredinus, is taken prisoner.*

At this time, by the mercy of God, the kingdom of Jerusalem was enjoying a fair degree of prosperity, but the neighboring regions on either side were greatly agitated because of an unexpected occurrence. The caliph, the ruler of the land, whom the Egyptians are accustomed to cherish and revere as a supreme divinity, was treacherously slain by a certain powerful Egyptian lord who held the office of vizier and as such had charge of his lord's private affairs.[38] One day this man came to the caliph familiarly in one of the most retired rooms of the palace and treacherously slew him. He is said to have committed this crime in the hope of raising his own son Nosceredinus [Nasr al-Din] to the caliphate, that thus he himself, under the rule of his son, might continue to administer the kingdom without care or trouble. He trusted that the deed would not be discovered for several days, until he had seized the greater palace and gained possession of the entire treasure. Then, with the aid of a band of friends and retainers whom he had assembled, he expected to be strong enough to resist those who would put him to death for the murder. But the affair turned out quite differently. For within a short time the crime became known, and a crowd of people, both great and small, gathered as one man. They completely surrounded the house to which he had fled after committing the crime, and with one voice demanded that the man of blood, the dastard who had assassinated the lord of the land, should be given up for punishment. These threats were so persistently continued that, finally, seeing no other way of escape, he ordered the

[37] For a more extended account of William's treatment of the conquered country, see Chalandon, *Normans*, II, 232–35.

[38] Abbas, a member of a famous north African family, had gained prominence at Cairo as a military commander. He had been ordered to take command of the garrison in Ascalon in 1153 but refused and murdered the vizier, who was his father-in-law, and seized his office. His position, however, was insecure, and he therefore plotted to murder the caliph, Zafir. Even the murder of Zafir and the substitution of young Faiz was not sufficient, so he had to flee for his life as here indicated.

gold, gems, and whatever other valuables he possessed to be thrown out of the window to the howling mob. He hoped that while they were busy picking up the spoils, he might find some way of escape. What more need be said? In spite of the besieging mob, he succeeded in escaping from the city and, attended by a noble escort of sons and nephews, took the road toward the desert, bound for Damascus, it was said. The avengers were not slow in pursuing him and made vigorous attempts to prevent his escape. But his oldest son and some of his retainers, wise and valiant men, kept the foe back at some distance, sustained the attacks themselves, and prevented the pursuers from gaining on the fugitive. From time to time, also, they craftily left behind vases of gold and silver, precious robes and silken stuffs of great value, in order to tempt those following to stop and gather them up, whereby a quarrel might arise over the division of the spoils.[39]

The Egyptians finally realized that pursuit was futile and returned home baffled. The vizier, believing himself safe and confident that no further trouble would arise, continued on his way. While fleeing from Scylla, however, he fell into Charybdis. For the Christians, apprised of his approach, had laid an ambush for him, a common device for injuring an enemy; and there they were stealthily lying in wait. The vizier, all unsuspecting, fell into the trap. At the first encounter he was fatally wounded by a sword thrust and at once perished. The name of this noble Egyptian was Habeis [Abbas].[40] His son Nasr and all his household, together with the immense riches which they had carried away with them out of Egypt, fell into the hands of the Christians, and the booty was divided among them according to custom. Consequently, our people returned home laden with the richest spoils, indeed fairly bending under the burden of treasures hitherto unknown to our land.

Among others who participated in that affair were many Knights Templars. These, by virtue of their numbers, carried off the largest portion of the plunder, including slaves. In the distribution of the

[39] The best source of information about these events is the account of Usamah, who was in Cairo at the time and an intimate friend of Abbas (P. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades, Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*, pp. 43–55).

[40] Habeis is William's approximation of Abbas and Nosceredinus for Nasr al-Din or Nasr. These were father and son as William states. The battle and death of Abbas are dated June 7, 1154.

spoils, beside other things there fell to them by lot Nasr, the son of Abbas, a man of great daring and unusual military prowess among the Egyptians. His very name was dreaded by the people of that region, and at sight of him their hearts quailed with terror unspeakable. The brothers of the Temple held this man a prisoner for a long time. He professed an ardent desire to be reborn in Christ and had already learned the Roman letters and been instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith when he was sold by the Templars for sixty thousand pieces of gold to the Egyptians, who demanded him for the death penalty. Heavily chained hand and foot, he was placed in an iron cage upon the back of a camel and carried to Egypt, where, to satisfy their savage passions, the people literally tore him to pieces bit by bit with their teeth.[41]

10. *Prince Renaud seizes the island of Cyprus by force of arms and despoils the inhabitants.*

DURING the following year, Renaud de Châtillon, prince of Antioch, on the advice of evil men by whom he was too greatly influenced, was again guilty of a shameful deed. He sent forth his legions as against an enemy and laid violent hands on Cyprus, the neighboring island which had always been useful and friendly to our realm and which had a large population of Christians. The causes leading to this outrageous invasion seem to have been as follows. In the land of Cilicia, near Tarsus, there dwelt a powerful Armenian noble, called Thoros. This man by his capricious and unloyal acts had often fallen under the displeasure of the emperor and incurred his rebuke. Since his lands were far distant from the empire and his residence in the high mountains was difficult of access, he often descended into the plain of Cilicia and carried off booty and spoils. He preyed without scruple upon the land of his lord in every way and brought heavy and unmerited trouble upon the faithful subjects of the empire, without regard to rank or condition. The emperor, on being informed of this situation, wrote to Renaud to send forth his knights and keep Thoros away from the lands of the empire, that the possessions of his Cilician subjects might be safe from such raids. If money were needed for the

[41] The details of this story, especially those which reflect on the Templars are denied by Lundgreen as preposterous (see Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, pp. 93–96).

purpose, he himself would send a sufficient sum from his own treasures at a convenient season.

In obedience to the imperial command, Renaud at once summoned a large force of cavalry and proceeded to Cilicia, where he repulsed Thoros and completely destroyed his army. But the honorable recompense which he hoped to receive for his valiant deed seemed slow in arriving; hence, impatient of delay, he committed the crime alluded to above.[42]

The people of Cyprus had been warned of the danger by some of the faithful, and all the forces of the island, such as they were, had been assembled; but Prince Renaud, marching upon them, at once defeated their army and shattered their forces completely so that thereafter no one might dare to raise a hand against him. He then completely overran the island without meeting any opposition, destroyed cities, and wrecked fortresses. He broke into monasteries of men and women alike and shamefully abused nuns and tender maidens. Although the precious vestments and the amount of gold and silver which he carried off were great, yet the loss of these was regarded as nothing in comparison with the violence done to chastity.[43]

For several days Renaud's forces continued to ravage the whole country; and, since there was none to offer resistance, they showed no mercy to age or sex, neither did they recognize difference of condition. Finally, laden with a vast amount of riches and spoils of every kind, they returned to the seashore. When the ships were ready, they embarked and set sail for Antioch. There, within a short time all the wealth which had been so wickedly acquired was dissipated; for, as says the proverb, "Booty wickedly acquired brings no good results." [44]

[42] There is some uncertainty regarding the date of these events. William places them "in the year following" the death of Abbas, which would presumably be in 1155. After defeating Thoros and recovering several castles for the Templars, Renaud seems to have formed an alliance with the Armenian, and the two collaborated in the raid on Cyprus (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 436–39).

[43] This charge of atrocities committed by Renaud de Châtillon is confirmed by Syrian historians. To what extent William's recital was influenced by the fact that Renaud was a political opponent of Raymond of Tripoli is difficult to determine, for Renaud's ruthless treatment of opposition is abundantly attested by others. This expedition occurred either late in 1155 or early in 1156 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 438).

[44] Ovid *Amor.* I. x. 48.

11. *The king captures certain Turks and Arabs in the forest of Banyas in defiance of the treaty which he had previously made with them.*

ABOUT this same time an immense company of Arabs and Turkomans, in far larger numbers than ever before, had assembled in a forest near the city of Banyas. These people, like the Arabs, habitually live in tents and sustain life on milk.[45] The forest is now generally known as the forest of Banyas from the city of that name, but in olden times the entire tract, including those parts which extend toward both north and south as well as that which covers Lebanon itself, was called the forest of Lebanon. It is written in the scriptures that in this forest Solomon built a magnificent mansion of marvellous workmanship which was called the house of the forest of Lebanon.[46] Now, however, as has been said, the entire forest is called by the name of the neighboring city. Into this wood, after first obtaining the king's permission and a solemn treaty of peace, the people just mentioned had driven a large number of animals, principally horses, because of the excellent pasturage it afforded.

But certain wicked men, sons of Belial, who had no fear of God before their eyes, approached the king and easily persuaded him to fall in with their evil schemes. They suggested that, regardless of his faithful promise and the treaty made with these nomads, he should make a sudden attack upon them after they had driven their flocks and herds into the forest to graze and give them and their beasts as prey to his own people. This plan was adopted. The king, burdened by debt and held fast by many obligations which he had no means of satisfying, easily inclined to this as to any scheme by which he might relieve the pressure upon him. He lent a ready ear to the wicked counsellors and acquiesced in their suggestion. Led astray by the counsel of evil men, he summoned his knights and made a sudden raid upon those people. Finding them unprepared, without thought of any attack, he charged them as enemies and delivered them over to the rapacity of his followers. Some, thanks to their swift horses, were able to save their lives by flight; others, spurred on by necessity,

[45] Turkomans, a branch of the Iranian Turks, were devoted to horse breeding, and the milk referred to was probably mare's milk or possibly camel's.

[46] I Ki. 10: 17; II Chron. 9: 20.

escaped by hiding in the woods; but all the rest were either slain by the sword or led into cruel servitude.[47]

It is said that the number of captives and the amount of booty taken in this raid was never equalled in our land. A very large number of horses was distributed by lot, and in this division every individual, even those of the lowest rank, shared. Yet this deed brought no glorious or laudable renown to our people, for they had violated a treaty of peace and had maltreated, as they would, an unsuspecting people—men who relied upon the good faith of the king and who had, moreover, no means of resisting.

But the Lord, the God of vengeance, He who brings just retribution on sinners, did not suffer us to enjoy the rewards of our sin long; indeed He soon made it plain that, even with infidels, faith must be kept. As punishment for that crime, He took vengeance upon us to our undoing and, for our many sins, He doubled our punishment and brought confusion upon us, as will be shown in the following pages.

12. *Humphrey, the constable, grants to the Hospitallers a half part of the city of Banyas. Supplies which are being brought thither are captured by Nureddin, and the city itself is besieged.*

About the same time, Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, became weary of the continual responsibility and expense which devolved upon him in the care of the city of Banyas, his hereditary possession. Since he could not without aid suitably rule and protect it, with the king's consent he decided to share it equally with the brothers of the Hospital. The terms agreed upon under this arrangement were as follows: the brothers were to own one half of the city and all outlying dependencies, they were to pay one half of the expenses for all necessary and useful outlay, and to bear due responsibility for one half the city.

Banyas lay on the confines of the enemy's country and very close to it, so that no one could approach or leave the city without danger unless in a strong company or by following secret ways. After the brothers

[47] Nureddin, according to Qalanisi, had made a truce with Baldwin III for a year beginning September, 1156. This raid, which the same writer also describes, occurred in February, 1157. His explanation of Baldwin's act is that the arrival of new troops from the West had emboldened him to disregard the truce (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 327–28).

had assumed the charge of their part of the city, they desired to put the place in a good state of defense and for that purpose assembled supplies of provisions and arms and also a body of troops. On a certain day, with an adequate train of camels and other pack animals loaded with supplies under convoy of a body of knights who were to conduct the entire expedition to the city by force (if necessary), they were proceeding to Banyas with the intention of provisioning the place with all necessary supplies for a long time thereafter. As they drew near the city with all their train, however, the infidels, who had been advised of their approach, fell upon them. Vigorously using their swords, the Turks broke up the Christians' line of march and killed many of their number. They then seized the baggage, while the survivors fled for their lives. Those whom the furious attack of the foe prevented from escaping were either slain by the sword or made prisoners. Thus, all the supplies which had been collected for provisioning the city fell into the hands of the infidels to be used against it. After this disaster, the brothers, fearing the cost of similar misfortunes, withdrew from the agreement which they had made and returned Banyas with its burdens and emoluments to the constable.[48]

Elated by this success, Nureddin decided to take advantage at once of the opportunity to invest Banyas while it was prostrated by the catastrophe. He summoned his cavalry, had his engines of war moved to the place, and suddenly appeared before the city. The forces were placed in a circle around it and siege operations begun. There was a citadel in one part of Banyas well equipped with arms and men and with sufficient food for a short time. This would have afforded refuge for the citizens even if the city were taken. But the people had great confidence in the fortifications of their city, especially as they had frequently suffered similar attacks, and accordingly they decided to make a vigorous attempt to defend the place. They might, in fact, have succeeded as they hoped, had they not felt too much confidence in themselves and so proceeded to act without due discretion.

Nureddin attacked with the machines and hurling engines and at the same time kept up a steady, incessant shower of arrows which gave

[48] The destruction of this band of Hospitallers and Templars was a cause of great rejoicing at Damascus. Nureddin's brother led the Muslim detachment which had gained the victory, and the captives as well as the severed heads of the slain were carried through the city in a great procession. The battle occurred April 26, 1157 (Gibb, *Chronicle,* pp. 330–32).

the besieged no respite. Night and day they were forced to fight without intermission until they were exhausted to the point of fainting. For so many had been slain and so many fatally wounded that few were left to carry on the work of defense. Had not the constable and his son, who nobly emulated his father's valor, shown themselves ready to fight zealously for their hereditary possessions and by their example encouraged others to resist, without doubt the citizens, exhausted by their heroic efforts, would have given way before the superior strength of their foes. But, as has been said, the presence of their lords restrained them, and the unflagging courage of their superiors, successful in animating others, restored their failing strength and gave them fresh courage for resistance.

One day, while the foe was pressing them more fiercely than usual, the besieged opened the city gate and made a sally against the enemy outside. Since they offered battle without due caution, however, they roused a multitude of the enemy against them. The Turks rushed upon them, and the citizens, unable to maintain their position, tried to withdraw into the city. The gate could not be shut, however, because the pressure of the crowd trying to enter was so great. Consequently, the enemy, intermingling with the townspeople, entered in such numbers that the town was taken by force. The Christians, at great risk and with much loss of life, were forced to retreat to the citadel.[49]

Meanwhile the king had learned that Banyas was suffering dire straits at the hand of Nureddin—that it was, in fact, about to fall. As quickly as possible, he mustered all the troops available at the time, both knights and foot soldiers, and marched rapidly to Banyas with his legions. He was determined either to raise the siege or to try the fortune of battle with Nureddin.

13. *The king hastens to Banyas and raises the siege. On the return march our army advances without due caution and falls into dangerous ambushes.*

As soon as Nureddin learned that the king was coming with a fixed purpose, he raised the siege, for he was unwilling to trust himself to

[49] According to Qalanisi, Humphrey had already offered to capitulate provided he and his men in the citadel be permitted to withdraw in safety, an offer which Nureddin rejected. Baldwin's arrival, recounted in the following chapter, thus saved Humphrey.

the uncertain chances of battle. Before he retired, however, he undermined and set fire to the city which he had taken by assault. He did not, however, permit the forces which he had assembled to disband, but, with keen foresight, kept them with him. He summoned even larger forces and lay in ambush in the neighboring forest to await the outcome of events.

The arrival of the king at Banyas brought the succor so eagerly desired by the besieged. He promised that he would remain until the fallen places had been raised, the breaches mended, and the city, its walls repaired, restored to its former state. From the neighboring cities and the whole region, he summoned masons and all who had some experience in the art of building. The walls and towers were thoroughly repaired and the ramparts renewed. Within the circuit of the walls, the houses of the inhabitants were rebuilt and the public buildings restored to their original condition, for Nureddin, during his occupancy of the city, had taken great care to destroy them completely.

When all was finished, the king and his nobles felt that a longer sojourn there in the interests of the citizens was unnecessary. Everything was now entirely restored and the fortress sufficiently equipped for the time being with arms, food, and men. He accordingly dismissed the infantry forces and determined to return to Tiberias accompanied by the cavalry squadrons only. Setting out from Banyas, he directed his march toward the south and encamped by a lake called Michel. There the army rested that night, but without taking proper precautions or observing the regulations for camps, in fact, far otherwise than the requirements of military discipline demanded.

It often happens that when affairs are moving successfully and happily people become somewhat careless. In adversity men ordinarily exercise more care in their affairs.[50] The same thought is contained possibly in this well-known saying, "A thousand shall fall at thy side" (at the left, probably) "and ten thousand at thy right hand." [51] For under prosperous conditions, the majority, elated by success, generally rush headlong to destruction; while, on the contrary, those who are exhausted by losses and misfortune have been taught by their own danger to conduct themselves prudently under dubious conditions and always

Banyas had been under siege almost a month, May to June, 1157 (Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 333–36).

[50] Ovid *Met.* VI. 576.

[51] Ps. 91 : 7.

to distrust fortune, which, as their own experience shows, is often cruel.

Reflecting on the fact that he had forced this great prince to withdraw from the siege of Banyas, the king felt confident that Nureddin was now far away with his forces and could not readily reassemble so many nations against him and his people. Accordingly, he began to exercise too little caution, as we have said, and was inclined to be too indulgent to the whims of individuals. News soon reached the enemy who were lurking in ambush that the king's infantry forces had been dismissed and that the rest of the army was encamped in a careless and unguarded fashion near lake Michel. Some of the leaders, as Philip of Nablus and various others, were also reported to have left with their contingents. Perceiving, therefore, that matters had turned out according to their wishes, the infidels speedily moved their camp. Their shrewd leader hastened matters along, as he knew was expedient, and led the army at a rapid march in that direction. They soon arrived at the Jordan, which lay between the two armies, crossed the river, and placed themselves in ambush at a spot commonly called Jacob's ford, on this side Jordan, where the king's army would cross the following day.

At daybreak, the Christian army, all unaware of the ambush laid during the night and of the schemes of their foes, resumed their march toward the place which the Turk had already secretly taken. They were marching along in fancied security, fearing no untoward accident, when suddenly those who had been stationed there for the purpose of surprising the incautious Christians rushed forth from their hiding places. As the Christians advanced, carefree and without apprehension of danger, they were met by the drawn swords of an enemy intent on either slaying or wounding. Roused to the danger, although too late, the Christians perceived that a serious encounter was imminent; they ceased their trivial chatting, ran to their horses, and took arms. Before they could range themselves in battle formation, however, and rally for defense, their ranks were broken; the foe attacked them furiously at close quarters with sword play, so that it was impossible for our men to hold together anywhere, except in very small groups.

14. *The king flees from the field of battle and retires to the fortress of Safed. The army is defeated, and most of the commanders are captured.*

THE king remained surrounded by a few knights who still clung to him. He perceived, however, that the lines were broken and that the army, disorganized, was everywhere exposed to the fury of the enemy. Moreover, the strength of the enemy was increasing from every direction while our ranks were giving way, as in fact had been the case from the beginning. Accordingly, he wisely withdrew to a hill near by, to provide for his own safety. From there, with great difficulty avoiding the enemy now on his right and again on his left, he succeeded, thanks to the horse which carried him, in reaching the fortress of Safed, which is on the same mountain. A very large number of our leaders were taken prisoners that day, but very few were killed. For all indiscriminately, warriors renowned for wisdom and experience in war and common soldiers alike, to save their miserable lives surrendered without resistance like the lowest slaves, utterly regardless of the shameful yoke of slavery and the ignominy which would cling to their names forevermore.

Among the prisoners were the noble and distinguished Hugh d'Ibelin; Eudes de Saint-Amand, the king's marshal; John Gotmanus; Rohard of Jaffa and Balian, his brother; Bertrand de Blanquefort, the master of the Knights of the Temple, a religious and God-fearing man; and many others whose names are unknown to us.

Justly as our ways deserved, the Lord rendered to us the fruits of our evil doing; and we, who in scorn of the laws of humanity had wrongfully oppressed the innocent and those who relied on our good faith, were ourselves overwhelmed with confusion in like measure. As penalty for our sins, our illustrious leaders were made a reproach to the Gentiles and were exposed to the derision of the enemy. "Thou makest us a by-word among the heathen, a shaking of the head among the people." [52]

Yet in His great compassion, not wholly without pity hath He dealt with us, neither hath He withheld His mercy in anger, since He saved the king. If our lord had fallen that day, the whole realm would, without question, have been plunged into the deepest peril. Which may

[52] Ps. 44: 14.

God avert! For in the case of a knight, however great, the fortune of one man only is concerned; but the peril of the king involves danger to the entire nation. Thus, loyal David, when full of anxiety about his king, implored, "Lord, preserve the king."

During this time, rumors of varying import concerning the king's safety caused great anxiety throughout the realm. Some said that he had perished by the sword, others that he had been carried away captive among the other prisoners, although the enemy were not aware of his identity. It was also rumored that, through the protection of divine mercy, he had escaped uninjured from the tumult of battle. The entire people felt deep concern on their king's behalf like that of a devoted mother for an only son. Ignorant of his fate, they imagined the worst that could happen and in their loving sympathy feared lest this had been his fate.

When he found himself at some distance from the enemy, the king, with the few who had followed him to Safed and some others who had escaped the perils of the previous day, hastened to Acre, where the people welcomed him with enthusiastic shouts of joy as one returned from the dead.

This happened in the fourteenth year of King Baldwin, in the month of June, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of July.[53]

15. *Nureddin besieges Banyas a second time, but without success, for the king marches forth against him.*

Nureddin, an indefatigable warrior, eager to continue his successes, overran the entire country and enriched himself with booty, taken now in one place and now in another. Again he called forth his battalions and caused still larger forces to be levied from Damascus and from all the lands subject to his control, for he was determined to besiege Banyas a second time. Nothing was further from his thoughts than that the king and the nobles whose forces he had utterly crushed would again come to the rescue of the besieged. In pursuance of his design, therefore, he again established a blockade around Banyas and set up his numerous engines in strategic positions. The mighty blows

[53] William's date here agrees exactly with that of Qalanisi, June 19, 1157, which was the fourteenth year of Baldwin's reign. The latter, however, says that Baldwin did not rebuild the walls of Banyas. He also says that the Muslims thought they had slain Baldwin but were unable to find his body. The parade of prisoners and booty was held at Damascus five days after the battle (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 336–37).

of the stone missiles shook the towers and weakened the walls. At the same time, showers of darts and arrows fell like hail and prevented all resistance on the part of those within. The people of Banyas, however, remembering how futile had been their earnest efforts to save the city during the siege just past, voluntarily retreated to the citadel in a body to forestall a similar experience.

When the constable left the city to attend to other affairs, he had placed in supreme control a kinsman of his own called Guy of Scandalium, a man of wide experience in war, but of doubtful loyalty and one who feared not God. This man, for the sake of him who had placed him in charge and also with a view to his own reputation, lest the fame which his warlike prowess had won him might be diminished, endeavored by word and example to inspire the others to resistance. He assured them that relief would soon arrive and that a glorious renown forevermore awaited those who should deserve it. As a result, all fought as for their personal advantage, and their ability to endure long vigils and continual hardships excited the wonder and admiration of the enemy. Nevertheless, the Turks, determined to fight with all their might against an adversary who likewise resisted to the utmost, inflicted endless woes upon the defenders. Their numbers were larger, and they could relieve each other in turn. The Christians, on the contrary, had no reserves with which to recruit their strength, and the daily pressure was forcing them almost to the point of giving way.

Meanwhile news reached the king that Banyas was in dire straits, nor was that fact hidden from the nobles of the kingdom who still survived. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli to urge that they hasten without delay to the relief of the city. Heralds were also sent out by the king to summon the few remaining knights in the kingdom. Thus, it happened by divine mercy that within a short time, indeed sooner than was expected, both these illustrious princes with their noble retinues arrived at the royal camp. From this position, which was located near Chastel Neuf, at a place called Noire Garde, the besieged city could be seen not far away.[54]

Nureddin was soon informed that the two leaders had joined the

[54] This second attack on Banyas is not specifically mentioned by Qalanisi, who alludes only vaguely to Nureddin's efforts to follow up the earlier victory over the king.

king and were preparing to march with him to Banyas. The prince was a man of much foresight and discretion in the management of his affairs. Although he had already succeeded in making many breaches in the stronghold and the besieged had lost all hope of resistance, yet he thought it wise to avoid the vicissitudes of battle with its perils and uncertainties. He therefore abandoned the siege and withdrew to a remote part of his own kingdom.

16. *Thierry, count of Flanders, lands. Ambassadors are sent to Constantinople to seek a wife for the king.*

THUS many events of widely differing character were taking place in the kingdom, and, since most of our leaders were in captivity, the land was lying in desolation. Just at this time it chanced, by divine mercy, that Thierry, count of Flanders, landed at the port of Beirut with his wife Sibylla, the king's half sister by the same father. The visits of this eminent and distinguished man had more than once been of much assistance and solace to us.

The entire people welcomed him with great joy, for his arrival with his following seemed to promise that the intolerable distress of the realm would now be relieved in large measure. Nor were the ardent hopes of those who so devotedly longed for the peace of the kingdom disappointed, for immediately on his arrival, like an angel of good counsel, he assumed the direction of their affairs and led them forward for the good of the realm and the glory of the Christian profession, as will be related hereafter.[55]

About this time, the fact that the king, although he had now arrived at the age of manhood, was still unmarried began to be a matter of much concern to the princes of the realm, both secular and ecclesiastical. It was most important that he have children, that a son might succeed him as the legitimate heir to the kingdom. They accordingly met to deliberate about an honorable marriage for their lord, who was as yet childless. After long consideration, the various opinions were brought into harmony, and it was unanimously agreed to confer with the emperor of Constantinople on this matter. In his palace there were

[55] Thierry's arrival must be dated toward the end of the summer, 1157. Several circumstances caused the scene of activities to shift to northern Syria, where Qilij Arslan II had invaded the territory of Antioch, while Nureddin, who had gone to the relief of the earthquake-stricken cities along the upper Orontes, found it more convenient to attack the same territory from the south.

many noble maidens closely related to him by ties of blood, and furthermore it would be possible for him, as the most powerful and wealthy prince of the world, to relieve from his own abundance the distress under which our realm was suffering and to change our poverty into superabundance. By common consent, therefore, envoys were sent to carry out this design, with the aid of God. Attard, archbishop of Nazareth, and Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, were chosen for this task. After providing for their affairs meanwhile, they proceeded to the coast and there embarked.[56]

17. *The king, accompanied by the count of Flanders, hastens to Antioch with all the forces of the kingdom. Nureddin is stricken with a serious malady.*

It was the unanimous opinion that the arrival of such a great prince with so many noble and valiant men in his train ought not to be futile and without result. It was therefore determined by common consent, under the inspiration of divine grace, that they proceed to the land of Antioch with the united fighting forces. This purpose was communicated to the prince of that land and to the count of Tripoli, and both were cordially invited to have their troops in readiness on an appointed day to invade the enemy's country. Accordingly, led by divine favor, all the Christians from the various parts assembled at a place known as La Boquea, in the land of Tripoli. Thence in battle array, they marched into hostile territory. At first, however, success did not attend them. A vigorous attack was made upon one of the enemy's strongholds called Chastel Rouge, but nothing was accomplished. "Better luck followed a poor beginning," [57] however. Accordingly, at the suggestion and earnest entreaty of Renaud, prince of Antioch, the assembled princes proceeded, under more favorable auspices, toward the land of Antioch.

While they were tarrying there to work out the plan most expedient under the circumstances, a messenger charged with most agreeable news came to the king and the lords. He affirmed as a fact that Nureddin, our most powerful enemy, who had been encamped with a great host near Castle Nepa, was either dead or lying desperately ill of an

[56] This embassy, according to the context, must have started for Constantinople shortly after the arrival of Thierry, perhaps in September, 1157, though it may have been later.

[57] Ovid *Met.* VII. 518.

incurable disease. In proof of his assertion, the messenger stated that on the day previous he had witnessed great confusion in Nureddin's camp. Apparently his slaves, even his most trusted retainers, and all his private possessions, had been given over indiscriminately to be pillaged at the will of anyone. He furthermore reported that the troops, weeping and wailing in deepest sorrow, had dispersed hither and yon in the utmost confusion.[58]

The report brought by the messenger proved in fact to be true. Nureddin had been attacked by a most serious malady; the ranks had become disorganized, and, as is the custom among them when the master dies, plundering and unrestrained violence was rife in his army. Nureddin himself, disabled in body and entirely helpless, had been carried in a litter to Aleppo by his faithful attendants.

At this report of the state of affairs, the Christians perceived that all things were working together for the success of their enterprise. By unanimous agreement, therefore, messengers were dispatched to Thoros, a very powerful Armenian prince, with a most friendly invitation that he deign to join them in an undertaking which promised to be very fruitful. The envoys were instructed to use every means to induce him to cast aside all excuses and join the allied forces at Antioch with reinforcements. Thoros received the message with alacrity. A man of prompt and energetic character, he at once assembled a great army and made a forced march to Antioch. The Christians greeted him with rejoicing; the troops were immediately led forth from the city and the march directed toward Shayzar.

18. *Shayzar is besieged and, within a short time, is taken by storm.*

THE city of Shayzar lies upon the same Orontes river which flows by Antioch. It is called by some Caesarea, and by them is believed to be the famous metropolis of Cappadocia over which the distinguished teacher St. Basil once presided; but those who hold this view are in grave error. For that Caesarea is a fifteen days journey or more from Antioch. This city is in Coelesyria, a province which is separated from Cappadocia by many intervening provinces. Nor is the name Caesarea, but rather Caesara. It is one of the suffragan cities belonging to the

[58] This severe illness overtook Nureddin early in October, 1157, and led to the confusion here described (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 341–42).

patriarchate of Antioch. It is very conveniently situated. The lower part extends along the plain, while upon the heights of the upper part is the citadel, fairly long in extent but rather narrow. It is well fortified, for in addition to its natural defenses, the river protects it on one side and the city on the other, so that it is entirely inaccessible.

The Christians advanced with ranks drawn up according to the rules of military discipline. As soon as they reached the city the several leaders at once disposed their troops in the best order and blockaded the place. Fear of the enemy caused the citizens to withdraw within the walls as soon as the siege began. The king and those encamped outside immediately set up their engines and hurling machines. Never for a moment did they relax their efforts but endeavored to do all possible harm, that the strength of the defenders might be exhausted by unremitting toil and hardship. Each commander exerted himself valiantly in the special sector to which he had been assigned at the outset and by words of encouragement and promises of reward cheered his men on to ever more vigorous efforts. Each desired to be the first to break through into the city, and each sought to win for himself the glory of being the first to enter. Hence they wrought such havoc that death seemed to threaten the townspeople from every direction.

The inhabitants of Shayzar had but little knowledge of arms; their attention was devoted almost entirely to trading. Furthermore, completely ignorant of the recent misfortune, there was nothing they feared less than a siege. They had confidence in the defenses of their city and in the strength of their lord, who was, as they supposed, in good health. Hence they were unable to sustain burdens of this kind and could not hold out under the continual assaults and skirmishes. After a few days, they gave way under the constant pressure of their assailants; whereupon the Christians, breaking through the fortifications, rushed into the midst of the city and took it by force. The people retreated to the citadel, all that remained of the lower city was abandoned, and everything without exception was given over to the enemy for pillage. For several days, therefore, the Christians used the houses of the people with all that they contained, according to their own good pleasure.

But just when it seemed certain that, under the continued pressure, the citadel also might be taken easily together with all who had fled thither for refuge, an insignificant but most annoying source of friction

arose among our leaders. The king was anxious to provide for the welfare of the lands. Knowing that the count of Flanders with his large force of knights and abundant means would be fully able to protect the city against the strength and intrigues of the Turks, he had, from the first, destined Shayzar for him. With this in view, therefore, he determined to make a more vigorous assault upon the citadel, that he might put both the city and the fortress under the protection of the count, to be held by him as a hereditary possession forever. This arrangement seemed most suitable to all the leaders, and they unanimously agreed to it.

Prince Renaud alone raised difficulties; he declared that Shayzar with its dependencies had, from the beginning, formed a part of the heritage of the prince of Antioch; hence, whoever held it must pledge loyalty to him as lord. Although Count Thierry was ready to do loyal homage to the king for the possession of Shayzar, he absolutely refused to swear fealty to the prince of Antioch, whether it be to Renaud, who was now administering the principality, or to the young Bohemond, who, it was hoped, would soon take over the power. Never, he said, had he done homage except to kings.[59]

In punishment for our sins, a controversy thereupon arose among the leaders over this question. The enterprise, so important and almost within their grasp, was abandoned, and the Christians returned to Antioch with their legions, laden with plunder and booty even to the point of satiety.

19. *The brother of Nureddin moves against us. Fulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem dies. The fortress cave beyond Jordan is restored to us. The king lays siege to the castle of Harim, in the country of Antioch, and takes it.*

About this time, Mirmiran [Musrat al-Din], Nureddin's brother, learning of his brother's misfortune and believing him dead, came to Aleppo. The citizens immediately surrendered the city to him without making any difficulty. But, while he was vigorously storming the citadel to force the surrender of that also, he heard that his brother was

[59] This new failure of the Christians to capture Shayzar, Qalanisi again ascribes to the arrival of Muslim reinforcements (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 342).

still living. Accordingly, he at once disbanded his troops and departed.[60]

At this same time also, Fulcher, the eighth Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, a religious man who feared God, went the way of all flesh. His death occurred in the twelfth year of his patriarchate, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of December.[61]

About the same time, likewise, the Christians regained a stronghold on the other side of Jordan in the land of Gilead. This place, a well-fortified cave, through the carelessness of our forces had been taken a few years earlier by the trickery of the enemy. Its recovery was largely due to the zealous efforts of Queen Melisend, aided by the vigorous work of those who were left in the kingdom; in particular, by the care and vigilance of Baldwin de Lille, to whom the king had entrusted the responsibility of the realm during his own absence. News of this success was sent to the king; it brought great joy to the entire army and was a source of much happiness to all.

In the meantime, the Christian leaders were still lingering at Antioch. Notwithstanding the fact that they had been somewhat at variance before Shayzar, they had now, by the grace of God, arrived at unanimity of spirit. They therefore resolved in the bonds of peace to undertake again some notable work which would be worthy of remembrance forever. With the approval and aid of all, it was determined to lay siege to a fortress about twelve miles from Antioch. This place exercised great power and jurisdiction over the villages, called *casalia*, and was very troublesome to the city itself. Accordingly, upon the day of the Lord's nativity, the entire army, as with one mind, repaired thither and encamped before the place.

Meanwhile, Nureddin was still held in the grasp of the illness which had attacked him. The wisest physicians had been summoned from all over the Orient, but his infirmity still failed to respond to the remedies which they applied and his life was now despaired of. This seemed to the Christians an especially favorable manifestation of the divine will, working with them in their undertaking. For, had Nureddin been in the enjoyment of his usual health and strength, it

60 Amir Miran, Musrat al-Din, the brother of Nureddin, had been the victor over the Hospitallers early in 1157. William's account of his seizure of Aleppo and voluntary withdrawal is almost a summary of Qalanisi's version (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 342).

61 November 20, 1157. See chap. 22.

would hardly have been possible for our army to have acted so freely in the districts subject to him.

The king and those who accompanied him on this expedition turned the opportunity to their own advantage. The definite knowledge that this great warrior was unable to take any part in his own affairs led them to pursue their project with greater fervor and to press forward the siege more ardently. Accordingly they encircled the fortress on all sides, set up their engines, and prepared all the instruments which are customarily used in besieging a citadel.

The fortress under discussion was situated on a low-lying hill, which presented the appearance of a mound artificially built there as a foundation for the structure. The wisest men in the army devoted themselves to constructing covered passages from suitable material, in which the soldiers who were to undermine the embankment might lie securely hidden. It seemed to them—and they were not far from right—that if the hill were mined by concealed passages, some portion of the buildings superimposed upon it must fall. Wickerwork of osiers, ladders of moderate height, and all other instruments that might be of service in such work were hastily prepared. When everything had been made ready with the greatest care, the chiefs of both the infantry battalions and the cavalry squadrons were directed by the voice of the herald and also by secret instructions to apply themselves promptly and diligently to the work of attack. A definite place was assigned to each chief, and there he, with his own retainers and friends, pressed on the work with fury as if the success of the whole matter rested upon himself alone. Each commander was anxious to prove that his own followers were the best; consequently by constant attacks and daily skirmishes they kept up the work so persistently that an undertaking which would ordinarily have occupied many days was by vigilant attention accomplished within two months.

One day a huge stone cast forth from a hurling machine which was battering the citadel night and day chanced to fall upon the chief commander of the castle upon whom the entire defense rested. He was instantly ground to bits. Upon his death the people dispersed like sheep when the shepherd is struck down, and, as sand without lime cannot hold together, so the obstinate resistance which they had hitherto shown ceased.

As soon as this was realized, the Christians redoubled their efforts,

and the resistance of the besieged correspondingly slackened. Very soon after—in fact, within a few days—they sent a deputation to the king and offered to resign the place to him, on condition that they be permitted to go home freely and peaceably with all their goods. They also asked that guides be furnished to protect them from attack and to conduct them safely to their desired destination.

Thus the fortress was taken. It was delivered to the prince of Antioch, under whose jurisdiction it had formerly been, and the leaders returned to Antioch after completing a successful campaign. There, after words of farewell had been exchanged, the king left them and returned to the kingdom, accompanied by the magnificent count of Flanders. The count of Tripoli courteously attended them on the way as far as Tripoli.[62]

20. *Amalrich, quondam prior of the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, is elected patriarch. His election causes strife among the bishops.*

At this time, because of the death of Fulcher of precious memory, the church at Jerusalem was without a patriarch. The prelates of the church assembled therefore at the Holy City to act on the matter of choosing an incumbent for this important see, in accordance with canonical rules. It is claimed that, through the intervention of a sister of Queen Melisend and Sibylla, countess of Flanders, the king's sister, the choice was irregularly made, and Amalrich, prior of the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, was elected.[63]

Amalrich was a Frank by birth, from the town of Nesle, in the bishopric of Noyon. He was a man of good education, but very simple and of little advantage to the church. He was elected to the position in opposition to the wishes of Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, who appealed from the decision. After he took possession of the see, Amalrich placed the matter in the hands

[62] This fortress, whose siege and capture are described in such detail, has not been definitely identified, unless it be Harim (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 179, note 1). If so, it must have been recently lost, perhaps to Qilij Arslan earlier in the year.

[63] It is strange that William does not mention which of the queen's sisters is meant. It was probably Iveta, the youngest, who was now abbess of her convent. Sibylla of Flanders was especially devoted to this sister of her stepmother, Melisend, and is said to have remained with her when her husband returned to Flanders (see L. Delisle, ed., *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, I, 325).

of Frederick, bishop of Acre, who went to the Roman church then ruled over by Hadrian. By the lavish use of gifts, it is claimed, Frederick secured for Amalrich, in the absence of his adversaries, the favor of the Roman pontiff and brought back with him the pallium in full recognition of Amalrich's claim to the office of patriarch.

21. *Nureddin lays siege to a cave in the region of Suita, belonging to the Christians. The king marches out against him and succeeds in raising the siege. Nureddin fights with the Christians and is defeated.*

IN the meanwhile, however, Nureddin had been cured of his malady through the careful treatment of his physicians. The king had now returned to his own realm, and the Turkish prince, in full vigor of health, repaired to Damascus. In the course of the following summer, that he might not pass the time in idleness there and be accused of relaxing his usual vigilance, he summoned his army, mustered a large force of reserves, and made a sudden attack upon one of our fortresses. This was a cavern in the district called Suita [Sawad], situated on the side of a high and very steep hill. There was no access to this place from above or below but only from the side, by way of a narrow and dangerous path along a precipice. Within were rooms and sleeping arrangements which afforded the necessary accommodation for those living there. There was also a spring of living water which never failed, so that, as far as the narrow limits of the place permitted, it was fairly well equipped and was regarded as very useful to the district.

The news of this siege was brought to the king by a reliable report. He at once mustered the forces of the realm and hurried thither, accompanied by the count of Flanders. The people within, unable to endure the rigors of a siege, had already made tentative conditions of surrender such as necessity usually imposes; namely, that unless help arrived within ten days, they would without fail surrender the fortifications at the expiration of that time. This fact also was made known to the king. He therefore made all possible haste to their relief and with his army encamped near Tiberias, by the bridge where the waves of the Jordan separate from those of the lake of Gennesaret.

But as soon as Nureddin learned that the king was at hand, on the advice of Siraconus [Shirkuh], his commander in chief, a man of great

valor but of overweening self-confidence, he left the siege and marched forth with his army against the Christians.

The king, learning that Nureddin intended to attack him, summoned his lords to his quarters at earliest dawn. Humble adoration was first rendered to the Life-giving Cross, which Peter, of precious memory, our predecessor as archbishop of Tyre, was bearing; then by unanimous consent battle was declared. The ranks were put in motion, and, in exultation of spirit as if already assured of victory, they marched forth to the place where Nureddin's hosts were said to be. When close upon the foe, according to their wish, the Christian battalions, in battle array and armed to the teeth, dashed en masse upon the Turks and made furious use of their swords, as if determined to fight to the death. But the undaunted Turks sustained the charge without wavering. They counterattacked with the sword and with gallant resistance endeavored to repel the assault of their adversaries.

After varying tides of fortune, victory was finally vouchsafed from on high to the Christians. The enemy was routed with heavy losses, and the king as victor held the field with his army. This battle took place at Puthaha on the Ides of July, in the fifteenth year of King Baldwin's reign.[64]

Thence, Baldwin deemed it expedient to march on with his army to the fortress which had been under siege. There he repaired the damage that had been done and carefully supplied the place with arms, food, and valiant men. He then disbanded his army, sent them away to their homes, and returned to the realm after a successful campaign.

22. *The envoys sent to Constantinople on the matter of the king's marriage return. They bring with them a niece of the emperor as a wife for the king.*

As has been mentioned, envoys had gone to Constantinople to arrange a marriage for the king. One of their number, Attard, archbishop of Nazareth, died there, and his body was brought back to his own church by the zealous care of his faithful companions. He was succeeded by Letard, prior of the canons of the same church, a very kindly man, gentle and affable, who still remains in the same charge in the twenty-

[64] July 15, 1158. Qalanisi's account of Nureddin's defeat is somewhat briefer (Gibb, *Chronicle*, p. 347).

third year of his pontificate.[65] The surviving envoys, namely, Humphrey the constable, Joscelin Pisellus, and William de Barris, noble and illustrious men, well versed in secular affairs, pursued with due diligence the task entrusted to them at the court of the emperor. After numberless delays and equivocal answers expressed in mystifying circumlocutions such as the subtle Greeks delight in and usually employ, their request was gratified. Arrangements concerning the dowry and the donation for the marriage having been concluded, an illustrious maiden, a princess who had been reared in the strictest seclusion of the imperial palace, was named as the king's bride. She was in fact a niece of the emperor, the daughter of his elder brother Isaac, and was called Theodora. She was in her thirteenth year, a maiden of unusual beauty, both of form and feature, whose entire appearance favorably impressed all who saw her. Her dowry consisted of a hundred thousand hyperperes, of standard weight, and in addition ten thousand of the same coins, which the emperor generously granted for her marriage expenses. The bridal outfit of the maiden, in gold and gems, garments and pearls, tapestries and silken stuffs, as well as precious vessels, might by a just estimate be valued at an additional fourteen thousand hyperperes.[66]

The king had sent a guarantee to the emperor in his own handwriting that whatever his envoys should agree to on his part he himself would ratify. On his behalf, they faithfully promised that, in case of the king's death, the queen should hold as a marriage portion with life tenure, in all tranquillity and without contest, the city of Acre with all its appurtenances. Thus, with settlements satisfactory to both parties the matter was concluded. Bridal attendants selected from the highest peers of the empire were assigned to accompany the lady on her journey to the king, and she set out for Syria, under the escort of the envoys, to go to her husband.

During the course of the following September she landed safely at Tyre with all her retinue. Within a few days thereafter she was consecrated at Jerusalem as the custom of the realm decreed and crowned

[65] This allusion to Letard's twenty-third year in office dates the time of William's writing of this passage in 1181.

[66] The embassy to Constantinople presumably left late in 1157 and returned with the Greek princess as the prospective bride of Baldwin III in September, 1158 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 439–40). The hyperperus, nomisma, or solidus was at one time a gold coin worth about two dollars. It was, however, somewhat debased by the Comneni and issued also as a silver coin (A. A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 149).

with the royal diadem. Then, after the solemn rites of marriage had been accomplished, she was given to her husband. The patriarch-elect of Jerusalem had not at that time received the gift of consecration, for the envoys sent to the pope on behalf of his cause had not yet returned. Aimery, patriarch of Antioch, was therefore summoned by royal mandate to confer the grace of royal unction upon the queen and to celebrate the customary rites of marriage.[67] From the time that he took a wife, the king laid aside all the levity which, according to rumor, he had hitherto unduly displayed. Thenceforward he might say with the apostle, "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." [68] He is said to have cherished his wife ever after with affection worthy of praise and is believed to have been faithful to her even to the end. Having thus laid aside light conduct, as if changed from that former man,[69] he began to undertake important works and to occupy himself entirely with serious matters.

23. *The emperor of Constantinople comes to Antioch. Prince Renaud makes amends for the outrages he committed in Cyprus and is restored to favor.*

DURING the course of that same year, the emperor of Constantinople determined to go down into Syria. He mustered troops from all the provinces of his realm, in keeping with his imperial magnificence, and with this great army gathered from all tribes and peoples, tongues and nations, he crossed the Hellespont, passed swiftly through all the intervening country and about the beginning of December appeared at the head of his armies in Cilicia so suddenly that it seemed almost incredible. The immediate reason for this hurried march was as follows: a powerful Armenian prince named Thoros, of whom mention has been made, had seized by force the entire land of Cilicia bordering on the mountains in which he owned several strongly fortified castles. Not a single walled city or the most distant village escaped. Tarsus and Anavarza, the capitals of Cilicia Prima and Secunda respectively, had fallen under his power; and other cities also, among them Mamistra, Adana, and Sisium, where he had driven out the governors placed

[67] Aimery was present in Jerusalem in September of 1158.

[68] I Cor. 13:11.

[69] Virgil *Aen.* II. 274.

there in charge of imperial affairs. The emperor had, therefore, hastened his march and concealed his purpose in order to take the Armenian unaware.[70]

His journey had another purpose also. His compassion had been roused by the pitiful case of the Cyprians, who had well deserved his favor and who, as has been related, had been subjected to the monstrous tyranny of the prince of Antioch, who treated them as if they had been enemies of the faith and detestable parricides.

So unexpected was the coming of the imperial armies that Thoros, who was then staying at Tarsus, had barely time to flee to the neighboring mountains before the legions and the chiefs of the army were spreading over the open plain.

When Renaud, prince of Antioch, heard this news, he was assailed by the stings of a guilty conscience. Shortly before the coming of the emperor, he had wreaked his fury upon the innocent Cyprians and had perpetrated upon them and upon their wives and children outrages abominable in the sight of both God and men. Consequently, he feared the arrival of the emperor, lest, moved by the loud complaints of an injured people, he should undertake to avenge their injuries. Straightway, the prince began to ponder, now in his own mind, and again in consultation with intimate friends whom he summoned, as to his course of action and how he might satisfactorily atone to his imperial magnificence for so deep an injury. The arrival of the emperor had terrified him so greatly, it is said, that he would not wait for the king [of Jerusalem], who was soon to arrive, even though he knew that through the latter's intercession and influence, increased as it was by the new alliance, he might secure far better terms for himself.

Following the advice of his staff, therefore, he chose certain nobles from among their number to accompany him and started for Cilicia where the emperor was at the time with his forces. Gerard, the venerable bishop of Laodicea, also attended him on his journey. Having first won the favor of some of the members of the emperor's court to intercede for his petition, he proceeded to the city of Mamistra, where, after making many elaborate explanations fraught with shame and disgrace to the Christians, he was restored to the favor of his imperial majesty.

[70] Emperor Manuel reached Cilicia in the fall of 1158 and remained in the neighborhood for more than half a year (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 441; also Gibb, *Chronicle,* p. 349).

For in view of the assembled legions, he is said to have appeared before the emperor barefooted and clothed in a woolen tunic short to the elbows, with a rope around his neck and a naked sword in his hand. Holding this by the point, he presented the hilt to the emperor. As soon as he had thus surrendered his sword, he threw himself on the ground at the emperor's feet, where he lay prostrate till all were disgusted and the glory of the Latins was turned into shame; for he was a man of violent impulses, both in sinning and in repenting.[71]

24. *The king hastens to the land of Antioch and is graciously received by the emperor, who lavishes gifts upon him.*

On learning of the emperor's arrival, the king, accompanied by his brother and attended also by an escort selected from the greatest nobles of the realm, repaired to Antioch. The count of Flanders had decided to return home by the next crossing and therefore remained behind.

On his arrival, the king sent an embassy to the emperor, consisting of Geoffrey, abbot of the Temple of the Lord, a man well versed in the Greek tongue, and the noble Joscelin Pisellus. They were to convey in a courteous manner the salutations due to his imperial highness and to inquire whether it was his good pleasure that the king should appear before his presence. In reply to their message, the envoys were instructed to invite the king most urgently to come immediately. In addition, the emperor sent his illustrious chancellor as the bearer of a letter from himself and charged him to urge the king by word of mouth also, as a beloved son of the empire, not to delay to come to him.

Upon the appointed day, therefore, the king, with a chosen escort of very distinguished lords, went thither and was received in most honorable fashion. By the emperor's orders, he was met by two nobles of the highest position among the illustrious men of the sacred palace; John the *protosebastos* and Alexius the chamberlain, brothers born of the same mother and nephews of the emperor himself. A splendid

[71] According to the Greek historians, Patriarch Aimery had offered to deliver Renaud de Châtillon to the emperor, and Baldwin III had been partner to the offer, hoping thereby to gain the principality of Antioch. Manuel refused the offer, preferring to have Antioch separately ruled, even by Renaud (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène,* II, 443–48). Greek and Syrian historians insist that Baldwin sought to ameliorate the conditions imposed on Renaud, which included, among others, the removal of the Latin patriarch and the substitution of the Greek patriarch of Antioch. On this point, Baldwin could make no gain, though the actual arrival of the Greek patriarch did not occur until some years later.

retinue of nobles attended them. Under this escort, the king was conducted to the entrance of the tent where the emperor and his most distinguished nobles temporarily resided.

He was presented with much ceremony. The emperor greeted him graciously, gave him the kiss of peace, and placed him by his side in a seat of honor although in a somewhat lower position than his own. He then honored the king's companions with fitting salutations and gave them, too, the kiss of peace. At the same time he made solicitous inquiries about the king's own health and that of the members of his staff. The joyous expression of his countenance, as well as his words and general attitude, showed that he was greatly pleased at their coming and that he rejoiced in the presence of such an illustrious king and his retinue. For ten days Baldwin was constantly with the emperor; he enjoyed agreeable intercourse with him and they had frequent colloquies both in private and in the assembly of the nobles. The king was of an affable and friendly disposition, and during his stay he won great favor with the emperor and his nobles, whose hearts were drawn to him by ties of deep affection; in fact, ever after, as long as he lived, he was cherished by them as a son. Even to the present day, though he is now dead, they have never ceased to hold him in precious remembrance.

Baldwin was an energetic man of shrewd insight with respect to worldly affairs, and he desired that his sojourn with the emperor might be turned to good account. He observed that the emperor had ordered forces to be assembled in a camp outside the city for the purpose of sending an expedition against Thoros, whom he was pursuing with insatiable hatred. After first asking permission, Baldwin undertook to bring about a good understanding between the emperor and that nobleman. He called Thoros to him and arranged an agreement, by which the prince surrendered the fortress which the emperor demanded and thereupon was restored to full favor. Thus, through the king's mediation Thoros, before returning to his own domains, took an oath of liege fealty to the emperor.[72]

At length the king and his train returned to Antioch, followed by the good will of all. With them they carried rich gifts most liberally bestowed by the emperor, as beseemed imperial magnificence.

[72] The negotiations with Thoros were conducted jointly by Baldwin III and the Templars (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 448–50).

We have learned from certain people whose testimony is entirely reliable that in addition to the gifts showered with profuse generosity upon the king's followers—and these were said to be countless—the treasure bestowed upon the king alone was reputed to amount to twenty-two thousand hyperperes and three thousand marks of silver of standard weight. Garments, silken stuffs, and precious vases also formed a part of the treasure bestowed.[73]

At Antioch the king found his brother Amaury, count of Jaffa and Ascalon. With him was Hugh d'Ibelin, who had lately been released from captivity among the enemy and had returned to reëstablish himself in his former position. As they also desired to visit the emperor, they soon set out thither and were well received by his imperial majesty. Great honor was shown them in accordance with imperial custom and, at the close of their visit, they were presented with rich gifts and sent back to the kingdom rejoicing.

25. *The emperor enters Antioch. He shows great liberality toward the citizens. Thence, soon after, he returns to his own land.*

THE emperor celebrated the holy season of Easter in Cilicia and passed several days in that land. He then led his armies on to Antioch and stood before the gates of the city, formidable because of his vast array of troops. The patriarch, bearing the books of the Evangels, and the clergy surrounded by all the ceremonial splendor of the church, went forth to meet him accompanied by the entire people. The king also issued forth with great ceremony to welcome him, attended by the prince of Antioch and the count of Ascalon and followed by all the chief men of the kingdom and the principality of Antioch. To the martial sound of trumpets and drums, the emperor in all the splendor of the imperial insignia and crowned with the diadem of the empire, was led into the city; first to the cathedral, that is, to the church of the Chief of the Apostles, and then to the palace, accompanied by the same escort of city fathers and people.[74]

[73] It is not unlikely that William obtained this information from Amaury, the brother of Baldwin III.

[74] Manuel's entry into Antioch and his stay there were somewhat in the spirit of a military triumph which Renaud tried in vain to prevent. Manuel took the precaution of requiring hostages for his stay there. It was on this occasion that Manuel held a

After several days spent in the enjoyment of the baths and other pleasures, during which time he showered gifts most liberally upon the people of the town, according to his usual custom, the emperor determined to make a hunting trip to while away the time. So, accompanied by the king, he visited a place where there was good game. They were riding through the forest, as hunters do in pursuance of that sport, when, on the solemn day of the Ascension of our Lord, an accident befell them. The king, borne along on his fleet horse, was riding over rough ground covered with low-growing shrubs and brambles, when he was flung headlong to the ground from his horse and suffered a fractured arm.

As soon as the emperor learned of the accident, he took upon himself, with the most gracious sympathy, the office of surgeon; he knelt down by the king and attentively ministered to him, as if he himself were merely an ordinary person. Meanwhile, his nobles and kinsmen were dumb with wonder and dismay. That the emperor, regardless of his imperial majesty, should lay aside his august dignity and show himself so devoted and friendly to the king appeared to all unseemly. When, on account of this accident, they returned to Antioch, he visited the king daily, himself renewed the poultices and healing ointments, and then carefully replaced the bandages. Indeed, he could scarcely have shown more solicitude had Baldwin been his own son.[75]

When the king had completely recovered, the emperor proclaimed by the voice of the heralds that the commanders of the legions were to send ahead the machines and engines of war and on a certain day conduct the army to Aleppo. Soon after, he himself, accompanied by the king and the rulers of the two kingdoms, left Antioch to the sound of trumpets and drums, the challengers to battle. At the ford of Balena, so called in common parlance, the entire army halted.

From that place the emperor sent messengers to Nureddin, who chanced to be at Aleppo at the time, and through these envoys arranged that one Bertram, a natural son of the count of St. Gilles, with certain other prisoners should be released.[76] Shortly after this, the monarch

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tournament in Western fashion and himself took part in the event (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 450–52).

[75] Manuel seems to have prided himself upon his knowledge of medicine and his skill in treating wounds (see also Book XVI, note 45).

[76] Bertram, the son of Alphonse, had been captured by Nureddin in 1149, a fact which William failed to mention at the time (see Book XVII, note 18). Nureddin,

returned to his own realm, whither his private affairs called him. After his departure, the king also returned to his land, together with those who had accompanied him.

26. *On the death of Pope Hadrian, a dangerous schism arises in the church of Rome.*

About this time Pope Hadrian died of quinsy at Anagni in Campania. His body was borne to Rome and there buried with great honor in the church of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles. The cardinals thereupon assembled to discuss the question of his successor, and it happened, as it often does under such circumstances, that their wishes were at variance. One faction chose Roland, cardinal-priest of the same church of St. Peter, with title St. Mark, who had been chancellor of the holy see; and, laying hands upon him, ordained him pope under the name Alexander. The other party, however, chose Octavianus, a nobleman according to the flesh, cardinal-priest of the same church with title St. Cecilia beyond the Tiber; he too was consecrated in the same manner and constituted pope under the name Victor.[77]

This schism, because of our sins, practically caused a division and an irrevocable separation in the entire Latin church; the greatest nobles of the land formed into factions and allied themselves to one side or the other.

This condition lasted almost nineteen years. Finally, Frederick, the emperor of the Romans, who had been aiding and advising the party of Victor, brought about unity in the church by becoming fully reconciled to Pope Alexander.[78] Thus harmony was restored to the church of God and, the shades of error having been dispelled, peace shone forth, as "the morning star in the midst of the clouds." [79]

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who was loath to give up captives, released a number of prisoners at Manuel's request, perhaps a condition of peace between them.

[77] The death of Hadrian IV occurred in 1159 and was followed, as William says, by the schism which Frederick Barbarossa for political reasons helped to keep alive for many years.

[78] This reconciliation occurred some time after the battle of Legnano, 1176, in which Frederick's troops had suffered a severe defeat from the Lombard cities. The Lateran council of 1179, at which William was present, was in a sense a celebration of the restored unity of the church.

[79] Ecclus. 50: 6.

27. *Nureddin invades the country of the sultan of Iconium and takes a part of it by force. The king ravages the land of Damascus.*

MEANWHILE, Nureddin was greatly delighted at the departure of the emperor. The arrival of that mighty potentate had caused him great fear, and his sojourn in the country had agitated him still more. He now felt secure from the dreaded power of the great monarch and, perceiving that the king had returned to his own land, thought that the opportunity he had so long desired had come. He accordingly summoned troops from all over his dominions and directed a campaign against the land of the sultan of Iconium, which bordered on his own territory. The city of Marash as well as the two strongholds, Cresson and Beherselin, fell under his power, for the sultan was far distant from these parts and could not easily render them aid. It was with full knowledge of this situation, in fact, that Nureddin had ventured to attack Iconium against one stronger than himself.

News of this campaign was brought to the king, who was still detained with all his forces in those parts. Well knowing that the land of Damascus, stripped of its military forces, would lie exposed as an easy prey to the wiles of an enemy, the king resolved to turn the fact to his own advantage. Gathering an army, he invaded the land of Damascus, where without opposition he burned and laid waste everything according to his good pleasure. The entire land from Ostro [Bostra?], that famous city of Arabia, even to Damascus was given over to the soldiers to burn and plunder at will.

There was at Damascus a nobleman named Negem-ed-Din [Najm al-Din], to whom, because of his reputation for experience in worldly matters, Nureddin had entrusted his personal affairs and the charge of the city with its dependencies, to be governed according to his own good pleasure. Najm realized that his master was occupied with important affairs at a distance while he himself had only a small force with which to resist the king. He therefore wisely sought other means of avoiding the dangers which beset him. He offered the king four thousand pieces of gold and gave up six knights of ordinary rank whom he was holding and, in return, demanded a truce of three months. By the judicious use of money he had bribed many to intercede for him,

and consequently his request was granted. By these prudent measures he succeeded in relieving the country of the king's army.[80]

During this time Queen Melisend, a woman of unusual wisdom and discretion, fell ill of an incurable disease for which there was no help except death. Her two sisters, the countess of Tripoli and the abbess of St. Lazarus of Bethany, watched over her with unremitting care; the most skilful physicians to be found were summoned, and such remedies as were judged best assiduously applied.[81] For thirty years and more, during the lifetime of her husband as well as afterwards in the reign of her son, Melisend had governed the kingdoms with strength surpassing that of most women. Her rule had been wise and judicious. Now, wasted in body and somewhat impaired in memory, she had lain on her bed for a long time as if dead, and very few were allowed to see her.

Meanwhile, the time of the truce had elapsed which had been agreed on with Najm, the governor of Damascus, and Nureddin, not yet having completed his undertaking, was still detained in the parts mentioned above. The king, therefore, entered the land of the enemy by force of arms and devastated the country as he would. He drove off cattle and slaves, burned and plundered without hindrance. Then, having laid waste the land, destroyed the surrounding fields, and taken the inhabitants captive, he again returned in safety to his realm.

28. *Prince Renaud of Antioch is captured by the Turks and thrown into prison at Aleppo.*

Not long after this, Renaud, prince of Antioch, was informed by his scouts that in the country which had formerly belonged to the count of Edessa, between Marash and Tulupa, there was a land full of flocks and herds. Since this locality was without military forces and the people were unaccustomed to the use of arms, it lay easily exposed to pillage. The credulous Renaud lent a ready ear to this report. He at once mustered a large force and under evil auspices set out on the march. On reaching the place, he found that the story was correct.

[80] These events at Damascus took place too late to be included in the chronicle of Qalanisi, who died March 18, 1160. The lieutenant whom Nureddin had left in charge of Damascus was Najm al-Din, according to Gibb (see Gibb, *Chronicle*, pp. 357–68).

[81] The two sisters were Hodierna and Iveta. William's statement of the length of her rule would imply the year 1161 as the date of her illness.

There was indeed an enormous number of flocks and herds, but the people to whom they belonged were Christians. For, except in the fortresses, there were no Turks in all that region. Even these were few in number, since they were merely stationed in those places to protect the strongholds, collect tribute from the people, and guard it, when paid, for the great lords whose agents they were. The fields around were occupied entirely by Syrian and Armenian Christians, who tilled the soil and devoted themselves to agriculture.

Renaud and his forces, without the slightest opposition, seized plunder and spoils on all sides. Loaded with booty and enriched by all kinds of stolen goods, they were returning home in safety and tranquillity when suddenly they were met by Megedin [Majd al-Din], the governor of Aleppo, a true friend and loyal ally of Nureddin. Having learned that Renaud was returning from his foray, he had hastened against him with all the light-armed cavalry of that region. His purpose was to surprise the Christians in some narrow defiles and rout them while they were encumbered with baggage and booty, or at least to compel them by force to relinquish the plunder.

Following out the shrewd plan of the governor, the Turks had marched forth against Renaud under the guidance of the scouts who had brought the news and were now at the place named, near which the prince with all his plunder was encamped.

On learning that the enemy was at hand, the prince consulted with his people as to what was best to be done under the circumstances. The wisest plan was to abandon the booty and hasten home unencumbered, which could easily have been done; but instead they preferred to keep the plunder and, if necessary, put up a vigorous fight. The next morning, when the day was somewhat advanced, the hostile forces met in battle. The enemy attacked with bows and swords and fought most pugnaciously. At first the Christians tried to make a stout resistance, but finally they gave way to panic, abandoned the spoils, and fled. In punishment for his sins, the prince was forced to expiate in his own person all the crimes which he had committed. A captive, bound with the chains of the foe, he was led to Aleppo in most ignominious fashion, there to become, with his fellow captives, the sport of the infidels.

This disaster occurred on November 23 in the eighteenth year of

King Baldwin's reign, at a place called Commi, between Cresson and Marash.[82]

29. *One John, cardinal-priest of the church of Rome, comes to Syria as legate; an altercation arises among the bishops in regard to his being received. A son, Baldwin, is born to the king's brother, Amaury, count of Jaffa.*

DURING this same period a certain John, a man of much learning, cardinal-priest of the church at Rome, of title Saints John and Paul, landed with some Genoese at Jubail. He had been sent by Pope Alexander as legate to the countries of the Orient. Wishing to obtain permission to enter the country as legate, he endeavored to ascertain the sentiments of the king and the princes of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular, in regard to his coming to them. For, as has been mentioned, a schism had arisen which involved the whole world —some favoring Pope Alexander, and others, the opposite party. After long consideration had been given to the problem, the legate was directed to remain at Jubail for a time; he was not to venture to enter the kingdom until the prelates of the church and the princes of the realm had considered the matter more fully. He would then be instructed what was their pleasure in the matter.

Accordingly, the patriarch and all the other prelates of the church were summoned to Nazareth, where in conference with the king and some of the barons also, they began to consider what course to pursue in such a difficult situation. For while all the prelates of the East in the two patriarchates openly preserved neutrality, as private individuals, some secretly favored one side, some the other.

As is usual under such conditions, they could not agree and were swayed by their wishes in many directions. Some declared that Alexander and his legate should be received, as having the better cause. The chief partisan of this view was Peter, of pious memory in the Lord, our predecessor as archbishop of Tyre. Others, on the contrary, preferred the cause of Victor, on the ground that he had always been

[82] The year is somewhat uncertain, for William's usual list of the years of Baldwin's reign would make this 1161, which is also given by several Arabic historians. Both Chalandon (*Les Comnène,* II, 520) and Stevenson (*Crusaders,* p. 183, note 2) prefer 1160 as the year, accepting William's statement of day and month.

a friend and protector of the kingdom; the latter party maintained that the legate should, under no circumstances, be received.

The king, supported by some of the barons and church dignitaries, advised that a middle course be adopted and neither party received; he feared a division of the bishops which would cause a schism in the church. If the legate, laying aside his official rights and dignities, desired to go as a pilgrim to the holy places for the sake of prayer, permission should be given and liberty granted him to tarry in the kingdom until the first crossing, at which time he must return. The king gave the reason for his decision as follows: "The schism is of recent date, nor does the world as yet know which faction has the stronger cause. In a doubtful matter, it is dangerous to adopt an opinion independently, to venture to pronounce in advance a definite decision, while the result is still uncertain. Moreover, there is no need of a legate in the kingdom to burden the churches and monasteries with expenses and weaken them by his extortions."

This was the opinion of the king. It seemed most sensible, yet the advice of the party which maintained that the legate should be received prevailed. He was, therefore, invited to enter the kingdom and later proved a heavy burden to many who had approved of his being received.[83]

About this time a son was born to Amaury, count of Jaffa, and his wife Agnes, the daughter of the count of Edessa. At the father's request, the king received the child at the baptismal font and gave him his own name. When he was asked in jest what he would bestow upon his nephew, the son whom he had received at the holy font, Baldwin answered in his customary merry and affable manner, "The kingdom of Jerusalem." This remark struck deep into the hearts of some of the wise men who heard it, for it seemed to them an ominous prediction that the king, despite his youth and that of his wife, would die without children, which proved to be the case.[84]

[83] This council was held in 1160, probably late in the year (see R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 357, and J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXI, col. 1145–46).

[84] Amaury's son Baldwin became Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem 1174–1185. By inference from William's later statements that young Baldwin was nine years old in 1170 and thirteen at the death of his father, 1174, his birth occurred in 1161.

30. *The king is summoned by the people of Antioch and hastens thither. Imperial envoys arrive to request a kinswoman of the king as a consort for their lord.*

THE imprisonment of the prince deprived the province of Antioch of the support of a leader, and fear and anxiety again laid hold on the people of that land. From day to day, in painful suspense, they awaited the destruction of the land, unless perchance the Lord should become their defender. At length they determined to have recourse to their usual source of aid and to seek help against the evils which threatened them by appealing to him to whom they had so often applied and never in vain. A delegation was accordingly sent to implore the king of Jerusalem with tears and prayers to come without delay to the help of a despairing people, a people about to perish, whereby he might win for himself honor and glory in the eyes of men and eternal reward from God.

On learning of the desperate situation at Antioch, the king was moved with the deepest compassion for the troubles of that people. Following the example of his predecessors, he wholeheartedly assumed the task and hastened to Antioch, accompanied by a noble escort of knights, where he was received with manifestations of extreme joy and exultation by the elders and people. At Antioch he remained as long as the exigencies of time and place required and displayed the utmost care for the affairs of the principality as if they had been his own. Then he committed the government of the land temporarily to the patriarch, until he himself could return, and after arranging for the support of the princess as befitted her position, he returned to his kingdom, where his own affairs demanded his presence.

After his return imperial envoys, nobles of high position and renown in the sacred palace, arrived from the emperor of Constantinople. They were the bearers of a letter with a golden seal and also of private messages for the king. The leader of the embassy was the illustrious Gundostephan [Contostephanus], a blood relation of the emperor; the other was the supreme interpreter of the palace, Trifulus [Theophylact] by name,[85] a shrewd man and very zealous on behalf of the

[85] These envoys were named John Contostephanus and Theophylact, the latter an Italian. William's spelling of the names suggests that he obtained this information orally. Bertha of Sulzbach, or Irene as she was renamed, the first wife of Manuel, had died.

imperial interests. These envoys, as we have said, bore sacred dispatches, the tenor of which was, in substance, as follows: "Know, O dearest friend, most beloved of our empire, that our imperial consort, the illustrious Irene, of precious memory in the Lord, has finished her allotted days on earth and henceforward dwells with the spirits of the elect. She has left us an only daughter as the heir to the empire. But as we have no male offspring, we are filled with solicitude about the succession and have frequently held earnest conference with the most illustrious nobles of the court in regard to a second alliance. With the consent and approval of all our princes, it has finally been judged desirable that we take as our imperial consort a lady of your lineage, since, of all our empire, we hold you in the deepest affection. Whomsoever of your kinswomen you shall choose for us, be she the sister of the illustrious count of Tripoli, or the younger sister of the magnificent prince of Antioch, her we shall receive, with entire confidence in your loyalty and your choice, as, by the will of God, our imperial consort and companion in the realm."

When the emperor's intention was made known to the king, both by letter and by word of mouth from the envoys, he promised obedience and assistance. Most earnestly he thanked his imperial majesty: first because he proposed to ally with himself in such an exalted position one of the king's own lineage, and secondly, because, in recognition of Baldwin's loyalty, the choice of the emperor's future bride and imperial consort was left to the king alone.

31. *The king designates as the emperor's bride the illustrious maiden Melisend, sister of the count of Tripoli; but after a year's delay, the emperor declines the king's choice and marries Maria, daughter of Prince Raymond.*

After conferring with his advisers as to the alliance which would be most desirable for his own interests and those of his imperial majesty, the king called the emperor's deputies and, with persuasive words, directed them to receive as the wife of their lord Melisend, a sister of the count of Tripoli, a maiden of fine character and ability. They received the communication of the king with due reverence and gave assent, but requested that the decision be announced to the emperor both by messengers and letters.

Meanwhile, an enormous array of ornaments, surpassing those of

royalty itself, was prepared at infinite expense by the mother and aunt of the maiden destined for this exalted position, and by her brother and her many friends as well: bracelets, earrings, pins for her headdress, anklets, rings, necklaces, and tiaras of purest gold. Silver utensils of immense weight and size were prepared for use in the kitchen and for the service of the table and the toilet, besides bridles and saddles—in short, every kind of furnishing. All these things were prepared at vast expense and with great zeal; the workmanship alone was evidence of their exceeding great cost and easily surpassed the luxury of kings. During this time, the Greeks carefully scrutinized each detail and inquired into the life and conduct of the damsel even to the most secret physical characteristics. While awaiting their return, they were in constant communication with the emperor. And thus a year glided by.

The king and the court, as well as the other relations and friends of the maiden, were very indignant at this delay. They summoned the imperial messengers publicly and pronounced an ultimatum: either they must reject the marriage long since arranged and refund the money spent, or cease to invent inexplicable reasons for delay and end the matter by consummating the marriage according to the conditions originally agreed upon. The count had been put to vast expense; he had ordered twelve galleys to be built and completely equipped, for he intended to accompany his sister to her husband. In addition, all the most important lords, both of the principality and of the kingdom had come to Tripoli in anticipation of the lady's approaching departure; and for these guests the count was defraying the necessary expenses, either wholly or in part.

As always, however, the Greeks gave evasive answers and tried to drag the matter along still longer. To checkmate their wily designs the king dispatched Otto of Risberg as a special envoy to Constantinople. He was empowered to make an eloquent demand that the actual intentions of the emperor be made known to him as deputy and that without circumlocutions. Sooner than had been anticipated the envoy returned. He brought a letter from the emperor and messages also to the effect that all which had been done in regard to this alliance was wholly displeasing to his imperial highness.

When the king received this news, he withdrew from the negotiations. That an alliance which had been arranged through his own

mediation and completed as far as his own part was concerned should come to naught seemed most insulting and would unquestionably reflect unfavorably upon himself.

The imperial envoys, fearing that the indignation of the count of Tripoli would be vented upon them, hastily departed for Cyprus in a small boat which they had the good luck to find ready.

As soon as the company of nobles gathered at Tripoli had departed, the king repaired to Antioch; for, as was mentioned, at the earnest entreaty of that people he had assumed the charge of the principality. On his arrival he found there the same envoys of the emperor who were supposed to have left Tripoli [for home].[86] They were holding daily and intimate conferences with the princess in reference to her youngest daughter, Maria. Moreover, they had in their possession letters sealed with gold in the presence of the emperor in which he guaranteed to ratify whatever agreement should be made by them with the princess and her friends on the subject of this marriage. These negotiations were made known to the king immediately on his arrival. He had been so deeply offended in regard to the former affair that he would have been justified in refusing to interest himself for the emperor in the present matter. Yet, out of consideration for his orphaned kinswoman, who was without a father to protect her, he undertook that role and, after many delays, succeeded in arranging the marriage.[87]

As soon as the matter was concluded, the galleys were made ready at a place called the Port of St. Simeon at the mouth of the Orontes river. The maiden was delivered over to the envoys, and, attended by an honorable retinue of the greatest nobles of the land, who were to escort her to her husband, she set forth on her journey.

[86] The chronological interrelationship of these events is of great importance, but William does not furnish the precise information needed to establish it. He himself was probably studying in the schools of the West during 1161–1163 and was therefore out of touch with local gossip in Palestine. Apparently Manuel had sent an embassy to Baldwin some time before he knew of the capture of Renaud de Châtillon. The negotiations for the marriage of Melisend of Tripoli were in progress when Constance sent an appeal for aid to Manuel. She may have offered her daughter, Maria, in marriage at the same time. At any rate, the two negotiations crossed each other, and the alliance with Antioch offered greater attractions to Manuel. William must be in error in his implication that Manuel did not begin negotiations with Baldwin until after the capture of Renaud (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 517–25).

[87] The marriage of Manuel and Maria took place at Constantinople on December 25, 1161 (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 523). William is here glossing over some embarrassing details. It is doubtful whether Manuel sought or used Baldwin's help in these negotiations.

32. *The king rebuilds a stronghold near Antioch called the bridge of Iron. His mother, Queen Melisend, dies.*

IN order to make his presence at Antioch of service to the land, the king, while sojourning there, rebuilt a fortress which had formerly stood at a bridge over the Orontes river, commonly called the Iron bridge. This place, about six or seven miles from the city of Antioch, was of great use in preventing hostile raids and also served as an obstacle against the surreptitious entrance of bandits.

While the king was occupied thus with the affairs of the principality, his pious mother, wasted by the constant suffering attendant on a lingering illness, went the way of all flesh. Her death occurred on the eleventh day of September. When the king received the news, he gave himself up to grief and by the depth of his emotion clearly showed how sincerely he had loved her; in fact, for many days thereafter he was inconsolable.

Queen Melisend of illustrious memory, thenceforward to dwell with the angelic host, was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat on the right as one descends to the sepulchre of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord. Her body rests in a stone crypt with iron gates. Near by is an altar where mass is celebrated daily for the healing of her soul and for the souls of all Christians who had died in the Lord.[88]

33. *The count of Tripoli, enraged at the rejection of his sister, endeavors to harm the emperor in every possible way.*

MEANWHILE, the heart of the count of Tripoli was rent with grief and anger because he had been mocked by the emperor, who, after putting him to such enormous expense, had finally rejected his sister without cause, like the daughter of a common person. He gave utterance to deep groans and sighs as he anxiously pondered over means of requiting the emperor in like fashion and returning measure for measure. Although in the midst of his reflections he realized that the emperor was the most powerful monarch on earth and that his own strength was entirely inadequate to do him any injury, yet re-

[88] Her death is dated September 11, 1161, by Röhricht (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 307). Baldwin must have spent the winter at Antioch.

sentment drove him to action. Lest he seem indifferent or oblivious to the insult which had been offered him, he ordered the galleys which he had prepared for another purpose to be armed. Then he summoned pirates and desperados, men who had committed the most shocking crimes, and delivered the ships into their charge with orders to devastate the lands of the emperor without mercy. Neither age, sex, nor condition was to be spared; everything was to be given to the flames without distinction, including churches and monasteries, and the work of pillage and rapine carried on far and wide. Let them ever keep in mind that they were employing arms and force in a just cause.

Obedient to his command, they set sail upon the sea and roved over the domains of the emperor. Both in the islands and on the lands bordering on the sea, they interpreted the count's orders in the widest sense. On all sides they plundered, burned, and massacred. They violated churches and broke into monasteries without respect for the venerable places. They laid hands on the travelling money of pilgrims as they journeyed to and from the holy places and thus forced them to die, or, needy and naked, to prolong their lives by begging. They seized the goods of travelling merchants who earned a livelihood for their wives and children in that way and forced them to return home empty handed with the loss of both principal and gain.[89]

34. *The king is poisoned at Antioch. Falling thereby into his last illness, he begs to be carried home. His illness becomes worse on the journey, and he dies at Beirut.*

WHILE the count of Tripoli, in his desire for revenge, was thus engaged, the king was at Antioch. Desiring to take a physic before the approach of winter, as was his custom, he obtained certain pills from Barac, the physician of the count, a part of which were to be taken at once and the rest after a short interval. For our Eastern princes, through the influence of their women, scorn the medicines and practice of our Latin physicians and believe only in the Jews, Samaritans, Syrians, and Saracens.[90] Most recklessly they put themselves under

[89] William's vivid and sympathetic account of the sufferings of the house of Tripoli would indicate that he condoned, to some degree, the terrible vengeance which Raymond III exacted. Melisend is said to have entered a convent after this unfortunate affair.

[90] Whether this preference was due to the fact that so many of the women were themselves Eastern or because they recognized a definite superiority in Eastern medical knowledge is not clear, but the preference is clear enough.

the care of such practitioners and trust their lives to people who are ignorant of the science of medicine. It was rumored that these pills were poisoned, and this was probably the fact. At any rate, when later at Tripoli the rest of the medicine was put into bread and administered as an experiment to a dog, the animal died within a few days. As soon as the king had taken the pills, he was seized with a fever and dysentery which developed into consumption from which he was never able to obtain relief or help. Perceiving from the intensity of his suffering that the disease was increasing, he left Antioch and went to Tripoli. There he lay for several months hoping from day to day to improve. Finally, realizing that his malady was becoming worse and that recovery was improbable, he caused himself to be carried to Beirut and directed that the prelates of the church and the nobles of the realm be summoned in haste. Before them all, he acknowledged his faith with piety and devotion and, in humble and contrite spirit, confessed all his sins to the priests. Then his spirit, released from the prison of the flesh, departed to heaven, there to receive, God willing, in the company of the elect the crown that never fades.

King Baldwin died on February 10 in the year 1162 of the Incarnation of our Lord, in the twentieth year of his reign and the thirty-third year of his life.[91] As he left no children, his brother was the heir to the throne. Amid universal mourning his body was borne to Jerusalem with reverence and royal ceremony. The funeral procession was met by the clergy and all the people and conducted to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. There he was honorably entombed among his predecessors before the place Calvary, where the Lord was crucified for our salvation.

[91] The date here is definite, yet is contradicted in the opening paragraph of the next book. The events after 1160 are somewhat confused. William fails to mention an expedition which Baldwin III made into Egypt during this time. He conveys the impression of two expeditions to Antioch in successive years. William's absence from Palestine during these years doubtless accounts for some of this confusion. The date of Baldwin's death, as William here states it, has been accepted by so many historians, including both Röhricht and La Monte, that it seems necessary to enumerate a number of inconsistencies. If Baldwin was born no earlier than February, 1130 (see Book XIV, note 10; Book XVI, note 3), he would be barely thirty-two years old February 10, 1162. If his reign began when his father died on November 10, 1143, he had ruled but eighteen years and three months. Furthermore, if his brother was seven years old when Baldwin began to rule in 1143, he could only be twenty-six years old at most by February, 1162, instead of the twenty-seven which William assigns to him (Book XIX, chap. 1) at this time. The only way in which all of these stubborn inconsistencies can be removed is by accepting 1163 instead of 1162 as the year of Baldwin's death.

There is no record in any history, nor does any man now living recall, that such deep and poignant sorrow was ever felt over the death of any other prince of our own or other nations. For, in addition to the manifestations of grief and mourning displayed by the people of the cities through which the royal funeral train passed, there came down from the mountains a multitude of infidels who followed the cortège with wailing.

For eight successive days, while the funeral procession moved from Beirut to Jerusalem, lamentation was unrestrained and grief was renewed almost hourly. Even his enemies are said to have grieved over his death. When it was suggested to Nureddin that while we were occupied with the funeral ceremonies he might invade and lay waste the land of his enemies, he is said to have responded, "We should sympathize with their grief and in pity spare them, because they have lost a prince such as the rest of the world does not possess today."

As we come to the end of this book recording the works of this king, we too pray that with the spirits of the elect saints his soul may enjoy holy repose. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

THE NINETEENTH BOOK BEGINS

AMAURY I: THE STRUGGLE FOR EGYPT, FIRST STAGE

1. *Amaury succeeds his brother Baldwin on the throne.*

BALDWIN III, the fourth Latin king of Jerusalem, died without children, as has been mentioned. He was succeeded in the Holy City by Amaury, his only brother, count of Jaffa and Ascalon. The latter became the fifth Latin king in the year 1163 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the sixty-second of the liberation of that same city, beloved of God.[1] At this time, Alexander was head of the holy Roman church, in the third year of his pontificate; the holy church of the Resurrection was ruled by Amalrich, the ninth patriarch of the Latins, in the fourth year of his patriarchate; over the holy church at Antioch presided Aimery, the third patriarch of the Latins in that same city, in the twentieth year of his office; and the church at Tyre was subject to Peter, the third archbishop of the Latins after the taking of the city, who was in the thirteenth year of his office.

The succession to the throne after the death of Baldwin was the occasion of much discord among the barons of the realm, who were variously affected by the change of monarchs. In fact, it came near causing a serious quarrel involving the danger of schism. But happily divine providence, which knows how to apply proper remedies in the gravest crises, was with us. The clergy and the people, as well as a few of the great men of the kingdom, were strongly in favor of Amaury, and the efforts of the disaffected nobles were quickly brought to naught. On the twelfth day before the Kalends of March, which was the eighth day after the death of the king, his brother Amaury was raised to the throne of the realm, which belonged to him by

[1] This paragraph is probably a part of William's framework made hastily in 1182. His resolve to include Godfrey in the list of the kings was probably made later, but he may have had it partly in mind, since he here dates from the liberation of Jerusalem, 1099, instead of the beginning of the Kingdom, 1100. This necessitated the difference of a year from the last two digits of the Christian era, but William has reversed the figures. It should read either 1163 and sixty-fourth year or 1162 and sixty-third year. It is difficult to check the year by reference to the other chronological items because the adjectival expression allows a margin of nearly a year in each case.

hereditary right. In the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord he received the grace of royal unction at the hand of the patriarch, assisted by the assembled archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of the church, and was given the insignia of the crown. At the time when he became a knight and assumed arms, he had been created count of Jaffa. Later, his brother Baldwin, of illustrious memory, with royal liberality granted him the city of Ascalon. This metropolis of the Philistines was captured in Baldwin's own time and thus restored after a long interval to the Christian profession, as was described in more detail when the events of the reign of Baldwin were related. Amaury was twenty-seven years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned eleven years and five months.[2]

2. *The characteristics of King Amaury with some remarks on his life and manners.*

Amaury was a man of prudence and discretion, well versed in secular affairs. He had a slight impediment in his speech, not serious enough to be considered as a defect but sufficient to render him incapable of ready eloquence. He was far better in counsel than in fluent or ornate speech. He was well skilled in the customary law by which the kingdom was governed—in fact, he was second to no one in this respect. In keenness of intellect and true discernment he surpassed all the nobles of the realm. He handled with strength and wisdom the frequent crises which arose during his vigorous and unceasing efforts to extend the limits of the kingdom and always maintained a fearless attitude combined with regal firmness. He was fairly well educated, although much less so than his brother. Thanks to his keen intellect and retentive memory, however, he was sufficiently well informed on the questions which are usually important to kings. In this he was assisted by his habit of constantly asking questions and of reading whenever the affairs of the kingdom allowed him leisure. He displayed much subtlety in putting his questions and took pleasure in seeking solutions for them. He listened eagerly to history and preferred it to all other kinds of reading.[3] He never forgot what he heard and recited it afterwards

[2] These two statements of date are definite and consistent, and both indicate that Amaury became king in 1163.

[3] The implications of this statement are too often overlooked. It is the clearest evidence that William himself read history to Amaury and that William wrote originally to read his history to him.

with ease and accuracy. Serious matters absorbed his attention entirely, and he had no interest in theatricals or games of chance. He took great delight in watching the flight of falcons and herons in pursuit of prey. He endured hardships with patience; but as he was inclined to corpulency and was altogether too fat, he suffered little inconvenience from heat and cold.

He was pious in that he commanded tithes to be given to the church in their entirety and without dispute. He religiously heard mass every day unless prevented by sickness or some other emergency. He bore with equanimity the curses and reproaches which were often hurled against him both in public and private, even by low and contemptible persons, and concealed his feelings so well that it appeared as if he had not heard the things said.[4] In both eating and drinking, he practiced moderation, for he despised excess in both. He is said to have placed so much confidence in his agents that he required no accounting from them after they had been put in charge of his affairs and refused to listen to insinuations against their good faith. By some people this was regarded as a fault, while others considered it a virtue and said that it was a proof of genuine trust.

From these excellent gifts of mind and character certain conspicuous faults detracted and in some measure dimmed the good traits just described. He lacked a genial temperament and was far too taciturn. He was entirely without that gracious affability which princes need more than other people in order to win the hearts of their subjects. Rarely did he speak to anyone unless compelled by necessity or unless, perchance, annoyed by being addressed first. This defect was the more noticeable because his brother Baldwin had always been ready with pleasant words and was most affable to all.[5]

Amaury is said to have abandoned himself without restraint to the sins of the flesh and to have seduced married women; for which may the Lord in His mercy forgive him! He was, moreover, a violent opponent of the liberty of the churches. During his reign he reduced them to the point of exhaustion by frequent demands on their patri-

[4] This affords excellent evidence of the spirit of freedom which prevailed in the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem. Though some of the refinements of life in the East had been introduced, the ceremonial suppression of free speech which prevailed in Eastern courts had evidently not yet been adopted.

[5] This frequent comparison of the two brothers suggests that William must have known Baldwin also and therefore have been at court even before the days of Amaury, with whom, of course, he was very intimately acquainted.

mony, so that the holy places were burdened with debt far beyond the extent of their revenues.[6]

His greed for money was greater than was seemly or honorable in a king. By the free use of gifts, he often acquired it and still more often retained it quite contrary to the demands of strict justice and right. In talking familiarly with me, he tried to excuse this avaricious conduct by giving the following reasons: "Every prince, and above all a king, should ever see to it that he is never in straitened circumstances, and that for two reasons: first, because the wealth of the subject is always safe when the ruler is not in need; secondly, that he may have resources at his disposal from which to provide for the necessities of his realm whenever an unexpected emergency arises. In such a case, the provident king should be most munificent and should spare no expense. Thus it will be plain that whatever he has he possesses not for his own benefit but for the good of the realm."

Even those who disliked the king could not deny that these reasons were applicable in his case. For when the kingdom was in critical straits he spared no expense, nor was he restrained by mere physical fatigue. But the wealth of his subjects was far from safe, for again and again he took advantage of the most trivial pretexts to make serious inroads upon their patrimony.

3. *Of his physical traits and of a certain question which he propounded to one of his friends for solution.*

He was of goodly height, taller than many although shorter than those of maximum stature. His features were comely, and his bearing plainly proclaimed even to strangers the dignity of a prince to whom reverence was due. He had sparkling eyes of medium size; his nose, like that of his brother, was becomingly aquiline; his hair was blond and grew back somewhat from his forehead. A comely and very full beard covered his cheeks and chin. He had a way of laughing immoderately so that his entire body shook. He loved to talk with wise and discreet men as well as with those who were familiar with far countries and foreign customs.[7]

[6] This has reference, doubtless, to special levies for campaigns, though William evidently disapproved of such practice except for emergency when the kingdom was actually endangered.

[7] This suggests a definite intellectual interest at the court of Jerusalem.

I recall that he once summoned me in a friendly way to the citadel of Tyre, while he was suffering from a low fever there, which was, however, unattended by danger. During the hours of rest and in the intervals which occur in intermittent fevers, I talked with him intimately on many subjects and answered some of his questions as well as the time permitted. In fact he was much edified by our conversation.

Among other questions which he put to me at that time, there was one which moved me greatly; first, because the query was unusual and the subject one that hardly admitted of discussion, for our universal faith taught it and had handed it down as entitled to sincere belief, and secondly, because my heart was deeply wounded that an orthodox prince, the scion of orthodox ancestors, should entertain a doubt in regard to a fixed doctrine and should question it in the depths of his heart.

He asked me, in short, whether outside of the teaching of the Saviour and the holy men who followed Christ, doctrines which he did not doubt, there was any way of proving by reliable and authoritative evidence that there was a future resurrection? Much agitated by the novelty of his query I answered, "The teaching of our Lord and Redeemer is sufficient, for, in many passages of the Gospel He plainly teaches the future resurrection of the body. He promises that He will come as judge to judge the quick and the dead and the world with fire. To the elect He says that He will give a kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world; but the wicked shall be consigned to the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels. The pious declaration of the holy apostles and the patriarchs of the Old Testament suffices."

To this he responded, "I firmly believe all this; but I seek a reason whereby this can be proved to one who doubts these things and does not accept the doctrine of Christ and believe in a future resurrection and that there is another life after this death." I answered, "Put yourself then in the place of a man so afflicted and let us try to ascertain something about this matter." "It is well," he said. I then asked, "You acknowledge that God is just?" He answered, "I acknowledge that nothing is more true." Then I continued, "It is also just that good be repaid for good and evil for evil?" He replied, "That is true." "In this life," I went on, "that does not often happen. For some good people suffer nothing but troubles and adversity in this world, while

many evil persons rejoice in continual happiness, as the evidence of daily life teaches us." Again he answered, "It is so." "Then," I resumed, "that will take place in another life, for it is impossible that God should not act justly. Therefore there will be another life and a resurrection of this flesh, when all who have merited either good or evil in this life must receive their reward." To this he said, "This seems to me good beyond measure; you have wrested all doubt from my heart." [8] By these and similar conversations his spirit was greatly refreshed. But let us return to our subject.

Amaury was excessively fat, with breasts like those of a woman hanging down to his waist. Nature had framed his other members with a kinder hand, however, for these displayed not merely ordinary comeliness, but, in fact, a rather unusual beauty. Not even his enemies could deny that in the use of bodily nourishment he was moderate and in regard to wine most abstemious.

4. *Relates how, before his coronation, he was forced to put away the wife whom he had married contrary to the sacred canons.*

WHILE his brother Baldwin was still actively concerned in human affairs and was ruling the kingdom with success, Amaury had married Agnes, daughter of the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa.[9] During the lifetime of his brother, he had by her two children: a son, Baldwin, whom his uncle received at the sacred font, and an older daughter, Sibylla, a namesake of the countess of Flanders, the sister of Baldwin and Amaury.

After the death of his brother, however, when Amaury claimed the kingdom devolving upon him by hereditary right, he was forced to put away his wife. It was in opposition to the expressed will of the Patriarch Fulcher, of revered memory, that he had espoused her in the beginning, for it was claimed that they were within the fourth degree of blood relationship, a fact which was later solemnly attested in the face of the church by relatives common to both.[10] An annulment

[8] The dialogue between the king and his chronicler recalls the conversations between Charlemagne and Alcuin, though the subject of the dialogue reveals the existence of some scepticism in secular circles of the twelfth century.

[9] Robert of Torigni mentions this marriage as occurring in 1157.

[10] Agnes must have been a woman of unusual attractiveness. She was already betrothed to one of the nobles of the kingdom, Hugh d'Ibelin, when Amaury became infatuated with her.

according to the forms of ecclesiastical law was pronounced, therefore, and the marriage dissolved in the presence of the Patriarch Amalrich, of good memory, and John, cardinal-priest of Saints John and Paul, the papal legate. The kinsmen of both parties attested the relationship by solemn oaths and swore that the facts were as had been stated. Provision was made, however, that the offspring of the two should be considered legitimate and should have full right of succession to the inheritance of their father.

Being curious about such matters, I later made a careful investigation as to the degree of relationship between the two. For at the time that this event took place at Jerusalem, I had not returned from the schools but was still sojourning beyond the sea, engaged in the study of the liberal arts. I finally learned the facts through the Lady Stephania, abbess of the convent of the Holy Mary the Elder (which was situated opposite the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem). This pious woman, noble both according to the flesh and by reason of her holy life, was the daughter of the elder Joscelin, count of Edessa, and the sister of Roger, prince of Antioch and son of Richard.[11] Although she was now far advanced in years she remembered the details of the matter well and gave the genealogy of the two as follows.

Baldwin du Bourg, the second king of Jerusalem, a splendid man in every respect (of whose life and manners, as well as of his deeds both good and evil, we wrote at length when we were treating of his reign), and the elder Joscelin were sons of two sisters. Of Baldwin was born Queen Melisend; of Melisend were born the two kings Baldwin III and Amaury. Likewise of the elder Joscelin were born Joscelin the Younger, father of the Countess Agnes, wife in fact, though not in law, of Amaury, and her brother Joscelin III, now seneschal of the king and uncle of King Baldwin IV who is now reigning.[12] Amaury remained unmarried for a time, but Agnes at once united herself in the bonds of matrimony with the noble and illustrious man, Hugh d'Ibelin, son of the older Balian. Hugh was the brother of Baldwin of Ramlah, who now rules that city, his brother having

[11] Joscelin I had married the sister of Roger, after whose death he married the Armenian princess.

[12] Joscelin III was made seneschal of the kingdom shortly after his release from captivity in 1176, a position which he held until 1190. His sister Agnes was doubtless responsible for his new start in life (see J. L. La Monte, "The Rise and Decline of a Frankish Seigneury in Syria in the Time of the Crusades," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*, XV [1938], 301–20).

died without children, and of Balian the Younger, who married the widow of King Amaury. After Hugh's death and while Amaury was still living, Agnes entered into the same bonds of affection with Renaud of Sidon, son of Gerard. This alliance is said to have been not less illegal than her former relation to King Amaury. For Gerard, the father of Renaud, a blood relation of both as he certainly was, established by his sworn statement the consanguinity of these two, as he had heard it from his ancestors. A second annulment consequently followed in the manner already described.

5. *The king goes down into Egypt. A battle is fought with Dirgham the sultan. Shawar introduces Shirkuh into Egypt. Dirgham sends envoys to the king to sue for peace.*

AFTER Amaury had been established on the throne and during the first year of his reign, the Egyptians refused to pay the annual tribute according to the agreement which they had made with his brother.[13] The king thereupon assembled a strong force of knights and a large army and, about the first of September, descended upon Egypt with a great host. Dargan [Dirgham], the governor of that kingdom, who in that tongue is called the sultan, marched out against him at the head of a countless multitude and did not hesitate to risk an encounter in the desert on this side of Egypt. He was unable to sustain the attack of the Christians, however, and, after losing the greater part of his men either by capture or death, he was forced to retreat with the remnant of his army to the nearest city, which in the Egyptian tongue is called Belbeis [Balbis]. The Egyptians now feared that the king, after accomplishing this feat, might decide to lead his armies against the more remote parts of the realm. In despair, therefore, of finding any other remedy against our inroads, they broke down the retaining dykes which held back the overflow of the Nile until the proper season, and let in the waters of the river now swollen by its usual increase. By these barriers, at least, they might hope to prevent the further advance of their foes and, by the help of the all-pervading waters, secure their safety.

[13] According to Wiet, this promise to pay tribute was a result of Baldwin's campaign to al-Arish in the early part of 1161. William failed to mention the expedition (see G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe de la conquête Arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642–1517 de l'ère chrétienne*, p. 291).

Thereupon the king returned victorious and covered with glory to his realm. He had triumphed over his enemies and had completed a successful campaign.[14]

Shortly before this, Dirgham, now governor and sultan of all Egypt, as has been said, had driven out from that same office another powerful lord called Shawar.[15] This change was effected partly by force and partly by strategy. Shawar succeeded in making good his escape, and with his friends and retainers and all the treasures which he could carry away, he betook himself to his fellow tribesmen, the Arabs, to seek their aid. There he lay in hiding among his own people, as has been said, to await the outcome of the matter and the result of the war. He hoped that a favorable opportunity would soon present itself when he might turn the tables against his rival. Information of the king's return to his own land reached him, together with the news that his adversary continued to be strong and powerful as ruler. Dirgham had indeed become more arrogant than ever. He boasted vaingloriously of the fact that he had conquered in battle a mighty chief and had forced him to retreat without causing great injury to the land. Thereupon Shawar hastened to the powerful prince Nureddin, the king of Damascus, and begged his aid. He desired to return to Egypt, drive out his rival Dirgham, and again obtain control of the kingdom. Induced by gifts and promises, Nureddin readily agreed to this proposition, for he hoped that if once his army were introduced into Egypt, he might seize the kingdom himself. He assigned to Shawar the chief of his knights, Shirkuh, an able and energetic warrior, eager for glory and of wide experience in military affairs. Generous far beyond the resources of his patrimony, Shirkuh was beloved by his followers because of this munificence. He was small of stature, very stout and fat and already advanced in years. Though of lowly origin, he had become rich and had risen by merit from his humble estate to the rank of a prince. He was afflicted with cataract in one eye. He was a man of great endurance under hardships, one who bore hunger and thirst with an equanimity quite unusual for that time of

[14] There is some controversy about the date of this expedition. Röhricht and Schlumberger place it in the fall of 1163. Derenbourg and Wiet insist upon 1162 as the date. Wiet regards the matter as settled by a poem of congratulation addressed to Ruzzik, who ceased to be vizier December 28, 1162 (see Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, p. 291).

[15] Shawar succeeded Ruzzik as vizier, obtaining the office by force early in 1163. He himself was driven out by Dirgham in August, 1163 (see Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, p. 292).

life. Such was the man whom Nureddin sent to Egypt with a great army.[16]

Messengers were constantly going to and fro. From them and from common report as well, Sultan Dirgham learned that the enemy whom he had once driven out was returning with a Turkish army of many thousands. As he had little confidence in his own strength, the sultan was forced to beg for assistance. He dispatched envoys to the king with messages of peace, wherein he earnestly pleaded for aid against the enemy who was now threatening to attack him. He promised to pay not only the tribute originally agreed upon with King Baldwin, but a larger amount to be fixed as the king determined. He also declared that he was prepared to give hostages in token of perpetual subjection and an alliance for all time.

6. *Peter, archbishop of Tyre, dies. He is succeeded by Frederick, bishop of Acre.*

About the same time, on March 1 in the second year of King Amaury's reign, Peter, the venerable archbishop of Tyre of pious memory in the Lord, went the way of all flesh.[17] Within a few days—in fact, before the month passed—Frederick, bishop of Acre and suffragan of the same church, was appointed in his stead at the express desire of the king.

Frederick, a Lotharingian by birth, was noble according to the flesh. He was an extremely tall man. He possessed little education but was inordinately devoted to the art of war.

7. *Dirgham, the sultan of Egypt, is slain by the machinations of his own people. Shawar becomes sultan. He invites the king to come to his aid. The king goes down into Egypt. Shirkuh is driven out by force.*

Meanwhile the Egyptian envoys were negotiating with the king and, in fact, had practically arrived at a satisfactory agreement. Before they could return to their own country, however, the aforesaid Shawar and

[16] Shirkuh had figured prominently in the capture of Damascus. Despite his own great achievements as a warrior, he is remembered chiefly as the uncle of Saladin, under whom the latter received his training in military affairs.

[17] There is some uncertainty about this year. The evidence of the charters would indicate March, 1164, as the probable date (see R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, nos. 385 and 397).

Shirkuh had entered Egypt with all their forces and had met the sultan Dirgham in battle. In the first engagement they were vanquished and suffered a severe defeat. However, before they could try their fortune in a second battle under the same conditions, Dirgham was struck by an arrow sent by the hand of one of his own men and perished, greatly lamented by his followers.[18] Upon his death, Shawar entered Cairo as victor, just as he had desired. He put to the sword all the friends, relations, and retainers of Dirgham who could be found and again assumed his former official position. For it is a matter of indifference to a supreme ruler whether one rival claimant or the other wins, as long as there is someone who will devote himself slavishly to the care of his lord's personal affairs and to those of the realm.

Shirkuh at once attacked the neighboring city of Balbis and began to claim that city as his own. By his deeds and possibly by his words, he showed that he intended, if fortune favored him, to bring the other parts of that kingdom under his own power, in spite of the sultan and the caliph. Before long, Shawar began to fear that by introducing such a guest he had injured his own cause as well as that of his master and had received one who, "like a mouse in the wardrobe and a serpent in the bosom," would poorly requite his hosts. As speedily as possible, therefore, he dispatched envoys to the king in Syria, charged with messages of peace. They were empowered to carry out at once, not merely by word but by action, the terms of the agreement formerly concluded between the lord king and the Sultan Dirgham and, if necessary, to offer even greater inducements.

As soon as the pact had been confirmed by both parties, the king, in the second year of his reign, marched forth at the head of his entire army and went down to Egypt a second time.[19] There he was joined by Shawar with the Egyptian forces, and together they besieged Shirkuh in the city of Balbis, whither he had retired as into his own citadel. After a long siege, Shirkuh was finally forced through exhaustion and lack of provisions to surrender the place. The terms demanded were that he be permitted to depart to his own land with all his forces freely and without hindrance. This was granted; thereupon he abandoned the city and returned by way of the desert to Damascus.

[18] The death of Dirgham occurred in a battle under the walls of Cairo, August, 1164 (Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, p. 294).

[19] This campaign of Amaury's was carried on during the fall of 1164 (Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, pp. 294–95).

8. *Nureddin is defeated in the country around Tripoli and barely escapes from the hands of the Christians by flight.*

NUREDDIN was at this time sojourning in the environs of Tripoli, at a place commonly known as La Boquea. The great elation which he felt over his victories had had the effect of rendering him somewhat careless, and as a result he suffered a disaster which was almost irreparable. Just at this time, certain nobles had come from the land of Aquitaine on a pilgrimage for the sake of prayer. Among them were Godfrey, surnamed Martel, a brother of the count of Angoulême, and Hugh de Lusignan the Elder, who was surnamed the Brown. After their devotions were accomplished according to custom, they proceeded to the land of Antioch. Here they learned that Nureddin was still with his army in the vicinity of Tripoli at the place named above. In too great fancied security, he was enjoying at his leisure a period of rest and relaxation. The Christians accordingly gathered their forces and made a sudden attack upon his army. Nureddin was taken by surprise; many of his men were made prisoners, and still more perished by the sword; in fact, his army was almost annihilated. The prince himself, in despair of his very life, fled in utter confusion. All the baggage and even his sword were abandoned. Barefooted and mounted on a beast of burden, he barely escaped capture at the hands of our forces. But the Christians, laden with spoils and manifold riches, returned victorious to their own land.

Gilbert de Lacy, a nobleman of high rank, an experienced warrior and commander of the Knights Templars in those parts, led this expedition. He was assisted by the two great men named above, by Robert Mansel who commanded the Galensians on that expedition, and by some other knights.[20]

9. *Nureddin lays siege to the fortress of Harim in the land of Antioch. The prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and Colman, the governor of Cilicia, are taken prisoners.*

NUREDDIN, extremely angry and filled with confusion and fear, was overwhelmed with dismay at this unlucky disaster. Anxious to wipe out the disgrace and to avenge his own injuries as well as those of

[20] This defeat of Nureddin must have taken place late in 1163 at the very latest (see F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, pp. 99–100).

his people, he besought aid from relatives and friends. There was scarcely a prince in the East on whom he did not call as a suppliant, now entreating assistance by prayers and again by promise of reward. Meanwhile, he recruited his own strength and collected military reinforcements from all sides. With a great host and thousands of knights assembled in this way, he laid siege to Harim, one of the Christian strongholds in the land of Antioch. He stationed his engines around it in the customary manner and began to assault the place with a fury which permitted the inhabitants no rest.

The leaders of the Christians were soon informed of his activities. At once all the forces, both infantry and cavalry, that could be gathered anywhere, hastened to Harim. These included Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, the son of Raymond; the younger Raymond, count of Tripoli, son of Count Raymond; Calamanus [Colman], the governor of Cilicia, a kinsman of the emperor, in charge of the imperial affairs in that province; and Thoros, a very powerful Armenian prince. They marched with forces drawn up in battle formation, determined to relieve the siege in spite of Nureddin's efforts.

But that prince and the Parthian leaders associated with him, after consultation, decided that it would be safer to raise the siege and depart of their own accord, rather than to risk encountering the enemy who were now almost upon them. They therefore arranged the baggage and endeavored to make good their retreat. But the Christians, emboldened by the success that had attended their efforts, started in pursuit. They could not rest content with having relieved the citizens from the siege at the hand of these great princes. So, regardless of the rules of military discipline, they recklessly dispersed and roved hither and yon in pursuit of the foe. Suddenly the Turks rallied, regained their courage and strength, and turned upon them. Trapped in a confined and swampy place, the Christians broke ranks at the first charge, and those who shortly before had caused the utmost terror in the ranks of the Turks became the pitiful sport of that same enemy. Overwhelmed and shattered by the swords of the enemy, they were shamefully slain like victims before the altar. No one called to mind his former valor; no one, remembering his own prestige and that of his fathers, strove to avert disaster or to fight for the defense of liberty and the glory of his ancestors. Regardless of honor all threw down their arms precipitately and ignominiously begged for life, which

would have been better expended in fighting manfully for the fatherland as an example for posterity.

At this crisis, Thoros the Armenian, perceiving that the Turks were gaining the upper hand and that the Christians, on the contrary, had succumbed, decided to save himself by flight and withdrew from the tumult of battle. From the first he had opposed the pursuit of the Turks and had endeavored to dissuade the Christians from attempting it, but the foolish advice of others prevailed.

To save their lives even at the cost of shame and reproach, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Raymond, count of Tripoli, surrendered to the enemy. Colman, the governor of Cilicia, Hugh de Lusignan, who was mentioned above, Joscelin III, son of Joscelin II, count of Edessa, and many other nobles followed the same course. Chained liked the lowest slaves, they were led ignominiously to Aleppo, where they were cast into prison and became the sport of the infidels.

Encouraged by this success and great good fortune, Nureddin and his allies again attacked the stronghold which they had been besieging before and this time with more confidence. Siege operations were once more resumed, and within a few days the place was captured by force.

This event happened on the fourth day before the Ides of August, in the year 1165 of the Incarnation of our Lord and the second year of King Amaury's reign. The king himself was still in Egypt at this time, detained there by his own affairs.[21]

10. *Count Thierry of Flanders arrives in Syria. Nureddin besieges Banyas and takes the city.*

THESE great changes and dire disasters so seriously affected the condition of the Christians that they were reduced almost to the last extremity. No ray of hope now remained. All with despairing hearts were daily dreading worse misfortunes, when Thierry, count of Flanders, arrived. He was accompanied by his wife, the king's sister, a religious and God-fearing woman, and followed by a goodly company of knights.[22] The people universally welcomed him with rejoicing,

[21] The year 1165 is obviously wrong, perhaps a copyist's error. William clearly intends to correlate these events with Amaury's expedition into Egypt in 1164.

[22] This was the fourth journey of Thierry of Flanders to the Holy Land. He had entrusted the county of Flanders to his son, Philip. According to Robert of Torigni, who notes Thierry's departure under the year 1164, Sibylla had remained in Jerusalem with Iveta, abbess of St. Lazarus in Bethany, when Thierry went home in 1158 (see

for he seemed a very present help, like unto a pleasant breeze after the intense heat of the sun, and by his support they hoped that they might be able to hold out until the king and the Christian army should return. But, alas, this state of serenity, bright as it was, was soon dispelled by a dense cloud which suddenly arose and turned all into darkness.[23] For Nureddin had become so arrogant through his success that he determined to seize the opportunity to besiege the city of Banyas. Well he knew that the kingdom was stripped of its customary defenders, for the king was absent with the entire military strength of the realm and the principal leaders were his own prisoners.

Banyas is a very ancient city situated at the base of the famous Mt. Lebanon. During very early times, in the days of the people of Israel, it was called Dan. It was the northern boundary of the Israelitish possessions, just as Beersheba was the southern, and, accordingly, when the length of the Land of Promise is described it is spoken of as "from Dan to Beersheba." Philip, son of the elder Herod, tetrarch of Iturea and the region of the Traconites, as one reads in Luke,[24] enlarged it during his time in honor of Tiberius Caesar and in order to preserve his own name forever called it Caesarea Philippi. It is also known as Paneas, but our Latins corrupted the name, as is generally their custom with names of cities, and called it Belinas. On the east it borders upon the land of Damascus, near the place where the two streams of the Jordan have their origin. This is the city which is spoken of in the Gospel where it is written that "When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples," [25] and so on. Here also it was that Peter, the prince of the disciples, received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven from the Lord as the reward of his excellent confession.

To this place Nureddin laid siege. He found it undefended, for Humphrey, the royal constable to whom it belonged by hereditary right, was absent with the king in Egypt. The bishop of the place was also away and the population had been greatly diminished by slaughter. Machines and engines of war were at once set up in position round about, the wall was undermined and the towers weakened for the most part by constant volleys of stones. Within a few days, therefore,

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L. Delisle, ed., *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, I, 325, 348).

[23] Joel 2:31; Ac. 2:20. [24] Lu. 3:1. [25] Mat. 16:13–19.

it was taken. The people within were forced to surrender, on condition, however, that they should be permitted to leave the city unmolested with all their goods. Thus, in the year 1167 of the Incarnation of our Lord, Nureddin took over the city. This event occurred in the second year of King Amaury's reign, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of November.[26]

On departing for Egypt, the lord constable had put Banyas in charge of one of his own loyal knights, Walter de Quesnoy. It is affirmed by some that this man was negligent in defending the place. It is rumored further that in collusion with a priest named Roger, a canon of that church, he treacherously accepted a bribe in return for effecting the surrender. Consequently, the two traitors were greatly terrified when the king returned from Egypt, lest they be put to death. We have no trustworthy information on these points, however, except that the city was surrendered to the enemy.

11. *On his return from Egypt, the king repairs to Antioch. The prince is restored to liberty on payment of a ransom. The cavern at Sidon is surrendered to the Turks. They also gain possession of another cave beyond Jordan.*

THIS, then, was the situation in Syria. Meanwhile, the king had driven Shirkuh from the land of Egypt and established Shawar in the government as sultan. He now returned, a glorious conqueror, to his own land. There he learned of the sad events which had taken place in the kingdom. Although some information of all this had reached him before, he now listened to a detailed account of the disasters and heard that the people of Antioch, in an almost desperate situation, had appealed to him for aid.[27] Accordingly, in brotherly pity and compassion, he took with him the count of Flanders and hurried by forced marches to Antioch to render the assistance so greatly needed by that afflicted land. On his arrival he at once assumed charge of the prince's affairs. These he managed faithfully and well with even more care

[26] Elsewhere William has indicated 1164 as the second year of Amaury's reign. The use of 1167 must therefore be regarded either as a copyist's error or a slip of William's pen due to haste, for he obviously relates this to Amaury's absence in Egypt in 1164. W. B. Stevenson (*The Crusaders in the East*, p. 189) dates the capture of Banyas October 18, 1164.

[27] The news of Nureddin's activities behind him may have prevented Amaury from following up his success by further penetration of Egypt.

than he ordinarily gave to his own concerns. He governed both nobles and people with great kindness and wise foresight. In each city he placed a capable man to take faithful and sensible charge of all matters pertaining to the prince's domain, after which he returned to his own kingdom. With the assistance of loyal followers and friends of the prince, however, he continued to interest himself in the matter of that lord's ransom. As the result of his active efforts, the prince, on payment of a large sum of money, was restored that same summer to his former state of honor and liberty. His captivity among the enemy had lasted for nearly a year.[28] Bohemond did not rest in idleness after his return to Antioch but displayed great energy in raising the ransom for the hostages he had given so that their return also might not be delayed. A short time before this the emperor of Constantinople had married the prince's youngest sister, Maria. Thither [Bohemond] hastened. He was received by the emperor with honorable and kindly treatment and, after a short visit, returned to Antioch, laden with munificent gifts from his imperial majesty.

It seems strange that Nureddin, wise and far-seeing prince that he was, should have consented to release the prince of Antioch so soon. He was always loath to free Christian captives and gloried above all in the fact that he held many of our people, especially those of high rank, as his prisoners. Two possible solutions of this problem occur to me. He may have feared that the emperor would intervene; that the mighty potentate, whose request he would not dare refuse, might demand that he restore the prince without ransom. He may also have considered the possibility that the people of Antioch, if their prince were detained too long, might provide for their interests by choosing a stronger ruler in the place of Bohemond, for the prince was a youth who gave little promise of future good. Thus a more formidable adversary might be raised up against himself. Hence, Nureddin, shrewd and provident, deemed it better for his own interests that Bohemond should continue to rule at Antioch, for he too looked for little good from him. A wiser and more powerful prince placed in that position might be more difficult to deal with. This latter theory, in my opinion, explains the real motives which governed this most sagacious prince.[29]

[28] Bohemond III was released in the summer of 1165, as much the result of the military success of Thoros of Armenia as of Amaury's powers of persuasion.

[29] Nureddin still held a number of important Latin princes, including Renaud de Châtillon and Raymond III of Tripoli. He had held Joscelin II captive for nine years.

About the same time Shirkuh, so often mentioned, a man bent on destroying the Christians, seized a fortress belonging to the Christians near Sidon suddenly and without warning. The place was known as the cave of Tyre and was considered impregnable. It is said that the capture was accomplished by bribing the custodians. That the fortress had fallen into the enemy's hands through collusion with its guardians was quite apparent, for as soon as it was surrendered all those within escaped to the enemy's country, with the exception of their chief. By a lucky chance he was caught and came to a miserable end at Sidon, where he was hanged.

During this same year, William, king of Sicily, of illustrious renown, the son of King Roger, was overtaken by death.[30] About this same time, also, a fortress of similar nature, that is, an impregnable cave, lying beyond Jordan on the borders of Arabia, was likewise surrendered to Shirkuh by the brothers of the Knights Templars, to whose care it had been confided. The king hurried to its rescue with a goodly company of knights, but while he was encamped on the banks of the Jordan, news came that the stronghold had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. Disconcerted and infuriated at this news, the king caused about twelve of the Templars responsible for the surrender to be hanged from a gallows.[31]

Thus, during that year which was the third of King Amaury's reign, the Christians suffered many reverses, and, because of our sins, the entire kingdom was in a very parlous state.

It was only under pressure that he released such prisoners, the threat of Manuel's invasion being the most striking instance. This was another. Ordinary offers of ransom did not tempt him. Perhaps William is justified in his speculation as to Nureddin's reason for releasing Bohemond. Röhricht suggests a more probable reason in the threat of another attack by Manuel (R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 319).

[30] William I of Sicily died May 7, 1166, and was succeeded by his son William II, who was only thirteen years old (see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 303–305).

[31] William's date for this tragedy is in Amaury's third year, or 1165. Lundgreen, who places it in 1166, is unable to find any other authority for the hanging of the Templars and questions William's statement without being able to refute it (*Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, p. 101).

12. *The return of the writer of this history to his own land is described and something of his progress is related.*

[The text of this chapter does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts.] [32]

13. *Shirkuh goes down into Egypt at the head of a large body of soldiery.*

THIS, then, was the situation among our people at that time. Meanwhile a persistent story emanating from various sources was widely circulated. It was said that Shirkuh at the head of a mighty force of knights gathered from the lands of the East and the North was preparing to descend again in martial splendor upon the land of Egypt. Nor was this report without foundation. For Shirkuh had visited the caliph of Bagdad, that greatest of all Saracen rulers, he who far excels all others and is recognized as the supreme monarch over all. On his arrival there, Shirkuh offered the customary salutation and then began to describe in great detail the immense wealth of Egypt. He told of the marvellous abundance of all good things there and of each individual commodity; the inestimable treasures belonging to the prince himself; the imposts and taxes from the cities both on the coast and farther inland; and the vast amount of annual revenue. He added that the people, devoted to luxurious living and ignorant of the science of war, had become enervated through a period of long-continued peace. Again and again he endeavored to impress upon the caliph's mind the fact that the prince now ruling Egypt, and his ancestors as well, had raised up a rival caliph in opposition to himself [the caliph of Bagdad] and his predecessors. This caliph, they had insolently

[32] Prutz has various conjectures regarding this missing material (H. Prutz, "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus" *Neues Archiv*, VIII, 98–99). If the assumption that William had not been able to finish this work is correct and that the unfinished portion was that of the years 1160–1166 inclusive, the most reasonable explanation is that William did not write it. He had planned the chapters for the whole work, which accounts for the captions, but in his haste had been unable to fill it out. The very sketchy nature of the chapters preceding this lends further support to the explanation. His absence from Palestine during a part of this period may, as noted above, account for the vagueness of the material for the years from 1160 to 1163 inclusive, while the relative fullness and accuracy of related events in 1164 would indicate that he was then back in the Holy Land. If so, only the haste of closing his work would explain the few entries for 1165 and almost none for 1166. The contrasting fullness of the next year, with which he probably began his work as historian, emphasizes this possibility.

dared to claim, was on an equality with his own unparalleled excellency. Moreover, they had assumed to teach another law and traditions directly opposed to those of the caliph. By reiterating such suggestions Shirkuh so wrought upon the caliph's mind that he was induced to carry out the sultan's will. He wrote to all the princes who accepted his false doctrines and commanded them strictly to muster their forces and follow Shirkuh to lend him aid.[33]

When Amaury heard this news, he called a general assembly at Nablus to devise means of anticipating and forestalling the caliph's designs. There, in the presence of the patriarch, the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the church as well as the barons and all the people, he explained with great care the danger which threatened the kingdom and earnestly besought their aid. In view of the circumstances, it was thereupon unanimously decided that everyone without exception should give one-tenth of all movable property toward the relief of the kingdom. This decree was put into effect.

The report continued to circulate that Shirkuh, well supplied with the requisite food for many days and an abundant provision of water carried in skins, had already started on his march through the desert, over the route by which the children of Israel had entered the Land of Promise. The king thereupon mustered all his available cavalry and set out in haste to meet him and oppose his progress. He advanced as far as Kades-Barnea in the desert, but not finding Shirkuh there, he at once retraced his course.

14. *The king, following Shirkuh, likewise goes down to Egypt to assist the Egyptians.*

THE heralds were now ordered to summon from every city the entire military strength of the kingdom, both infantry and cavalry. The forces were directed to concentrate at Ascalon.[34] On January 30, the army set forth, carrying with them the necessary supply of food for the journey, and by forced marches crossed the vast wilderness with lies between Gaza, the last city of our kingdom, and the land of Egypt.

[33] This account of the situation in Egypt is quite evidently made without regard to the previous chapters, another reason for concluding that William began his history at this point.

[34] The preliminaries of this campaign, including the council of Nablus, must have reached back into the fall of 1166. The march began from Ascalon on January 30, 1167.

At al-Arish, an ancient fortress in the desert, they held a census of their forces and awaited the rest of the army. The army as a whole finally reached the city now known as Balbis, although in ancient times it was called Pelusium and as such is often mentioned in the Prophets.

When the Sultan Shawar learned that the king had come, he was seized with terror. Dismayed at the sudden appearance of the Christians, he doubted the good faith of the oncoming host and feared that the martial array might be directed against himself. He was, in general, a wise and able ruler and was considered particularly farsighted, but on this occasion he displayed cowardice and gross ignorance. Although informed of the reason for our coming, he could scarcely believe it true. Finally, almost too late and reluctantly, he dispatched scouts to the desert to obtain definite information about the enemy's movements. On their return, the messengers reported that the Turkish army had reached Attasi. Then, indeed, the sultan marvelled at the sincere loyalty of the Christians and praised them highly. In recognition of the solicitude which the Christian army had shown for their Egyptian allies, he placed at the disposal of the king all the riches, both of the kingdom and of the caliph. Moreover, from that day forth, he showed great zeal in carrying out all the king's wishes. Accordingly, Amaury freely availed himself of this help whenever he had need.

15. *A description of Cairo and some remarks on the founder of the city.*

THE Christians proceeded on their way past the cities of Balbis[35] and Cairo, of which the latter, with its magnificent buildings, was displayed as the seat of royal power and the supreme glory of Egypt. With the noble and famous city commonly called Babylon [Babilyun],[36] but known in the Arabic tongue as Macer,[37] on the left, they established the camp on the bank of the Nile. We have been unable to discover what name this city bore in ancient times. Babylon or

[35] This place was later called Farama, or al-Farama.

[36] Babilyun was a strong fortress at the time of the Arab conquest. It was the scene of a pitched battle and a long siege. The fortress was captured April 6, 641. The city of Cairo was built later just north of Babilyun. It was probably from Babilyun that the Westerners derived their name for Egypt, which they commonly called "Babylon." William is right in refusing to identify it with ancient Memphis, which he correctly located some ten miles farther up the Nile.

[37] "Macer" is of Egyptian origin and is more correctly spelled Misr, which is today the official name for Egypt.

Babylonia was a very ancient city in the Orient, but histories relating to very early times do not refer to any city of this name as ever existing in Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that this place was founded not only after the time of the Pharaohs, who were the first to reign in Egypt, and after that of the Ptolemies, who ruled later, but even subsequent to the period of the Romans, who reduced Egypt to a province. As to Cairo, this city is known to have been founded by Johar [Jawhar], commander in chief of the forces of Mehezedinalla [Muizz]. This ruler was at that time reigning in Africa after Jawhar had won for him all the land of Egypt. How this happened will be related farther on.

Yet some writers confidently assert that this Babilyun is the ancient Memphis, that noble and far-famed city, so often mentioned in ancient histories and in the Prophets, and which is said to have been the capital and queen of that whole kingdom and of many neighboring provinces. But ten miles beyond the Nile which flows by this Babilyun of which we are speaking there still exists a venerable city of vast extent where there are still evidences of bygone grandeur, and this the dwellers in those parts positively assert is the Memphis of antiquity.

It is quite probable, therefore, that the people of Memphis, either through necessity or because this site offered greater advantages, transferred their homes to the other side of the river and at that time, or possibly later, changed the original name.

We consider it definitely established also that it was Jawhar who built Cairo. As has been said above, he had been sent from Africa with the armies of the great prince Muizz to conquer Egypt. In the year 358 of the Muslim era, after he had won the entire land and made the people tributary, Jawhar established this city near Babilyun, and it became the principal and favorite residence of his master.[38] Three years later, Muizz left Kairawan, which had been the seat of his kingdom for some years, and, according to the intentions of the prince, made this place glorious as the capital of his kingdom and his own

[38] This is a clear indication that William used more than one Arabic source for his history of Egypt. His conclusion regarding the Fatimid conquest of Egypt and the founding of Cairo is in accord with the best modern research. The year 358 A.H. extended from November 24, 968, to November 13, 969 A.D. The construction of Cairo was completed June 22, 972, and the caliph established himself there June 11, 973 (see Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, pp. 179–88). This passage is almost the only one in which William specifically cites the Muslim era, though he frequently uses the reckoning.

residence.[39] This occurred in the year 361 of the Muslim calendar and the twentieth of Muizz's own rule, as has been thoroughly narrated elsewhere in our history of the princes of the Orient.

16. *The king marches forth to meet Shirkuh, but the latter, anticipating such action, crosses the river.*

WHEN the Christians had established their camp on the banks of the river less than two stadia from the city just mentioned, they held a council. After long deliberation and the careful consideration of diverse opinions, they judged it best to march out to encounter Shirkuh and his forces before they should cross the river. To prevent him from entering the kingdom would be far wiser than to join battle after his hosts had made the passage, when the difficulty of recrossing would cause them to fight more desperately.

They broke camp, therefore, and marched rapidly toward the spot where the enemy was supposed to be. This was reported as about ten miles from the place where our forces had earlier encamped. On reaching the spot, however, they found that Shirkuh, a very sagacious leader, had already made the crossing with nearly all his troops. Only a few remained, and these our men at once seized and bound. When questioned, they gave the Christians a great deal of useful information, especially in relation to Shirkuh's passage of the river and the number of his troops.

A fact that was unknown to our people was disclosed by their story, namely, that after their forces had passed Syria Sobal in the desert a terrible whirlwind suddenly sprang up. Particles of sand raised aloft swirled through the air like clouds or dense fog. The men dared not open their mouths to speak to one another, nor could they keep their eyes open. Dismounting from their horses, they lay prostrate clinging to the ground, their hands pressed into the sand as far as possible, lest they be swept aloft by the violence of the whirlwind and again dashed to the ground. For in that desert waves of sand like those of the sea are wont to rise and fall as in a tempest, a fact that renders the crossing of these perilous reaches not less dangerous than sailing over the sea. At last, pleasant weather returned, and after several days spent in wandering aimlessly here and there, un-

[39] Kairawan, which is so easily confused with Cairo, is located a short distance southeast of Tunis. It had been the earlier Fatimid capital.

certain of the route and hoping only for life, they reached Egypt, as has been related. Their camels and the greater part of their supplies were lost; many of their people were dead, and still more were scattered over the vast wastes of the far-reaching sands.

When it became evident that Shirkuh and his host had already crossed the river, our army retraced their steps along the route by which they had come and again encamped on the riverbank near the city which they had left earlier.

17. *Shawar, the sultan, renews the treaty in order to keep the king with him.*

SHAWAR now realized that it was impossible for him to resist the foes who had penetrated to the very heart of his kingdom, or to drive them from the land except by the assistance of the king. He anxiously sought the most effective means, therefore, by which he might keep the king in Egypt, for he feared that Amaury, weary of the great hardships, might resolve to return to his own land. In fact, the only means of keeping the king in the land seemed to be by offering him a larger amount of tribute and promising an adequate sum for the expenses of himself and his barons.

He resolved therefore—and the proposition seemed good to the Christians also—to renew the old agreements and to establish a treaty of perpetual peace between the king and the caliph on an inviolable and stable basis. The annual tribute was to be increased and a fixed payment guaranteed to the king from the treasury of the caliph, for the matter was apparently one that could not easily be accomplished without the expenditure of much labor and time. After examining the demands and wishes of both parties, those in charge of arranging the treaty and the stipulations thereof decided that four hundred thousand pieces of gold should be allowed the king. Of this amount two hundred thousand was to be paid at once and the remaining two hundred thousand was to be sent without any trouble at certain specified times. The terms were as follows: "that the king should guarantee with his own hand, in good faith, without fraud or evil intent, that he would not depart from the land of Egypt until Shirkuh and his entire army should be utterly destroyed or entirely driven from the territories thereof." These terms met with the approval of both parties, and in token of his agreement to the treaty the king extended his

right hand to the caliph's representatives. At the same time, however, he sent Hugh of Caesarea, a young man of admirable wisdom and discretion far beyond his years, with several others to obtain the caliph's ratification of the covenant by the hand of Hugh, according to the stipulations agreed upon; for the sultan's guarantee alone in this matter seemed insufficient.

18. *Envoys are sent to obtain the renewal of the treaty from the caliph. The magnificence of the royal palace is described.*

SINCE the palace of that monarch is unique and after a fashion quite unfamiliar to our world, I have deemed it well to set down in detail what I have learned from the trustworthy accounts of those who visited that great prince, to describe his state and grandeur, his vast riches, and exceeding magnificence. To have an accurate understanding of all this will surely be of no slight advantage to my readers.

Hugh of Caesarea, accompanied by Geoffrey Fulcher, a knight of the Temple, entered Cairo under the escort of the sultan, as chief of the embassy which was sent thither. On arriving at the palace, which in the Egyptian language is called *Cascare*,[40] they were led through narrow passages entirely without light, preceded by a numerous and noisy throng of attendants armed with swords. At each entrance they found bands of armed Ethiopians who zealously showed their reverence for the sultan by repeated salutations.

After passing the first and second guards, they were conducted into a large and spacious court open to the sky which freely admitted the sun's rays. There, supported by columns of marble covered with designs in relief were promenades with fretted and gilded ceilings and pavements of various colored stones. Throughout the entire circuit royal magnificence prevailed. So elegant was both material and workmanship that involuntarily the eyes of all who saw it were ravished by the rare beauty and never wearied of the sight. There were marble fishpools filled with limpid waters; there were birds of many kinds, unknown to our part of the world. These were larger than those familiar to us, their forms were unusual, their colors strange, and their songs different. The food of each varied according to its species and was suited to its own kind.

[40] This term is an Arabic loan-word from the Latin name for fortress, *castrum*. It acquired a new dignity in becoming identified with a "palace."

From this court the chief eunuch led them still further on, where they saw buildings which surpassed in elegance those recently seen, just as the latter had seemed more splendid than common and ordinary structures. Here was an amazing variety of animals such as the playful hand of the painter or the imagination of the poet loves to picture, or such as the mind sees in the visions of the night—creatures such as are often found in the countries of the East and the South but which are never seen and rarely heard of in the West. Undoubtedly it was from these places that our Solinus derived the account contained in his *Polyhistor*.[41]

19. *The treaty is concluded, and in confirmation thereof, the caliph gives his right hand to Hugh of Caesarea.*

AFTER passing through many winding passages and devious ways, whose wonders might well detain even the busiest of men in contemplation, they reached the palace itself. Here still larger groups of armed men and throngs of attending satellites testified by their appearance and numbers to the incomparable glory of their lord. The very aspect of the place gave indisputable proof of the opulence and extraordinary riches of the monarch.

They approached and were admitted to the inner part of the palace. Here the sultan showed the usual reverence to his lord, according to custom; twice he prostrated himself on the ground and humbly offered as to a divinity due worship and a kind of abject adoration. Then for a third time bowing to the ground, he laid down the sword which he wore suspended from his neck. Thereupon the curtains embroidered with pearls and gold, which hung down and hid the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and the caliph was revealed with face unveiled. Seated on a throne of gold, surrounded by some of his privy counsellors and eunuchs, he presented an appearance more than regal.[42]

With all reverence, the sultan approached him and, humbly imprint-

[41] Solinus does not make special mention of many birds in his discussion of Egypt, though he does mention animals. William's statement indicates a general familiarity with the whole work.

[42] This was Caliph Adid, who reigned 1160–1171. He was a cousin, not a son, of the previous caliph, Faiz, and was about sixteen or seventeen years old at this time. William derived this account of the palace and its ceremonial directly from Hugh of Caesarea. The contrast in manners described in this chapter suggests that the Latins in the East had not yet lost all their Western ways.

ing a kiss upon the foot of the seated monarch, stated the reason for the envoys' visit, the provisions of the treaty, and the urgent needs of the kingdom. He explained that an enormous hostile force was standing in the very heart of the empire and in a few words stated what was asked of the caliph and what would be rendered by the king in return. To this the caliph, with cheerful and undisturbed countenance, very affably responded that he was ready to fulfil all the stipulations of the treaty that had been arranged and accepted by both parties, and that with a most liberal interpretation, because of his own regard for the king.

The Christians then requested that he confirm this statement with his own hand as the king had done. At first, the courtiers who surrounded him, as well as his counsellors and gentlemen of the chamber, on whom rested the responsibility of the royal plans, were shocked at the suggestion, as a thing utterly beyond comprehension. Finally, however, after long deliberation, at the persistent urging of the sultan, he very reluctantly extended his hand covered. Then, to the consternation of the Egyptians, who were amazed that anyone should talk so freely to their supreme lord, Hugh of Caesarea said to him: "Sire, good faith has nothing to conceal, but when princes bind themselves together in true loyalty everything ought to be open; and everything which is inserted in good faith in any pact should be confirmed or refused with frank sincerity. Therefore, unless you offer your hand bared we shall be obliged to think that, on your part, there is some reservation or some lack of sincerity."

Finally, with extreme unwillingness, as if it detracted from his majesty, yet with a slight smile which greatly aggrieved the Egyptians, he put his uncovered hand into that of Hugh. He repeated, almost syllable by syllable, the words of Hugh as he dictated the formula of the treaty and swore that he would keep the stipulations thereof, "in good faith, without fraud or evil intent." The caliph was, as Hugh reported to us, a young man of an extremely generous disposition whose first beard was just appearing; he was tall, of swarthy complexion and good frame. He had a large number of wives.

After dismissing the envoys, he sent them gifts in token of his royal liberality. These both in quantity and kind recommended the royal donor greatly to the ambassadors, who left the princely presence in high delight and returned with joy to their own land.

20. *Explains why the prince of Egypt is called* mulene.

Having described the magnificence of the caliph, according to the reports of those who witnessed it with their own eyes, we shall now proceed to tell about the title of his high estate, his origin, and his progress, as far as is known to us. This information is derived from studying histories of olden times and also from the trustworthy accounts of many persons. For without the aid of history it would be impossible to inform the reader in regard to these details.

The prince of Egypt is known by his people under two names. He is called the caliph, which, being interpreted, is the successor or heir, because he occupies the place of their supreme prophet and holds the succession by hereditary right. He is also called *mulene* [*mawlana*] which means, our lord.[43] The origin of this second name seems to date from the days of the pharaoh, when the famous Joseph bought the entire country of Egypt and that people were forced by dire famine to sell their possessions. Joseph made these lands and all the inhabitants thereof subject to the pharaoh, from the uttermost boundaries of Egypt even to its remotest frontiers. He said to those who tilled the fields, "You shall give a fifth part to the king, but the remaining four parts I permit you to keep for planting, that you may provide for your households, your homes, and your children." First, he bought their possessions and then their persons. Hence it is that the Egyptians are held to their lord by a stricter bond than is the case with inhabitants of other lands, since he bought them and their possessions with a price. This also explains why they are bound to him in a servile capacity of the humblest order.

Thus through the extreme solicitude of this best of governors the Egyptians became serfs and ever after called their prince by that revered name *mawlana*. This condition originated in the days of the pharaohs. It prevailed through the epoch of the Ptolemies and continued through the rule of the Romans, who reduced the land, as was their custom with other conquests, to the status of a province. A trace

[43] This title occurs in an inscription recently discovered under a coat of plaster in the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. It is there applied to Mustansir, caliph 1035–1094. William may well have read that inscription (see S. A. S. Husseini, "Inscription of the Khalif El-Mustansir Billāh 458 A.H. [= A.D. 1065]," Palestine, Department of Antiquities, *Quarterly*, IX [1942], 77–80).

of that old status still lingers in the fact that the prince of Egypt is absolutely free from responsibility and knows nothing of tumults and seditions. He devotes himself entirely to the enjoyment of leisure and luxury, while a governor, like Joseph of old, administers all the affairs of the realm, wielding the power of the sword and executing justice in the place of his lord. This governor is called the sultan, and this was the office held by that Shawar of whom we have so often spoken.

21. *Relates why he is called caliph and why he is the adversary of the caliph of Bagdad.*

THE reason for the title caliph is as follows: Muhammad, their prophet, or rather their destroyer, who was the first to draw the peoples of the East to this kind of superstition, had as his immediate successor one of his disciples named Abu-Bakr. The latter was succeeded in the kingdom by Omar, son of Khattab, who was likewise followed by Uthman, and he by Ali, son of Abu-Talib. All these prophets were called caliphs, as were also all who followed them later, because they succeeded their famous master and were his heirs. But the fifth in the succession from Muhammad, namely Ali, was more warlike than his predecessors and had far greater experience in military matters than his contemporaries. He was, moreover, a cousin of Muhammad himself.[44] He considered it unfitting that he should be called the successor of his cousin and not rather a great prophet himself, much greater, in fact, than Muhammad. The fact that in his own estimation and that of many others he was greater did not satisfy him; he desired that this be generally acknowledged. Accordingly, he reviled Muhammad and spread among the people a story to the effect that the Angel Gabriel, the propounder of the law, had actually been sent to him from on high but by mistake had conferred the supreme honor on Muhammad. For this fault, he said, the angel had been severely blamed by the Lord. Although these claims seemed false to many from whose traditions they differed greatly, yet others believed them, and so a schism developed among that people which has lasted even to the present. Some maintain that Muhammad is the greater and, in fact, the greatest of all prophets, and these are called in their own tongue, Sunnites; others declare that Ali alone is the prophet of God, and they are called Shiites.

[44] Ali was cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad.

The above-named Ali was slain, however, and the rival faction gained the supremacy. The kingdom of the Orient, therefore, was under the sway of the successors of Muhammad, and they, holding the power, oppressed all who held the opposite opinion. In the two hundred and eighty-sixth year after the rule of the aforesaid seducer,[45] there arose a certain nobleman, by name Abdallah [Ubaydullah] son of Muhammad, son of Japhar [Jafar], son of Muhammad, son of Ali, son of Hussen [Husayn], son of the greater Ali, of whom we have been speaking. He went out from the city of Salamia in the Orient and crossed over to Africa. After conquering all the lands of that region, he called himself Almahadi [al-Mahdi], which means the Leveller,[46] that is, one who has reduced all things to peace and made the ways smooth and without obstacle for the people. He built the great city Mahadia [Mahadiyah], so called from his own name; this he intended should become the capital of his dominions, a metropolis surpassing all others. He built a fleet, seized Sicily, and laid waste certain parts of Italy. He was the first of all his line after Ali, his ancestor, who ventured to call himself caliph; not that he considered himself the successor of Muhammad, whom he execrated, but rather of Ali, that greatest and most famous prophet from whose stock he was descended, as has been said. Indeed, he even dared to hurl curses openly against Muhammad and his successors and to establish another ritual and another form of prayer.

One of his descendants, Abu-Tamin, surnamed Muizz, subjugated Egypt through Jawhar, the commander in chief of his army. The latter also built Cairo which, being interpreted, is the Conqueror,[47] because it was destined to be the residence of his great and supreme master, the conqueror of all things.

This caliph left Caroca [Kairawan] in the province of Africa, where four of his predecessors had lived, went to Egypt, and made the city just mentioned the seat of his kingdom. From that time until now

[45] The year 286 A.H. extended from January 16, 899, to January 6, 900 A.D. There is considerable variation among Arabic scholars as to the correct genealogy of Ali's descendants, there being at least eight different lists (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 618).

[46] The translation should be "the Guided One." Professor Hitti believes that William here mistook the Arabic word for another which is almost identical and has the meaning assigned by him. Evidently William knew his Arabic almost too well.

[47] Hitti prefers "Triumphant" as the translation of the word (see Hitti, *Arabs*, p. 619, note 2).

there has never ceased to be, ruling in Egypt, a rival to the caliph of the East, who had been supreme for so many years, a rival ever striving to be on a par with him—nay, even claiming to be his superior.[48]

If anyone wishes to know more of these matters, he may read the history which we have written with great care from the Arabic sources at the instance and command of King Amaury. It deals with the princes of the East and their acts from the time of the seducer Muhammad; that is, it covers a period of five hundred and seventy-seven years to the present, which is the year 1182 of the Incarnation of our Lord.[49]

22. *The king builds a bridge over the Nile. Shirkuh descends upon the island; the king attacks him.*

When the treaty had been renewed and reduced to terms satisfactory to both parties, as has been related, all girded themselves as with one accord for the work planned, prepared to attack the enemy and drive him out of the entire realm. Meanwhile, the approach of night afforded an excuse for resting. In the morning they found the situation somewhat changed. During the night Shirkuh had arrived and encamped on the other bank of the same river opposite our army. The king, thereupon, caused boats to be brought and trunks of the palm tree, which is native there, and had a bridge constructed. The vessels were joined together two by two and made stable by anchors; then the beams were laid upon them and covered with earth. Finally the bridge was fortified with wooden towers, equipped with engines. The work was continued for several days until the middle of the river was reached, when fear of the enemy prevented the extension of the work to the opposite bank. Here, then, for a month or longer, all actual encounter was suspended, since the Christians were unable to cross the

[48] The Fatimid caliphate was brought to an end by Saladin in 1171, as William himself relates later. William's definite statement that there was still a caliph at Cairo when he was writing would indicate that this passage was written before William had learned of the change, perhaps before 1175, and is here incorporated from the *Gesta orientalium principum.*

[49] This statement of time is of exceptional interest. The material of the two preceding chapters was obviously drawn from his *History of the Princes of the Orient.* Whether he took it as he had originally written it or summarized a portion of it is not clear. The statement referring the reader to that other work is an indication that he had excerpted the material immediately preceding. The year 577 A.H. extended from May 16, 1181, to May 6, 1182, and its identification with the Christian year 1182 is therefore limited to the first four months of that year. He was thus engaged in the revision of this book during those months.

river and the enemy, on their part, did not dare to venture far, lest we fall on their rear. This was the situation in the vicinity of Cairo. In the interim, Shirkuh had sent a party of men to seize, if possible, a neighboring island which abounded in all kinds of supplies, for he wished to prevent the Christians from raiding it at some future time. This undertaking was successfully accomplished.

As soon as the king learned that the enemy had seized the island, he sent thither Milon de Plancy and Chemel [Kamil], a son of the sultan, with a force of knights. They found that the Turks were already in possession and were treating the inhabitants most shamefully. An attack was immediately made, and a battle ensued which was waged very fiercely on both sides. Finally, by the help of God, the Christians prevailed; they forced the enemy headlong into the river near by, where those who escaped the sword were drowned in the raging waters. Five hundred of the enemy perished that day from various mishaps. When the report of this battle reached Shirkuh, he was overwhelmed with dismay and began to entertain grave doubts about the ultimate success of his undertaking.

This was the state of affairs when certain leading men of the kingdom arrived at the camp, namely Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, and Philip of Nablus. They had not marched out with the king but had remained behind for private reasons. As swiftly as possible, however, they followed the army and joined our camp. The cohorts greeted them with demonstrations of great joy, for they were brave men, valiant in arms and trained from their earliest years in the art of war.

A council was at once held to determine what plan of procedure should be adopted. It was finally decided by unanimous consent that, in the silence of night, without the knowledge of the enemy, the entire fleet should be conducted to an island about eight miles below the camp. About the first watch, the whole army was to be ferried across the river; then, during the night, they were to fall stealthily upon the foe while off guard and do all the damage possible. It was ordered that this plan be carried into execution. The fleet immediately descended to the place decided upon, without discovery by the enemy. The army in utter silence followed. They were quickly ferried across and seized the island.

While they were trying to cross the farther channel of the river, however, in the same way, according to their orders, a whirlwind suddenly arose which prevented them from carrying out their purpose. They were obliged to make camp, therefore, on that part of the island which faced the farther shore. A part of the force was left behind, however, to finish the bridge and guard it after its completion. In command of this detachment was Hugh d'Ibelin, a valiant and powerful knight, who, as has been said, had married the divorced wife of King Amaury.

23. *The island is described; the names and number of the mouths by which the Nile enters the sea are given. The Christians drive out the foe and take possession of the island. Shirkuh flees into the desert.*

THE island now under discussion is called by the natives Mahalla. It has a very productive soil and abounds in all good things. The waters of the Nile separate at this point and form this island, and the branches which part here do not again join the main stream until they reach the sea. Even then the waters do not unite but mingle with the sea through four separate mouths. The first branch, which faces our Syria, flows into the sea between two ancient maritime cities, Tanis and Farama. It flows very close to one of these cities in its passage, even laving its buildings, but is about three or four miles distant from the other. The second arm joins the sea at Damietta, an old and noble city; the third, at Sturio. The fourth flows into the sea at Rosetta, which is about four or five miles from Alexandria. We have discovered no other mouths of this river, although careful search and inquiry have been made. This we regard as singular, for the ancients call the Nile the sevenfold flowing,[50] because it entered the sea by seven mouths. The only explanation which occurs to us is that, through successive ages, the face of the country has altered and the river has changed its channel, as has happened in the case of so many other rivers. Possibly, however, the people of that earlier epoch did not understand the truth of the matter; or perchance the river, swollen by more than its usual complement, overflowed and, at the time of its annual increase, formed other channels besides these four, which the sea abandoned when the water again subsided within its bed. If any still exist, we have not counted them

[50] Ovid *Meta.* I. 422.

as branches because they are not always filled but, like torrents, are full only at certain seasons.[51]

Although the island had been taken, the lesser channel still remained. As the day grew bright, the enemy, roused from sleep, discovered that the foe had departed and the fleet had sailed away. They flew to arms, fearing a sudden attack by the Christians. As they hurriedly advanced, extending their lines along the river, they saw that our forces had seized the island and, by introducing the fleet, were asserting their right to the channel yet to be crossed. Accordingly they placed their camp opposite, somewhat back from the shore, although in this position they had no free access to the river but were obliged to go farther downstream even to water their horses.

The Christians had determined to try their fortune to the utmost on the following day and to open a path by the sword, if necessary. But during the night, unknown to them, the infidels departed. When morning came and our army saw that the enemy had left, they quickly crossed the river and hastened in pursuit. That the cavalry might advance more rapidly, the foot soldiers were left behind, and the king set out accompanied only by a few knights. He dispatched Hugh d'Ibelin, however, and Kamil, the sultan's son, with a large force of cavalry, both Christian and Egyptian, to protect Cairo and the bridge which the soldiers had built from sudden hostile attack. The towers and all the fortifications of that noble city were put in charge of our people, and the palace of the caliph, heretofore unknown to the Christians, became very familiar to them, for the lord himself and his entire household relied for safety entirely on the king's forces. Then there was revealed to the Christians that holy of holies which had been hidden from the world, and the inmost precincts whose wonders were once familiar to only the few were disclosed.

The king also sent Gerard de Pougy and another son of the sultan, called Mahadan, to the farther bank of the river, again with a force made up of both nationalities. They were ordered to check the foe, if perchance he should attempt to cross the river. The king himself, leaving behind most of the impedimenta, as we have said, then set out in pursuit of the foe, against the current of the stream; for the formation

[51] William here, as in a number of other places, refuses to accept the testimony of books, however ancient, if they are at variance with observed fact.

of the country was such that the enemy's route could be traced without difficulty.

24. *The land of Egypt and its characteristic features.*

THE entire land of Egypt from the most remote frontiers, where it is said to border on the country of the Ethiopians, lies between two sandy deserts, doomed to be infertile forever. The land itself neither knows nor produces fruitful crops of any kind except as it is rendered fertile at fixed seasons by the inundation of the Nile when in flood. It is only where the nature of the adjacent land permits that the river makes the soil fit to bring forth crops. For wherever it finds a level surface in the vicinity, the river spreads freely over a wide area and renders it productive. The wider the distribution of the waters, the more extensive is the country which thus becomes arable.

Beyond Cairo toward the sea, where the country is very flat, the waters have a wider range. Hence this district is extremely productive throughout the wide extent irrigated by the Nile. The river thus insures very abundant crops and also extends the limits of the kingdom. From the fortress called Phacusa, which faces Syria, even to Alexandria, which borders on the Libyan desert and is the last city of Egypt, the Nile carries the blessings of fertility and cultivation for a hundred miles and more. Above Cairo, however, until Chus, the southernmost city of Egypt, is reached—a place which is said to abut on the kingdom of the Ethiopians—the country is shut in by the encroaching sand hills. Consequently, only here and there does the river stretch out to the width of seven or eight miles and generally only to four or five, sometimes on both sides and again only on one, according to the extent of the flood. In this way it contracts or expands the lateral extent of the kingdom, for the places not irrigated by the river are doomed, as has been said, to perpetual sterility, because of the intense heat of the sun's rays. This upper region is called in the Egyptian tongue Seith. As yet we have been unable to find the origin of this name. Legend says, however, that in very early times there was an ancient city in this upper part of Egypt called Sais. Our Plato, in the *Timaeus,* mentions the city through his disciple, Critias, who introduces Solon, a man of great authority. As better evidence of this, it seems well to give his very words that nothing authoritative may be lacking. "There is," he

says, "a part of Egypt called the Delta, at the extremity of which the waters of the Nile divide. Near this place, there was once a great city, Sais by name, which was governed according to an ancient custom, called the Satyran law.[52] The Emperor Amasis was originally from this city," etc.

Still another part of this country belongs to Egypt; it lies a day's journey from Cairo, across uninhabitable land. This region, thanks to the benefits received from the river through some of its branches, has excellent, fertile soil and rejoices in luxuriant fields and vineyards. The Egyptians call this part of the country Phium [Philae].

Traditions of olden times say that this was formerly barren land which had never experienced the plough, but had been left without cultivation and care from the beginning of the world, just like the other portions of this same desert. But Joseph, that wise governor of Egypt, ever alert to discern anything that might be turned to advantage, investigated the location of the place and perceived that this region was lower than the surrounding land. He saw that if certain low mounds which lay between the habitable land and this part of the desert were removed this locality also might readily receive the benefit of the waters. He built dykes, levelled off the ground between, and let in the overflow of the Nile. The water was conducted through ditches already prepared for it and produced a fecundity hitherto unknown there.

Although we do not know its ancient name, we believe that in early times this region was called the Thebaiad. From here is said to have come the legend of the holy Thebans who were crowned with martyrdom at Agaunum under Diocletian and Maximianus Augustus, and whose first martyr, we read, was Mauritius. There is another proof, also; the best opium found anywhere grows there and is called by physicians Theban.[53]

Now the land of Goshen which Joseph is said to have given to his brethren is in that part of Egypt which faces Syria, according to the description given in the book of Genesis, as the diligent reader may easily discover for himself. This region, on the contrary, which faces nearer Libya is situated at the other extremity of Egypt and is on the

[52] This quotation is from the Latin translation of the *Timaeus* by Chalcidius and includes a mistranslation of the name of the law.

[53] The use of opium by physicians of the twelfth century is an interesting item in medical history.

farther bank of the river. It is far from being of small extent; indeed, it is said to include within its boundaries three hundred and sixty-six cities and villages.

By reason of the nature of the country, therefore, the kingdom was so narrow, as we have said, that it was impossible to turn either to the right or left. Constant information of the enemy's progress was brought to the king and the sultan by scouts. The pursuit was continued for three days, and on the fourth, which was the Sabbath before the Lord's day when "Rejoice, Jerusalem," is sung in the church, the foe was reported to be in the vicinity.[54]

25. *A battle involving great peril to both sides is fought in the desert between the king and Shirkuh.*

A COUNCIL, necessarily short, was immediately held, for it was evident that there was need of wise advice and a bold spirit and the pressing emergency did not admit of long delay. Battle was decided upon by unanimous consent, and the decision that the matter must be settled by the sword was greeted with applause. The number of mailed warriors in the two hosts, however, was very unequal. Shirkuh had twelve thousand Turks, of whom nine thousand wore the breastplate and helmet and the other three thousand used only bows and arrows. He had in addition ten or eleven thousand Arabs who, according to their custom, fought with lances only. The Christians, on the other hand, had barely three hundred and seventy-four knights besides the worthless and effeminate Egyptians, who were a hindrance and a burden rather than a help. They had also some light-armed cavalry called Turcopoles, but I do not know in what number. Many have told me, however, that in the great conflict of that day these forces were, for the most part, useless.

As soon as the two hostile armies became aware of each other's proximity, both drew up their forces in battle array, as the occasion seemed to demand, arranged their battalions, and displayed their weapons. Veterans, with the wisdom obtained from experience in former conflicts, exhorted the rest; they instructed the recruits and roused their courage by promising victory and immortal glory, the fruit of success.

[54] "*Laetare Hierusalem*" was sung on the fourth Sunday of Lent, hence on March 18, 1167.

The field where the engagement was to take place was on the borderland between the fertile country and the desert. The ground here was uneven, broken by hills of sand and depressions, so that those coming or going could not be seen from a distance. The place was called Beben, which means the Gates, because the passage between the hills on either side is very narrow at this point. It is ten miles from Lamonia, hence this engagement is sometimes known as the battle of Lamonia.

With energetic foresight, the enemy had already seized the hills on both right and left and had drawn up their forces in battle array. The rising ground and the yielding nature of the sand made it difficult for our men to approach with a rush against this position. The cohort commanded by Shirkuh occupied the center, and the others were drawn up on either side. The conflict soon reached the point where fighting at close quarters became necessary. The king's division advanced valiantly as with one thought; they overwhelmed Shirkuh's cohorts and put them to the sword. Shirkuh himself fled, with the foe in close pursuit.

Hugh of Caesarea attacked the division commanded by Saladin, Shirkuh's nephew; he was, however, deserted by his men and, consequently, was defeated and taken prisoner. A large number of his troops were taken, and many more were slain. Eustace Cholet, a noble and valiant lord from the land of Ponthieu, also fell in this combat.

Elated by this success, the other Turkish divisions united. They completely surrounded the Christian forces which had been detailed to guard the baggage and equipment, and in a furious attack promptly dispersed and routed them. Hugh of Creona is said to have fallen in this battle. He was a nobleman of Sicilian birth, a young man of upright and honorable life.

The Christian lines were now broken; many of our people were dead, and those who had escaped the sword took refuge in flight. The enemy seized the baggage and equipment without a struggle and carried it off.

The scattered forces, dispersed here and there among the little valleys, fought with varying fortune. The only witnesses were the fighters themselves, for no one else could see it. The battle was indecisive; sometimes the Turks and again the Christians had the upper hand, all alike ignorant of what was transpiring elsewhere. Each side considered itself at one place victorious, at another defeated. In the

confusion, our venerable brother, Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, the royal chancellor, whom we later followed in that office, was seriously wounded and lost all his baggage.[55] For a long time the result of the battle was uncertain. The actual decision of victory was deferred until the close of day warned the scattered troops to return to their standards. Then, at length, through fear of the oncoming night, those who were still at large began to hurry back to their own ranks, eagerly seeking the king. From all directions they rallied and again joined the lines.

The king had come off conqueror at the point where he had fought. Others, in one place or another, had tried the fortune of war with varying results, here enjoying success, there adverse fate, so that neither side could claim a decisive victory. Finally, the king withdrew with a few of his retainers to a certain hill, somewhat elevated above the plain, and there took his stand. Raising his standard to recall his scattered forces, he awaited his comrades. When these had rallied in part, the Christians saw that the Turkish division which had destroyed their baggage train, after killing some and capturing others, was in disarray upon the two hills opposite them. No other way of retreat was possible for our army except that which passed between the two hills occupied by the enemy. Determined to retreat, however, the Christians formed in order of battle and began to advance slowly between the enemy whom they saw both on the right and on the left. With such steadiness did they proceed that the infidels dared not attempt any hostility against them. Placing the strongest and best-armed men around the column, our people in close array made their way to a certain part of the river where they crossed in safety by a ford. In this same formation they continued to retreat throughout the entire night along the same route by which they had previously advanced.

At Lamonia they were met by Gerard de Pougy. With fifty knights and a hundred Turcopoles, assisted by Mahadan, a son of the sultan, he had been holding the other bank of the river to check the enemy if they should try to cross. The arrival of Gerard was most opportune, for the king had been much concerned lest the enemy might attack him alone on one side of the river or the other. He was still anxious about the infantry detachments, however, which were to follow under com-

[55] This passage must have been written after the death of Amaury and the time of William's appointment as chancellor, late in 1174.

mand of a wise and valiant knight, Joscelin of Samosata. There was indeed great danger that they might suddenly encounter the foe while off their guard.

For three days he awaited their arrival at Lamonia. By the fourth day the infantry had gradually assembled and were again united with his forces. They thereupon proceeded to Cairo by continuous marches and encamped by the bridge before Babilyun. There the king took a census of his knights and found that a hundred were missing. The enemy is said to have lost fifteen hundred in that encounter.

26. *Shirkuh withdraws to Alexandria. The king goes thither in haste and lays siege to the city.*

SHIRKUH now rallied all his remaining troops and formed them into one body. Then secretly, unknown to the Christians, he marched through the desert to Alexandria, where the people at once surrendered the city to him.

Information of this fact was soon brought to the king. He at once summoned his chief counsellors, together with the sultan and his sons and the Egyptian nobles, and counselled with them as to what measures should be taken. After long discussion, as is usually the case in doubtful matters, it was decided to station the fleet in the river as an obstacle, for Alexandria has within its own borders no resources of grain or other food supplies and is entirely dependent upon what is brought by ships from upper Egypt. In this position the fleet could completely shut off all commerce with people outside.

When this had been done, the king led his entire army to the vicinity and established his camp between Toroge and Demenhut, at a place about eight miles from Alexandria. From here he sent out scouts to visit and break up all settlements in the vicinity and even those far remote in the desert. He wished to prevent any assistance being sent to the besieged and also to intercept all messengers leaving the city to solicit aid from outside. As a further check, the fleet prevented all passage of the river and permitted no one, however well known, to descend without undergoing a thorough questioning.

A period of one month rolled away under these conditions. During that time the city had received no provisions from outside, and the people were already beginning to murmur. For bread was failing in their chests, and they had no food. When this came to the knowledge of

Shirkuh, he began to fear lest he and his army might also be forced to suffer famine with the rest. Accordingly, he left his nephew Saladin with about a thousand knights in charge of the city, and he himself withdrew by night through the desert. Although he passed very near our forces, he managed to escape to the upper part of Egypt, whence he had come only a short time before.

As soon as Shirkuh's departure became known, the king at once started in pursuit and had proceeded as far as Babilyun. His whole army was ready to advance, and he had already ordered the baggage arranged with a view to further pursuit when Ben Ercarselle, a powerful Egyptian nobleman, suddenly approached and informed him that Alexandria was struggling with desperate famine. He said, furthermore, that he had relatives of great influence in the city itself, the governors, in fact, of the place. They could easily sway the people, now under the stress of hunger, in whatever direction they wished, even to the extent of surrendering the city into the hands of the king with all the Turks who had been left there.

Influenced by this news, the king thereupon inquired of his counsellors what policy seemed best in their eyes; and finally, since the wishes of all were in accord, and even the sultan approved, they returned to Alexandria and placed the two armies as a blockading force around it.

27. *The situation of Alexandria is described.*

ALEXANDRIA is the last of all the cities of Egypt in that part of the country which extends westward toward Libya. It lies on the border between the cultivated land and the arid desert. Beyond the walls of the city and closely adjoining it on the west lies a vast waste which has never felt the blessings of cultivation and care. According to ancient histories, this city was founded by Alexander of Macedon, the son of Philip, from whom it takes its name. Julius Solinus states that it was built in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad, in the consulship of Lucius Papirius, son of Furius, and of Gaius Petilius, son of Gaius. It was laid out by the architect Dinocrates, who occupies the second place after its founder in the grateful remembrance of the people.[56]

Alexandria is situated not far from that mouth of the Nile which some call the Heracleoticon and others the Canopic mouth. Now, how-

[56] Solinus *Polyhistor* XXXII, 41.

ever, the place from which the arm nearest that city takes its name has lost its ancient appellation and is called Ressith [Rosetta]. The city is five or six miles distant from the bed of the river, but, during the season of its annual increase, part of the water is carried to the city by several canals. This influx of water is saved with great care in vast cisterns specially designed for the purpose, for the use of the people during the entire year. As much as is necessary, however, is diverted through underground conduits, for the purpose of irrigating the orchards which lie outside the city.

Alexandria is most conveniently situated for carrying on extensive commerce. It has two ports which are separated from one another by a very narrow stretch of land. At the end of that tongue rises a tower of marvellous height called the Pharos. Julius Caesar is said to have built this for utilitarian purposes and to have led a colony hither.[57]

By the Nile, Alexandria receives from upper Egypt an abundance of food supplies of every kind and, indeed, a wealth of almost every commodity. If there is anything which the country itself lacks, it is brought by ships from the lands across the sea in profuse abundance. As a result Alexandria has the reputation of receiving a larger supply of wares of every description than any other maritime city. Whatever our part of the world lacks in the matter of spices, pearls, Oriental treasures, and foreign wares is brought hither from the two Indies, Saba, Arabia, and both the Ethiopias, as well as from Persia and other lands near by. All this merchandise is conveyed to upper Egypt by way of the Red sea, which forms the route from those races to us. It is unloaded at the city of Aidab[58] on the shore of that same sea, and thence descends the Nile to Alexandria. Consequently, people from the East and the West flock thither in great numbers, and Alexandria is a public mart for both worlds. It is famous under both its ancient and modern titles, but it derives especial honor because of the preaching and conversation of the blessed Mark, the spiritual son of the prince of the apostles who was sent by divine will to that church. It is furthermore made illustrious by the fact that the holy fathers Athanasius and Cyril chose it as the place of their abode and are there buried.

[57] Solinus XXXII, 43.

[58] Near the site of modern Suez. The old trade route ran almost directly west to strike the Nile near Cairo. This route was so important that both in ancient times and again under the early Muslims a canal was built from the Nile toward the Red sea. Such a fresh water canal from Cairo to Suez was finally built in 1869.

Alexandria ranks second among the four patriarchates, and to it as their metropolis look Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and many other provinces.

Thither the entire fleet was dispatched. Every gate and all means of approach were blockaded and no one allowed to enter.

28. *The king continues to carry on the siege and oppresses the citizens most grievously.*

MEANWHILE, the Christians who had remained in Syria learned that the king had laid siege to Alexandria. They knew that by sailing without making any stops they could reach that city within a few days. Accordingly they seized arms and eagerly undertook the journey. Loading the ships with all necessary provisions, they joyously set sail on their own initiative. With them went Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor. Moved by the enthusiasm of others and also by an ardent affection for the king, he went down to Egypt by ship, accompanied by a rather distinguished retinue. But soon he began to suffer from a dangerous attack of dysentery caused by drinking the water of the Nile, and, his illness increasing, he was forced to return home before Alexandria was surrendered to the king.

The besieging host assembled before the city now collected an immense number of masts, summoned craftsmen and carpenters, and caused them to erect a tower of great height from whose top the entire city could be surveyed. Machines called petraries which hurl forth enormous stones of great weight were also placed in strategic positions around the walls. From these, almost incessantly, were hurled immense stones of great weight which shattered the walls and terrified the people almost beyond endurance.

Surrounding the city like a leafy forest were fertile gardens of most delightful aspect, full of fruit trees and medicinal plants. The very sight of this charming retreat invited the passer-by to enter and, having entered, to rest there. Our soldiers invaded these orchards in large numbers, primarily with the object of finding material for building the engines. Soon, however, they were seized with the sole desire of causing injury and loss, and, with far more zealous effort than had been expended upon the original planting, they cut down aromatic trees, useful for many purposes. Before long, the orchards were levelled to the ground, and no trace of their former condition re-

mained. It was of this outrage that the people complained most bitterly after the treaty of peace had been adopted and in respect to which they felt that they had received the greatest injury.

Our army continued to press on the siege; every method of causing injury was employed and new ways of annoying the besieged constantly invented. Incessant assaults permitted the weary defenders no rest. The citizens, accustomed only to trading, untrained in the art of fighting and without experience in warfare, found this unusual kind of labor extremely hard to bear. The Turks who had remained in the city were few in number and hesitated to trust themselves to the wavering and unreliable prowess of the citizens. Hence they seldom came forth to the conflict and then reluctantly—an attitude which did not greatly encourage the rest to fight. Why should more be said? Daily fighting, the constant slaughter of friends, continual vigils, fear by night, and above all the lack of food, wore upon the people and caused them to despair. So disheartened had they become that now they cast aside all desire for liberty and preferred to give up the city and be enslaved by anyone rather than to die of cruel hunger on their own hearthstones, together with their wives and little ones. Murmurs began to creep about among the people; and presently it was openly said that the pestilential strangers who had brought such affliction upon them must be driven from the city. An agreement of some kind should be sought by which these unseemly woes might be dispelled, the siege raised, and the city restored to its former state of dignity and freedom.

This general state of feeling among the people was not lost upon Saladin. He dispatched swift messengers in all secrecy to his uncle with a statement of the situation: the wretched plight of the city, the entire lack of food supplies, the inclination of the people to desert him. Most earnestly he besought him by every possible argument to find some immediate relief to succor the despairing people from most imminent danger.

In the interim he appealed both to the city fathers and the people themselves; he warned them that they must fight to the death for their wives and children and urged them to emulate the customs and traditions of their ancestors. Help was before the gates; even now Shirkuh, his uncle, was traversing Egypt to drive away the enemy and to relieve Alexandria. Very soon he would arrive with a vast number of troops.

The king, well aware of the dissension among the citizens, urged

that the siege be pressed on without pause. The more he learned of their desperate situation, the fiercer became his assaults. The sultan, too, was constantly on the alert; active, diligent, and full of solicitude, he went about among all the commanders. With a liberal hand he dispensed money for building engines as well as generous sums for every necessity of warfare. He paid adequate wages to the workmen; he gave gifts to the poor and needy, and, above all, to the wounded, that they might have proper care. He was liberal also to the fighters, especially to those whom he knew were valiant in battle.

29. *On hearing this report, Shirkuh confers with Hugh of Caesarea about peace.*

WHILE these events were happening before Alexandria, Shirkuh was marching through upper Egypt. On arriving at Chus, he made an attempt to take the place by storm. He soon found, however, that his efforts were in vain; a longer time was needed for such an undertaking, and the precarious situation of his nephew demanded that he proceed to other work. Accordingly, he accepted a money payment from these cities and hurried on to lower Egypt with his forces.

On arriving at Babilyun, he found that the king had sent Hugh d'Ibelin to guard Cairo and the bridge there, that, in short, existing conditions were far otherwise than he had supposed. He therefore summoned Hugh of Caesarea, whom he was holding prisoner, to a friendly conference and, being ready of speech, courteous, and genial, he began to address him in well-chosen words: "You are a great prince of high rank and much influence among your own people, nor is there any one of your barons to whom, if free choice were offered me, I would prefer to communicate this secret of mine and make my confidant. Of her own accord Fortune has granted and the chance of war has afforded an advantage which otherwise must have been sought with much effort, namely that I may have the benefit of your experience for this present need. I frankly acknowledge that I, eager for glory like all mortals, was attracted by the wealth of this kingdom, and relying upon the helpless character of the native population, I at one time conceived the hope that this realm might sometime fall into my hands.

"Therefore, at the cost of great expense and infinite hardships, futile as I now see, I have come down into Egypt through many dangers. With me is a large company of knights all of whom have been drawn

hither by the same desire. My expectations have not been realized, however, for, as I now see, fortune was against my entering the country. Would that I may be permitted to return at least under favorable auspices! You are a man of high rank, as I have said, dear to the king, and influential both in word and deed; be the mediator of peace between us. May the matter prosper in your hands. Say to the king, 'We are wasting our time here, and the days are passing without result. Many duties await us at home.' Moreover the presence of the king himself is most necessary to his realm. He is expending his efforts now for others; for, when he has repulsed us, he will resign the riches of this province to the miserable inhabitants, who are hardly worthy to live. Let him take his people who are now my prisoners; let him raise the siege and restore the captives whom he holds as well as those whom he is keeping shut up in the city of Alexandria. For my part, as soon as I have received a guarantee from him that we are to meet with no trouble on the way from his soldiers, I am ready to leave."

30. *Hugh arranges the terms of the treaty with the king and the barons.*

AFTER listening to this speech, Hugh, as he was a man of good sense and discretion, for a long time carefully considered in his own mind this proposal. He did not doubt that the terms of peace under the conditions of the treaty would be advantageous to the Christians; yet he hesitated to undertake this mission himself, lest it might seem that he was more interested in obtaining his own liberty than concerned for the public welfare. He felt, therefore, that the first steps might be more honorably taken by someone else. His feeling on the matter he later explained to us confidentially.

Accordingly, another captive, Arnulf of Turbessel, an intimate associate of the king who had been taken prisoner in the same battle as the Hugh of whom we are speaking, was sent as the bearer of the message. Charged with this mission, he hastened to the king and explained to him in detail the object of his coming. The king at once called a council, and in that assembly of the barons, the sultan and his sons also being present, Arnulf submitted the proposal and explained the nature of the treaty. The overture of peace met with the approval of all, and the terms proposed seemed to suffice both for glory and for the fulfillment in good faith of the treaty concluded between the king

and the caliph. The city was to pass by surrender into the power of the king. An exchange of all prisoners on both sides was to be made, and all the Turks who had been shut in by the siege as well as the troops of Shirkuh, now dispersed over the land of Egypt, were to leave its boundaries utterly.

Shawar, the sultan, as well as all the satraps of Egypt, approved the pact and willingly accepted the provisions of the treaty. He declared himself fully satisfied, since it excluded his most dreaded enemy, his rival for the supremacy in the kingdom.

Then Hugh presented himself and, after the treaty in all its aspects had been fully discussed by both sides, put the final touches to it and brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

31. *The city is surrendered to the king, and peace is proclaimed to the people of Alexandria.*

THEN the herald proclaimed to each cohort and to the public in general that the fighting was at an end; a legal edict was also issued forbidding further molestation of the Alexandrians. As soon as peace was concluded, the people, worn down by the hardships of the long-continued siege, issued forth rejoicing. They made light of the straits which they had endured and took pleasure in walking about unhindered, to relieve their weariness. There was now abundant food, and the resumption of commerce was granted. Accordingly, the people, relieved from the long-continued famine, devoted themselves to the restoration of their health and spirits. They delighted to watch the now friendly troops whom but a short time before they had regarded with loathing and hatred, to talk with the very men whom recently they had feared as the ministers of danger and death.

The Christians, for their part, were no less eager to enter the city so long the object of their desires. Wandering freely about the streets, they gazed at the ports and the ramparts; and by diligent observation they collected material from which, on their return home, they might ofttimes weave stories for their friends and refresh the minds of their listeners with agreeable converse.

Above this splendid city rises a tower of remarkable height called the Pharos.[59] Toward this, as toward a star, guided by the brilliant light

[59] The repetition of this statement about Pharos (see chap. 27) so soon suggests that these two chapters were written at different times. This mention was probably the

of its many flashing torches, ships unfamiliar with the locality direct their course at night. For the approach to Alexandria is very dangerous, and the gloomy sea is full of treacherous shoals. But sailors, warned in advance by the lights which are kept burning always at public expense upon the tower, escape the threatened danger of shipwreck and proceed in safety on their way.

Above this tower, in token of victory, the standard of the king was unfurled, and at the sight of the flag, the fact of the surrender, which until now had been known to a few only, became manifest to all. Thereupon, many who at the first talk of the treaty had cautiously held back and feared to trust themselves to the Christians, now that peace was assured, did not hesitate to join us and to rely on the sincerity of our good faith. One thing appeared marvellous beyond all others: namely, that so small an army had been able to shut up within Alexandria such a host of citizens, besides numerous foreigners who all faithfully coöperated for the defense of the place, and had forced them to an ignominious surrender. For the Christians had barely five hundred knights and only four or five thousand foot soldiers, while the besieged had more than fifty thousand men who were able to bear arms.

32. *The king returns to his own land, victorious, with all his forces restored.*

SALADIN now issued forth from the city and repaired to the king. There he remained in the Christian camp until ready to set forth on his return. He was treated with all respect and furnished with a guard to protect him from insults that might be offered him by audacious spirits. But the sultan at the head of his troops marshalled in serried ranks entered the gates of Alexandria in triumph as a victor. Heralded by the blare of trumpets, the sound of drums, and of every other kind of musical instrument, he advanced attended by bands of singing men and preceded by numerous servitors and crowds of shouting men at arms. The citizens trembled with terror; some he condemned, others he released; for, although he punished the guilty with a strong hand, he distributed rewards to all who deserved them.

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earlier and written on the basis of his first investigation of the Egyptian campaign of 1167. The previous mention is part of the antiquarian information which William was adding for the benefit of the more remote reading audience which he was addressing after 1180.

The citizens of Alexandria were finally sentenced to pay a great sum of money, not definitely fixed; administrators of the tribute and officers to have charge of the taxes and revenues of the city were appointed. After thus exacting a vast sum of money, the sultan entrusted the care of the city to loyal servants of his own and retired full of glory to his camp.

The Christian army now yearned to return home. Accordingly, those who had come by sea made the necessary provision for the trip and embarked on board ship. Committing themselves to the breezes, they returned with joy to their own land. The king ordered the machines to be burned and the baggage made ready. He then took the route to Babilyun, where those whom he had sent on before were again united with his forces. Thus having confirmed the sultan in the government of the kingdom, expelled the enemy, and recovered his men who had been taken prisoners, he entered Ascalon on the twelfth day before the Kalends of September [August 21] in the fourth year of his reign and the year 1167 of the Incarnation of our Lord.[60]

[60] Amaury's fifth regnal year had begun in February, 1167.

HERE ENDS THE NINETEENTH BOOK

THE TWENTIETH BOOK BEGINS

THE STRUGGLE FOR EGYPT: ALLIANCE WITH EMPEROR MANUEL

1. *Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and Eudes de Saint-Amand, the royal butler, return from Constantinople, bringing with them the future wife of the king. Amaury is crowned in the church at Tyre and marries a wife.*

DURING this time, Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, of precious memory, and Eudes de Saint-Amand, at that time the royal butler, returned by sea from Constantinople and landed at Tyre. They had pursued the task on which they had been sent to Emperor Manuel with wisdom and loyalty, and at the end of two years their mission had been successful, for they brought with them the daughter of John the *protosebastos* as the future wife of the king.[1]

As soon as the king learned of their arrival, he hastened to Tyre. There, after summoning the prelates of the church and the nobles of the realm, he espoused the Princess Maria, who had previously received the gift of royal unction and consecration. The marriage was solemnized with due pomp and ceremony on August 29 in the church at Tyre by the Patriarch Amalrich of good memory. The king was magnificently attired in the royal robes and wore the crown of his ancestors.

This John the *protosebastos*, whose daughter, as I have said, the king took as his consort, was the emperor's nephew, the son of his elder brother. As escort for his niece, Manuel sent a number of illustrious and magnificent nobles closely attached to himself, among whom were the Lord Palaeologus and Manuel Sebastos, a kinsman of his own, and numerous others.[2] On them devolved the duty of

[1] This embassy must have been sent to Constantinople in 1165, one of the events of that year which William failed to mention at the time. Presumably it left in the fall of 1165, for Hernesius is recorded as still present in Palestine in a document of the late summer or early fall of that year.

Protosebastos (like *sebastos* and *sebastocrator*) was one of the honorific titles devised by the Comneni, usually applied to relatives of the emperor. There is no exact Western equivalent.

[2] Maria was the daughter of John Comnenus, and her escort was headed by George Palaeologus and Manuel Comnenus, all members of the imperial family (see F. Chalandon, *Les Commène*, II, 536).

conducting the future queen with much pomp to the lord king and of seeing to it that none of the prescribed solemnities was omitted.

The head of the church at Tyre, where these ceremonies were held, was at that time Lord Frederick, who had been transferred from the church at Acre. Three days after the coronation and the nuptials of the king had been celebrated in that city, Frederick generously bestowed upon me the office of archdeacon of the church at Tyre, which William had resigned when he was called to the church at Acre. This he did at the request and in the presence of the king and many other honorable men.[3]

2. *Andronicus, a relative of the emperor, carries away Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin, into the land of the enemy.*

At this time, while the king was still in Egypt, one Andronicus, a Greek nobleman of great influence and a relative of the emperor of Constantinople, arrived from Cilicia, attended by a large retinue of knights.[4] He remained with us until the king returned and was a source of much comfort to us. But like a snake in the bosom or a mouse in the wardrobe, he made a poor return to his hosts and proved the truth of that saying of Maro, "I fear the Greeks even when bearing gifts." [5]

Immediately after his return the king bestowed upon him the city of Beirut. The Greek then invited Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin, who was also the daughter of his own nephew, to go with him to visit Beirut. Theodora possessed the city of Acre, which had been given to her as dowry at the time of her marriage, and had entertained Andronicus a long time in her own house. While on this journey Andronicus, acting in collusion with Nureddin, treacherously

[3] It is of interest to note William's mention of the king's influence in his promotion to the office of archdeacon, September 1, 1167. It probably marked the agreement of William to write a history of the deeds of Amaury.

[4] He had been dismissed as governor of Cilicia by the emperor, both because he was inefficient and because he had conducted a violent flirtation with Philippa, the sister of Manuel's wife, at Antioch. It practically reached the stage of marriage but was broken up by the emperor. He was therefore free to indulge in further adventures in Jerusalem. His wildly adventurous career awaits a biographer. Even the summary sketches of it read stranger than fiction (see C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2d Series, pp. 86–134).

[5] Virgil *Aen.* II. 49.

abducted the queen and carried her off into the enemy country, first to Damascus and later to Persia.[6]

3. *Churches are established at Petra and Hebron and bishops appointed over them. Stephen, chancellor of the king of Sicily and bishop-elect of the church at Palermo, goes down into Syria. Count William of Nevers dies while with us.*

SCARCELY anything worthy of note occurred in the kingdom during this year, except the establishment of two churches about Easter time and the appointment of bishops over them. Petra, one of these two, lies beyond the Jordan in the land of Moab and is the capital of Arabia Secunda. This church had had no Latin bishop since the Christians came into the Land of Promise. The other, namely Hebron, never had received that honor, it is said. In the time of the Greeks it had been only a parish, which was the status of the church at Bethlehem also, as is well known. But Bethlehem, because of the reverence with which it was held as the birthplace of our Lord, deservedly was raised to that honor first, and in the time of King Baldwin I, immediately after the liberation of the Holy City beloved of God, it was given the rights and privileges of a cathedral.[7]

In this same year of which we are speaking, Hebron also was for the first time distinguished by that honor, as was fitting in view of her connection with those servants of God, whose memory is ever blessed, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As bishop over the church at Petra was chosen Guerricus, a regular canon of the Temple of the Lord, who was also made the metropolitan of Arabia; while Hebron received as head Raynald, the nephew of the Patriarch Fulcher of revered memory.

In the following summer, Stephen, a nobleman of high rank, chancellor of the king of Sicily and bishop-elect of the church at Palermo, arrived in the kingdom attended by a small retinue. Stephen was a brother of Count Rotrou du Perche and a young man of fine appearance and excellent natural ability. He had been made the victim of a conspiracy on the part of the combined nobles of Sicily, who by their intrigues had succeeded in driving him from that land. This was done

[6] His affection for Theodora seems to have been genuine. When she and the two sons she bore him were captured by Emperor Manuel, Andronicus surrendered himself.

[7] See Book XI, chap. 12.

contrary to the wishes of the young king, a minor, and his mother, but they were powerless to prevent it. With the utmost difficulty, Stephen managed to evade the plots of the nobles and came to us by sea. Not very long after his arrival, however, he was overtaken by a serious illness from which he died. He was buried at Jerusalem with fitting honor, in a chapel of the Temple of the Lord.[8]

About the same time, also, William, count of Nevers, a powerful lord of noble family and great influence, came to Jerusalem from the kingdom of France, attended by a noble band of knights. He had come with the intention of fighting in the service of Christianity at his own expense against the enemies of our faith. But premature death, envious of his successful prowess, most unfortunately prevented this pious and noble purpose. For William was stricken with a lingering malady and, after long suffering, died at the very beginning of a most promising life. His death was mourned and regretted by all.[9]

4. *Envoys from the emperor arrive and demand certain agreements from the king. The archdeacon of Tyre is sent as envoy to Constantinople. He concludes the proposed treaty with the emperor.*

In the course of that same summer, Count Alexander of Gravina and a certain Michael Hydruntinus [of Otranto], both members of the court of the emperor of Constantinople, arrived at Tyre on an imperial mission.[10] They were granted a private audience, to which

[8] Stephen du Perche had been chancellor of Sicily and archbishop-elect of Palermo. The pathetic career of this noble and high-minded young Norman amidst the complicated political tangles of Sicilian affairs is described by J. C. Hildt ("The Ministry of Stephen of Perche during the Minority of William II of Sicily" *Smith College Studies*, III [1918], 139–86). The palace revolution to which William refers occurred in 1168. Stephen's arrival in the Holy Land must therefore be dated toward the latter part of the summer (see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 345).

[9] William IV, count of Nevers, died at Acre in 1168. Robert of Torigni erroneously enters the event under the year 1170 (see L. Delisle, ed., *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, II, 20).

[10] It is interesting to note that the emissaries of Manuel were both of southern Italian origin. There were many Westerners at the court of Constantinople at this time, and Manuel seems to have relied upon them in matters of great importance. Chalandon is wrong in assuming that they demanded a part of the kingdom of Jerusalem. William is using the term *regnum* for Egypt (see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 536).

the king had summoned those whom he wished to have present at the conference. The envoys explained the reasons for their coming and presented to the king a letter from his imperial majesty dealing with the same subject.

The substance of the message was as follows: "The emperor has perceived that the kingdom of Egypt, which up to the present time has been powerful and exceedingly rich, has fallen into the hands of a weak and effeminate race. The neighboring peoples also have become aware of the impotency and inefficiency of both ruler and princes. Since it seems impossible that the kingdom can continue long in its present state and the government and dominion over it must of necessity pass to other nations, the emperor believes that with the aid of the king he can easily bring it under his own power." It was upon this matter that he had dispatched the envoys to the king.

Some say—and with much plausibility—that it was the king who first suggested this matter to the emperor through messengers and frequent letters, that he had urged the latter to aid him with troops, with a fleet, and with the necessary money. In return, the emperor was to receive a certain share of that kingdom and of any spoils that might be taken.

This, then, was the nature of the business on which the envoys had come to the king. When the stipulations of the treaty had finally been agreed upon by both parties, I was added to the legation as one of their number by command of the king. As the bearer of letters, I was to visit the emperor and convey to him the decision of the king and the entire realm. Furthermore, I was empowered to ratify the agreement between them as might be required of me, but under the form already decided upon.

Accordingly, I joined the imperial envoys, who were awaiting my coming at Tripoli, as directed by dispatches from the king, and we set out together for Constantinople. The emperor himself was detained for the moment in Serbia, where the people had rebelled against his authority.

Serbia is a mountainous country lying between Dalmatia, Hungary, and Illyria. It is thickly wooded and very difficult of access. Relying upon this general inaccessibility of their country and the narrow passes leading into it, the Serbians had revolted.

Old traditions say that this entire people derive their origin from exiles who were banished to this land and condemned to work in the

marble quarries and mines. From this condition of servitude they are said to take their name. They are a rude and undisciplined people, dwelling in the forests and mountains. They have no knowledge of agriculture but possess large flocks and herds which supply them abundantly with milk and cheese, butter and meat. In addition they have plenty of honey and wax. They have magistrates who are called *suppani*.

At times they obey the emperor. At other times, since they are a bold and warlike race, they sally forth from their mountain fastnesses and lay waste all the surrounding country. Because of the intolerable outrages committed against their neighbors, the emperor had valiantly marched against them with a large army. He was finally successful in subduing them and captured their principal chief. It was on his return from this campaign that we, after overcoming the many difficulties of the road, met him at the city called Butella, in the province of Pelagonia. This place is near the ancient city, formerly known as Justiniana Prima, which was the native place of the most wise, most fortunate, and invincible Emperor Justinian. It is now commonly called Acreda [Ochrida].

Here we were accorded an honorable reception by the emperor, who treated us with imperial kindness. To him we announced the motive for our journey and mission and explained with great care the tenor of the treaty. He listened to the entire report with much pleasure, graciously accepted it, and gave his approval to all that had been agreed upon. After both parties had taken a solemn oath, the emperor by his authority ratified the details as already arranged by the envoys and confirmed the treaty.

Imperial letters containing the text of the treaty in its entirety were given us, and we were then dismissed with munificent gifts, according to the usual custom. Our mission was now successfully accomplished, and accordingly, on the first day of October, we started on the return journey.

5. *The king leads an army down into Egypt and, contrary to the terms of the treaty which he had concluded with the Egyptians, makes war against them.*

MEANWHILE, immediately after our departure and before our embassy could return to inform the king of the promised assistance of

the emperor, it began to be rumored quite generally throughout the land that Shawar, the sultan of Egypt, was constantly sending messengers to Nureddin and secretly imploring his aid. He claimed that it was entirely against his own wishes that he had joined in any treaty of peace with an enemy, and he desired to withdraw from the agreement which he had made with the king. If he could be assured of Nureddin's assistance, he would break the treaty and desert the king completely.

Moved with righteous indignation at this news, it is said, the king mustered infantry and cavalry forces from all over the realm and hastily departed for Egypt. There are those who claim that all these charges were false, that the Sultan Shawar was quite innocent and, far from deserving such treatment, had in good faith kept the treaty and all its stipulations. They assert that the war made against him was unjust and contrary to divine law; that it was merely a pretext invented to defend an outrageous enterprise. Hence it was, they maintain, that the Lord, who strictly judges the secrets of the heart and conscience, wholly withdrew His favor from us and refused to grant success to our iniquitous undertaking.

It is said that Gerbert, surnamed Assallit [Gilbert d'Assaily], the master of the house of the Hospital at Jerusalem, was the prime mover, if not the originator, of this ill-fated campaign. He was a man of high spirit, extremely generous, but unstable and vacillating in character. After exhausting all the treasures of the Hospital, he borrowed a large sum of money in addition and expended it all on knights whom he drew to him from every source. In this way he brought such a weight of debt upon his establishment that there was no possibility of its being lifted. He finally resigned his office in despair, gave up the administration of the Hospital, and left the house burdened with obligations amounting to a hundred thousand pieces of gold. He is said to have spent these immense sums on the basis of an understanding made with the king that if Egypt should be taken and subjugated, Balbis, formerly called Pelusium, with all its territory, was to become the possession of this house in perpetuity.

The brethren of the Temple, on the contrary, declined to take part in this campaign. Either because it seemed to them contrary to the dictates of conscience or because the master of a rival house was apparently the originator and leader of the enterprise, they refused

to follow the king or furnish troops. To declare war against a friendly power which was relying on our good faith seemed to them wrong, contrary to the tenor of the treaty and in defiance of right and justice, for Egypt had kept good faith and did not deserve such treatment.[11]

6. *The city of Balbis is besieged and taken. The sultan beguiles the king by promising a large sum of money.*

ACCORDINGLY the king made all his preparations and assembled all the paraphernalia of war. Then, in the month of October, in the fifth year of his reign, he mustered the forces of the realm and went down into Egypt.[12] After a march of about ten days across the intervening desert, he arrived at Balbis, where he at once began siege operations. Within three days he had opened a way with the sword and taken the place by force. Without delay, on November 3 he placed his forces in full possession of the city.

As soon as the place was taken, most of the citizens were put to the sword without regard to age or sex. If by any chance some escaped death, they suffered loss of liberty and fell under the miserable yoke of bondage, a fate which to men of honor is far worse than any form of death. Among the prisoners of high rank taken at Balbis was Mahaza, a son of the sultan, and also one of the latter's nephews. The two had been in charge of the city, in command of the troops assembled there.

As soon as an entrance was opened, the troops rushed in pell-mell and, without regard for distinctions of any kind, penetrated to the most secluded retreats. They unbarred private apartments and dragged in chains to ignominious death those who had vainly thought to escape by hiding. All men in the prime of life capable of bearing arms were immediately put to the sword. Scarcely were old men and children spared, while to the common people slight consideration was shown. Whatever seemed at all desirable became the booty of the enemy, and the most valuable articles were divided by lot as spoils.

[11] Lundgreen, following Abu-Sama, believes that the Templars did finally take part after voicing their objections to the venture. The Templars were especially concerned because their grand master, Geoffrey Fulcher, had made the treaty with the caliph at Cairo in 1167. William had given chief credit to Hugh of Caesarea (see F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, pp. 101–6).

[12] Amaury and his army left Ascalon October 20, 1168 (R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 453). William, who left Ochrida on October 1, did not have time to reach home before Amaury's departure.

Shawar, completely overwhelmed by the news of these outrages, was at a loss what course to adopt. He began to consider, as far as the time and circumstances permitted, whether to endeavor to appease the king's wrath by an offer of money or to beg the neighboring chiefs of his own faith to assist him, either freely or for pay. Finally, as a matter of immediate precaution, he resolved to use both methods. Accordingly, he sent a deputation to Nureddin to ask for help. This was readily granted. Nureddin called Shirkuh, who was mentioned above, put him in command of a part of the army, and gave him a large number of his own nobles to share the responsibility. He ordered the necessary provisions for the march to be supplied, arranged for a goodly number of camels to carry the baggage, and sent the expedition into Egypt.

7. *The king encamps before Cairo while waiting for the money promised by the sultan.*

AFTER the destruction of Balbis, the king marched on with all his forces toward Cairo. He made very slow progress, scarcely advancing a distance of one day's march in ten days. He finally arrived at his destination, however, established camp before the city, and had the machines made ready for action. Wickerwork screens were set up and whatever else might be useful in siege operations arranged. These preparations outside the walls seemed to forecast an attack very shortly. The hearts of the besieged shook with fear, and they felt themselves already menaced by the apparition of death.[13]

Those who know the secret reasons underlying the king's actions declare that he purposely delayed making the attack in order that the terror-stricken sultan might have more time for reflection and so be led to offer money for the withdrawal of the troops. The king's entire aim was to extort [14] money from the sultan; he preferred to take a goodly bribe and withdraw rather than to give those cities over to rapine at the hands of his people, as had been done at Balbis. This statement will be explained more fully later.

During this interval, the sultan tried every means of approach to the king, through the members of his own house and those of the

[13] Virgil *Aen.* I. 95.

[14] William's choice of words here is reminiscent of Terence *Phormio* IV and Plautus *Bacch.* V. i. 16.

king, and employed every subtle device. His offers finally worked on the mind of the avaricious king; for the sum promised was so vast that the entire resources of the kingdom would scarcely have sufficed to pay it even though scraped together from every corner. He promised, it is said, two million pieces of gold for the release of his son and nephew and the withdrawal of the troops to their own country. He made this offer, as was later disclosed, not with any expectation of ever being able to redeem his promises, but to prevent the king from advancing suddenly on Cairo. The city was wholly unprepared and, in its defenceless state, might easily be taken by a surprise attack. Those who were present at the time believe that this would undoubtedly have happened, had our army advanced on Cairo by forced marches immediately after the capture of Balbis. For at that time the Egyptians were greatly disheartened—in fact, almost stupefied—by the recent massacre and the unexpected catastrophe to that great city. This does, indeed, seem most probable, for the citizens of Cairo were weak and effeminate and entirely without military training. For a long time they had devoted themselves entirely to pleasure. The neighboring city was still smoking, and they themselves were utterly prostrated over the loss of countless friends. At such a time, while fearing for themselves the fate that had overtaken others, they would have had neither courage nor strength to resist.

8. *Our fleet sails up the Nile and joins the land forces. The sultan withdraws from his agreement. He attempts resistance and begs aid from the Turks.*

This, then, was the situation in the vicinity of Cairo. Meanwhile, the fleet, which the king upon his departure from the realm had ordered to set sail with all speed, arrived. Borne by favoring winds, it is said to have entered the Nile through that branch commonly known as Carabes. Tanis, a very ancient city on that bank of the river, was at once captured by the naval forces and handed over to the troops for plunder and pillage. The fleet then attempted to sail on to join the king, but the Egyptians blocked the Nile with their vessels and prevented its passage. Thereupon the king sent Humphrey of Toron, his constable, with a picked body of cavalry to seize the opposite shore if possible, that a passage on that side at least might be kept unobstructed. This might have been done without difficulty, had not a

rumor arisen in the meantime that Shirkuh was approaching. This compelled a change of plans. The fleet was ordered to sail out to sea immediately and return home, which was done. Through lack of proper precaution, however, one of the galleys was lost.

In the meantime, the sultan and his people did not cease their efforts to drive the king from their land. What they lacked in strength they accomplished by strategy and atoned for the weakness of their forces by using subtle devices. As soon as the money had been promised, they demanded an increased length of time in which to pay it. The excuse given was that such an immense sum could not be secured from one source, therefore more time must be granted before the agreement could be carried out. A payment of a hundred thousand gold pieces was made at once, however, and in return the sultan's son and his nephew were released. As hostages for the remainder he offered his two little nephews, lads of tender years.

The king then raised the siege, withdrew with his forces to a place about a mile away, and established his camp near the garden of Balsam. Here the forces remained for eight days. During this time, the king received frequent but unsatisfactory messages from the sultan and finally again removed the camp to a place called Syriacus.

Meanwhile the sultan was sending his messengers throughout the entire realm to beg for aid. He collected all the available arms and summoned assistance from the surrounding country. He ordered food supplies to be brought into Cairo, made the rounds of the city, saw that all weak places in the fortifications were strengthened, and considered every method of resistance. With persuasive words he called upon his people to fight for their lives, for liberty, for their wives and children. He drew before their eyes a vivid picture of the dreadful disaster that had befallen a neighboring city, described the bitterness of captivity, the unbearable yoke of a master, and the desperate lot of those under slavery.

9. *Milon de Plancy corrupts the king's mind by evil counsel. Shirkuh arrives in response to the call of the Egyptians. The king advances into the desert against him but does not find him. He therefore returns to his own land without having obtained results.*

THERE was a certain man in the king's army, of noble family but of degenerate morals, one who neither feared God nor reverenced man.

Milon de Plancy was a man without shame, a brawler and a slanderer, ever active in stirring up trouble. Well aware of the king's insatiable desire for wealth, he chose to foster those avaricious tendencies rather than to offer wholesome admonitions. From the first he had consistently advised the king to devote all his efforts toward a certain end, namely, to cheat the Egyptian kingdom of the sum mentioned above and then to effect an arrangement with the sultan and the caliph, instead of attempting to take Cairo and Babilyun by force. He did this, it is said, not because he believed it impossible to take the city, but that he might outwit the knights and others who were eagerly looking forward to the spoils and thus turn the entire rewards of this great campaign into the royal treasury. For when a city is taken by storm, the army usually reaps a far richer harvest of spoils than is the case when the surrender is made to a king or prince directly, under the definite terms of a treaty which benefits the lord only.

In the former case, amid the din and confusion of looting, the right of war permits each man to seize whatever chance throws in his way, and thus the private means of the victors are increased. In the latter contingency, however, the advantage is wholly to the king, and all that is gained by this means accrues to his coffers. Moreover, although it may appear that all which increases the fortune of the king and those in high places benefits their subjects indirectly and increases the wealth of all, yet the individual ever seeks more eagerly those gains which tend to swell his private property and to enrich his own lares and penates.

And so this diversity of feeling led to serious altercations. The majority demanded that the decision be left to the sword and that all be given over to pillage, while the king and his party held otherwise. The wishes of the latter finally prevailed, and the will of the king was accomplished.

While the army was encamped in the village just named, five or six miles from Cairo, a steady stream of messengers kept passing to and fro between the two sides. The sultan was continually sending word that he was using every effort to collect the promised sum; meanwhile he begged the king not to consider the delay but to wait patiently. He also advised him not to approach nearer to the city, lest the caliph and the people, who were relying in full security on the treaty of peace already arranged, should become alarmed. The

money would soon be paid, and the king would be able to return home under favorable circumstances. With false promises of this kind, Shawar successfully played on the credulity of the Christians and thereby counteracted the good advice and sound warnings of others who suggested wiser plans. Then, suddenly, a rumor arose that Shirkuh was at hand with a countless host of Turks. As soon as the king heard this news, he broke camp, ordered the baggage arranged, and returned to Balbis. There he supplied himself with the necessary provisions for the march, left a force of infantry and cavalry to guard the city, and on December 25 marched out into the desert against Shirkuh. When he had advanced for some distance into the wilderness, however, trustworthy scouts who knew the locality well reported that Shirkuh had already crossed the Nile with his forces. This news necessitated a change of plans. As the enemy's strength would be doubled by these reinforcements, it would not be safe to tarry longer, for delay was fraught with extreme danger. On the other hand, to risk an engagement with Shirkuh seemed equally hazardous. The sultan no longer showed any intention of standing by the treaty, and we were helpless to force him to do so. By a shrewd and carefully considered policy of delay, he had prolonged the affair until the Turks were at hand and we must depart. Accordingly, the forces returned to Balbis, where they were joined by the detachment which had been left there to guard the city. On January 2, the Christian army in marching array took the road back to Syria.[15]

10. *Shirkuh seizes Egypt. He kills the sultan and, a little later, is himself slain.*

Shirkuh now felt the time opportune to accomplish his purpose, for, since the king had departed, there was nothing to hinder his wishes. He therefore ordered the plan which he had already formed to be carried out. He placed his camp before Cairo as if his coming were with no hostile intent, and there, like a sensible man, he waited patiently for several days. He showed no sign of unfriendly feeling

[15] The detailed account of this campaign, with the emphasis placed upon the atrocities committed by the Christians, the sordid motives in their negotiations with Shawar, and the sympathetic appreciation of Shawar's tactics, reflects not only William's typical regard for the sanctity of treaties, even when made with infidels, but also his concern about the real, though not formal, breach of the treaty which he himself had signed with the Greeks.

or sinister design, but with the shrewdness of which he was a master he concealed his actual intention. Each day Shawar the sultan, accompanied by a large retinue, went out to visit him at his camp and, after offering the customary devoted salutation and presenting gifts, returned to the city.

The security attending these successive visits seemed to promise well for the future; and the honorable reception accorded him for several days increased the sultan's confidence. But, alas, in this fancied security he placed too much reliance on the good faith of the Turk, and therefore Shirkuh, as the minister of murder, took him unawares. He gave secret orders to his minions that at dawn the following day, when he himself went out as if to walk down to the shore, at the time when the sultan made his daily visit, they should fall upon the Egyptian and slay him. Accordingly when Shawar went to the camp at the usual hour to pay his accustomed visit and render the salutation due, the agents of death rushed upon him and carried out their orders.[16] They threw him to the ground, stabbed him through and through, and cut off his head.

His sons had witnessed the murder. They mounted their horses at once and galloped swiftly back to Cairo, where they prostrated themselves before the caliph and on their knees begged for life. He is said to have answered that they might hope for life on condition that they would have no secret dealing with the Turks. These terms they immediately violated, however, by secretly sending messengers to treat with Shirkuh about peace. When the caliph was informed of this, he ordered them to be put to death by the sword.

The king had now departed, and Shawar had been removed from this world. Well satisfied with the accomplishment of his desires, Shirkuh thereupon seized the kingdom and visited the caliph to pay him the reverence due. He was received with great honor and granted the high dignity of sultan. Thus, strong through the power of the sword, Shirkuh became master of all Egypt.

O blind cupidity of men, worse than all other crimes! O wicked madness of an insatiable and greedy heart! From a quiet state of

[16] According to Beha ed-Din, it was Saladin who carried out these orders for the assassination of Shawar. The caliph is said to have requested the head of Shawar and, upon receiving it, sent the robes of the vizirate to Shirkuh, who made his formal call on the caliph the next day, January 19, 1169 (see Beha ed-Din, *The Life of Saladin*, p. 55).

peace into what a turbulent and anxious condition has an immoderate desire for possessions plunged us! All the resources of Egypt and its immense wealth served our needs; the frontiers of our realm were safe on that side; there was no enemy to be feared on the south. The sea afforded a safe and peaceful passage to those wishing to come to us. Our people could enter the territories of Egypt without fear and carry on commerce and trade under advantageous conditions. On their part, the Egyptians brought to the realm foreign riches and strange commodities hitherto unknown to us and, as long as they visited us, were at once an advantage and an honor to us. Moreover, the large sums spent by them every year among us enriched the fiscal treasury and increased the private wealth of individuals. But now, on the contrary, all things have been changed for the worse. "How is the most fine gold changed" and "my harp also is turned into mourning." [17] Wherever I turn I find only reasons for fear and uneasiness. The sea refuses to give us a peaceful passage, all the regions round about are subject to the enemy, and the neighboring kingdoms are making preparations to destroy us. The cupidity of one man has brought all these misfortunes upon us, and his avarice, the root of all evil, has clouded the serenity which had been vouchsafed us from on high.[18] But let us resume the thread of our story.

After the death of the sultan and his sons, so undeserved, of which we, by our unrighteous conduct, were the guilty cause, Shirkuh held the royal power over Egypt as he had desired. But he was not permitted to rejoice long in his elevation, for he had ruled hardly a year when he was removed from the affairs of this world.[19]

11. *Shirkuh is succeeded by Saladin, his brother's son, who rules the kingdom of Egypt.*

SHIRKUH was succeeded by his nephew Saladin, the son of his brother Negem-ed-Din.[20] The new ruler was a man of keen and vigorous

[17] Lam. 4:1; Job 30:31.

[18] This appreciation of the importance of commerce as above politics is strangely modern and has often been quoted (see C. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* p. 270). These reflections were probably inserted by William when he was revising his work, about 1182, for the conditions described were not prevalent until later.

[19] Shirkuh's death, the result of gluttony, occurred March 23, 1169, barely two months after he had become vizier (Beha ed-Din, *Saladin,* p. 56).

[20] Najm al-Din Ayyub. This family was of Kurdish, not Turkish, descent and

mind, valiant in war, and of an extremely generous disposition. It is said that at the very beginning of his rule, when he visited the caliph to pay the homage which he owed, he struck his lord to the ground with a club which he held in his hand and slew him. He then put all the caliph's children to the sword in order that he himself might be subject to no higher authority but might rule as both caliph and sultan. For the Turks were regarded with hatred by the Egyptians, and Saladin feared that sometime when he had occasion to come before the caliph his lord might order him to be put to death. Accordingly he took means to forestall any such intention and brought upon the unsuspecting caliph the fate which, if report be true, the latter was preparing to inflict upon him as sultan.[21]

On the death of the caliph, Saladin seized his wealth and all the royal treasures for himself, together with everything of value in the palace. He disposed of all things according to his own pleasure. To his soldiers in particular he gave with such lavish generosity that, within a few days, the wardrobes were empty and he was obliged to borrow money from others. Thus he incurred a heavy burden of debt.

Some of the late caliph's sons are said to have been secretly saved by loyal adherents of their father, to the end that, if at some future time the Egyptians should regain control of the government, an heir of his name, rank, and blood might not be lacking.

12. *Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Mt. Tabor, is established over the church at Lydda. Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, departs for the West to ask aid from the princes there.*

AFTER the king's return to the kingdom nothing worthy of note happened during the first part of that year except the death of Raynerus, bishop of Lydda, of happy memory, and the installation of Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Mt. Tabor in his place.

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hence related more nearly to the Persians. Saladin himself was called Yusuf. The family is commonly referred to as the Ayyubid dynasty.

[21] This account of the death of the caliph is not confirmed by other sources. It is possible that William is confusing Saladin's part in the destruction of Shawar and his family (note 16 above) with the death of the caliph. Caliph Adid seems to have died a natural death, September 13, 1171. The Abbasid caliphate had been proclaimed in Egypt even before his death without causing any disturbance (see G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642–1510 de l'ère chrétienne*, p. 302). The change occurred so quietly that it may have been years later before William heard of it. The Fatimid caliphate ended with Caliph Adid.

The following spring, which was the beginning of the sixth year of King Amaury's reign,[22] the wise men of the kingdom began to realize that the subjugation of Egypt by the Turks had been a serious injury to us and that our situation had become materially worse. By sailing out from Egypt with his large fleet, Nureddin, our most powerful enemy, could effectively shut in the realm and blockade all the coast cities by land and sea, with his two armies. Still more to be dreaded was the fact that he could hinder the passage of pilgrims on their way to us, or even refuse them permission to pass at all. It was deemed imperative, therefore, that an embassy chosen from distinguished dignitaries of the church be sent to the princes of the West to set forth with the utmost care the intolerable distress under which the kingdom was laboring, the affliction of the Christian people, and the dire calamities which were threatening the brethren. To undertake this mission, the Patriarch Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, and William, bishop of Acre, reverend men endowed with wisdom and persuasive eloquence, were unanimously selected. Accordingly they set sail. They carried with them letters from the king and all the bishops: to Frederick, emperor of the Romans; Louis, king of the Franks; Henry, king of the English; and William, king of Sicily; also to the noble and illustrious counts, Philip of Flanders, Henry of Troyes, and Theobald II of Chartres—in fact, to all the other great nobles of the West. The night after their departure, however, a violent tempest suddenly broke forth; the ship was tossed hither and yon, the oars were broken, and the masts thrown down. After three days, the envoys returned greatly terrified; they had barely escaped shipwreck. Another delegation was therefore chosen and dispatched in place of the first. It consisted of Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, who had been finally prevailed upon to accept the task by the urgent entreaties of the king and the nobles, and John, bishop of Banyas, suffragan of that same church. The two embarked under more fortunate auspices and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at their destination. They accomplished little, however, in the matter which had been entrusted to them. The bishop died at Paris, soon after reaching

[22] King Amaury returned in January, 1169. He would be completing six years of his reign in the following February. The following spring would mark the beginning of his seventh year, therefore. The embassy referred to in this chapter reached Rome in July and Paris in September, 1169 (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 344).

France, and the archbishop, after a stay of two years abroad, returned without having succeeded in his mission.

13. *The emperor, anxious to carry out the treaty, sends a fleet to Syria under command of some of his nobles.*

THAT summer passed uneventfully without any occurrence worthy of note. At the beginning of the following autumn, the emperor, mindful of his agreement, sent the promised fleet in fulfillment of the treaty which he had made with the king at our suggestion and desire. In this matter he is highly to be commended, for with imperial magnificence he interpreted the treaty very liberally and more than carried out his promises. There were in this naval force one hundred and fifty ships of war equipped with beaks and a double tier of oars. These vessels were known as galleys and were especially designed for use in war. There were in addition sixty larger boats, well-armored, which were built to carry horses. They were fitted with large openings in the stern for greater convenience in loading and unloading the animals, and they also had bridges by means of which both men and horses might be more easily embarked and landed. The fleet included also ten or twenty vessels of huge size called *dromones*, which were loaded to capacity with commissary supplies of all kinds. These latter also carried arms of many kinds and, in addition, engines and machines of war.

The emperor placed in command of the entire fleet Megalducas,[23] one of his nobles and a kinsman of his own. Accompanying him was another noble called Maurice, who stood very high in the confidence of his imperial master. On the experience of this man the emperor relied greatly, as was later shown when he put Maurice in charge of all the affairs of the empire. Associated with these two in the command was Count Alexander of Conversana, a nobleman of Apulia. The emperor regarded him with sincere affection because of the deep and loyal devotion displayed by the count toward himself.

To these three nobles was committed the command of the imperial

[23] This was Alexius Contostephanus, whose title, grand duke, William has used. The other two commanders were Alexander of Gravina, or Conversana, who had been a member of the embassy from Manuel in 1168, and Theodore Maurozumes whom William here calls Maurice. The fleet, after a review by Manuel, left the neighborhood of Constantinople shortly after July 10, 1169 (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 538).

army when it was sent into our part of the Orient. About the end of September after a prosperous voyage, the fleet entered the harbor of Tyre. Thence it proceeded to Acre, where it lay at anchor in a quiet roadstead between the river and the port.

14. *The king goes down into Egypt with his army. The Greeks accompany him with both land and sea forces.*

IN the year of the Lord 1169, the sixty-eighth of the liberation of the city and the sixth of King Amaury's reign,[24] the king, having set the affairs of the realm in order and left a force of knights to protect the realm during his absence from the wiles and inroads of Nureddin, who was still hovering in the vicinity of Damascus, ordered the entire host both Latin and Greek to assemble on October 15 at Ascalon. The fleet had sailed from the port of Acre several days before, bound for the land of Egypt.

The army marched forth from Ascalon on August 16.[25] In order that the infantry forces might not be unduly wearied, they advanced by easy stages and made frequent use of stopping places where there was no lack of water. On the ninth day the ancient city of Farama was reached. They wished to follow the shore road, but a recent occurrence made it necessary to take the longer inland route. For some of the dykes between the plain and the neighboring sea had been broken down by the constant lashing of the waves, and the waters had forced a passage through the opposing barriers. Now unchecked, they overflowed the road into the plain beyond, where they formed a pond which, although narrow at first, broadened out within the field into a much wider expanse. This influx of the sea brought in with it such a quantity of fish that thenceforth a supply of that kind of food in abundance never dreamed of before was afforded not only to the cities in the vicinity but even to places more remote. Since the sea had inundated the country along the coast, travellers who had intended to go to Egypt by the shore route were obliged to make a detour of ten miles or even more around this pond before they could return to the road.

These details have been given because of the novelty of this marvel-

[24] Here again William is confused in the application of his formulae for the equation of the Christian era with the era of Latin Jerusalem and the statement of the regnal year. The date should read "1169, the seventieth year of the liberation of the city and the seventh of King Amaury's reign."

[25] This is evidently a slip of the pen, for October 16 is clearly intended.

lous occurrence and also because, by the constant inflow of the sea, this desert region, which was formerly exposed to the intense heat of the sun, was now covered with water and frequented by boatmen. This region, now become very productive, was filled with the nets of fishermen and yielded a harvest heretofore unknown.

The city of Farama, referred to above, is now uninhabited, but it was once the home of a large population. It is situated on the border of the desert near Carabes, the first arm of the Nile, at the point where that branch of the river flows into the sea. It lies, therefore, between the river, the sea, and the desert; yet it is three miles distant from the mouth of the Nile.

When our army reached Farama, they found that the fleet had already arrived. The necessary oarsmen were immediately provided, and the entire army was ferried across to the opposite shore. Then, leaving on the left Tanis, formerly a noble city but now merely a small town, the army proceeded for about twenty miles along a road between a marsh and the shore and finally, after a march of two days, arrived at Damietta.

15. *The king blockades Damietta. In the siege of that city both the Greek and Latin armies exert themselves without result.*

DAMIETTA is one of the oldest and most famous cities of Egypt. It lies on the bank of the Nile nearer us at the point where the river flows into the sea through its second mouth. It is conveniently placed between the river and the sea, from which it is about a mile away. Our land army reached Damietta on October 27 and encamped between the city and the sea to await the arrival of the fleet, which was detained by rough seas and adverse winds. After three days the tumult of the waves subsided, and the fleet, taking advantage of favoring winds, entered the river and anchored in a quiet harbor along the shore midway between the city and the sea.

On the opposite bank a high tower, well garrisoned by a company of armed men sufficient to afford it complete protection, stood out boldly by itself. From this tower to the city was stretched an iron chain which completely barred the passage to the upper part of the river and proved a great hindrance to our forces. All ships coming from above, however, from Cairo and Babilyun, could pass to them freely without hindrance.

When the fleet had been stationed in position, the troops passed on through the orchards which lay between their place of encampment and the city itself and set up their tents quite near Damietta, where the approach to the walls was unhindered. They deferred making the attack until three days had elapsed, however, and thereby learned by experience the truth of the saying, "When all is ready it is dangerous to delay." [26] For from the upper parts of Egypt came a host of Turks, infinite in number, and ships loaded with armed men. Thus our army was obliged to look helplessly on while the city which earlier had been practically empty was filled to overflowing. It soon became apparent that without the assistance of machines and engines of war Damietta could not be taken, although on the arrival of the Christians it had seemed scarcely able to sustain the first attack.

Workmen were accordingly chosen and suitable material provided. Then, at the cost of much expense and labor, a lofty tower of seven stories was built, from the top of which the entire city could be surveyed. Other machines of various kinds were also constructed. Some of these were designed to hurl huge rocks for battering down the walls, others, to protect the sappers who, enclosed within them as within hidden caverns, could approach the fortifications and, by constructing subterranean tunnels beneath them, cause the walls, thus deprived of support, to topple over.

Meanwhile, the approaches to the city had been levelled in such a manner that the engines which had now been built could be applied to the walls. The fighters in the movable tower kept up a continual pressure upon the besieged. Without intermission, they hurled forth showers of arrows and stone missiles together with such other weapons as their fury and the confined space furnished. At the same time the men stationed at the hurling engines sent forth volleys of huge rocks and made zealous efforts to demolish the walls and the houses attached to them.

On perceiving these attempts, the townsfolk endeavored to circumvent ruse by ruse. In order to combat our efforts with equal cunning, they erected a high tower opposite ours and manned it with armed men who were to resist our efforts from a similar machine and respond to our attacks with others of equal fury. Accordingly, they stationed their engines over against our apparatus and put forth every

[26] Lucan *Pharsal.* I. 281.

effort to demolish it. The need of defending themselves developed skill, and the emergency lent them strength. Those who up to this time had felt unequal to resistance now, spurred on by necessity, invented schemes hitherto unthought of, and the minds of even the dullest became alert in devising means to secure their own safety. They learned by dire experience the truth of the saying, "Adversity develops shrewdness." [27]

But at the very time when the Christians should have pressed on the siege more fiercely than ever, they began to show signs of cowardice and indifference. This change of morale has been attributed by some to treachery and by others to mere carelessness and neglect. It soon became evident that our troops were showing less facility and sagacity than usual or, at all events, that those in command were acting with treacherous intent. They ordered that one of the newly built towers be applied to the walls in a steep and almost impregnable place. There were in that same part of the city many places where the wall was lower and far less strong, where it would have been more easily taken, yet the movable tower was set up at the strongest and best fortified point, at a place which presented more difficulties than any other for applying the machines. Moreover, from that position the damage would be inflicted not upon the townspeople or their buildings but only upon the church of the Holy Mother of God, which was situated close to the walls.

There can be no doubt that the delay in attacking Damietta immediately after our arrival there proceeded from evil intent. At that time the city was practically deserted, occupied only by its own citizens, who were weak and peaceable people, utterly ignorant of the art of war. If the Christians had attacked the city boldly at once, as they should have done, it could have been taken at the first assault. But the besieged were allowed a respite, and during that time their number was greatly increased by reinforcements of brave and gallant fighters. The result was that they were able to withstand our attacks, not only within the city itself, but even on the field outside.

[27] Ovid *Met.* VI. 575.

16. *A famine breaks out in the camp. Our fleet barely escapes destruction by fire. All our efforts prove vain and the siege is finally raised.*

At this juncture, another misfortune was added to the troubles of the Christians. The Greeks who had come in large numbers in the fleet now began to suffer from a shortage of provisions. Their bread supply had entirely given out, and, in fact, no food of any description was to be found among them. It happened that a grove of palm trees near the camp was being cut down for use in various ways. As the trees fell, the starving Greeks eagerly sought a tender morsel which grows at the top where the branches spring forth and which supplies them with sap. Being edible, this furnished a kind of food, albeit poor, which assuaged the pangs of hunger. The famished condition of these people rendered them skilful in seeking food, and the cravings of a ravenous stomach developed their ingenuity in providing for its needs. For some days they managed to eke out a miserable existence with this food. Others of their number, not wholly destitute, satisfied the demands of hunger with oats, raisins, and chestnuts. The Christians had a sufficient supply of bread and other provisions of various kinds, but, mindful of the future, they were sparing of their small stock. For if they were improvident enough to share supplies with those who had none, there was danger that they themselves might sometime be in want. Moreover, they were uncertain how lengthy a stay was to be made at Damietta and suspected that it would be of long duration.

A great deal of rain fell at this time, and the storms were so violent that the poorer people were unable by any device to keep the water from dripping through their tents. Nor were the rich in much better condition, for their pavilions were drenched by the downpour or rather cloudbursts from the sky. Only by digging ditches around the tents to carry off the floods of water could they obtain even a slight protection.

Another serious calamity now fell upon them. The galleys and other vessels of various kinds had been brought into the river from the sea and stationed near the city in a position apparently quite safe. The townspeople, however, observing that the wind was from the south and that the waves of the Nile were rolling in with great

violence, seized the opportunity to carry into effect a plan already conceived. They took a boat of ordinary size, filled it to capacity with dry wood, pitch, and whatever inflammable materials would nourish flames and set it on fire. It was then launched on the river, where the waves of their own volition carried it against our fleet. Fanned by the south wind, the flame spread rapidly to the fuel with which the boat was loaded. The blazing craft sailed down upon the fleet, where it was caught among our closely massed vessels and held fast. In this manner the flaming cargo was conveyed to our vessels, and six of the beaked ships called galleys were burned to ashes. As the violence of the flames increased, the entire fleet would have been enveloped in its fury, had it not been for the vigilance of the king. He discovered the fire, and without waiting even to put on his shoes, he quickly mounted his horse and roused the sailors. With frantic shouts and gestures, he called on them to stop the flames. This they succeeded in doing by separating the vessels from one another, and thus the fury of the all-pervading flames was quelled. Any ship which chanced to catch fire from the sparks and other inflammable materials borne by the wind was at once rescued by the application of water, thanks to the river so close at hand.

Assaults on the city were made at intervals of several days, but, as usually happens when the outcome of battle is uncertain, victory fell now to the Christians and again to the infidels. It was generally the Christians who challenged to combat, for the enemy, unless provoked, rarely offered battle. Occasionally, however, the besieged, inspired by some feeling of confidence, emerged from a postern gate opposite the camp of the Greeks and made unexpected attacks upon that part of the army. Possibly they had heard that the Greek forces were less strong than ours, or rumor may have carried the news that they were in dire extremity through hunger and so less able to withstand attack. In spite of this handicap, however, whenever opportunity offered the commander Megalducas and all the other Greeks fought gallantly and boldly in battle array. Encouraged by the example of their superiors, those of lower rank again and again attacked with unusual vigor and stood their ground with intrepidity.

The strength of the besieged, however, was continually increased by large detachments which were ever arriving both by land and by sea. As a result of this, the citizens, although confined within a city

under siege, were a source of greater terror to their opponents than were the Christians to them.

Murmurs now began to creep among the people, and the feeling was almost unanimous that our toil was being wasted. It was the general opinion that the expedition had been undertaken against the will of the Lord and that, therefore, His face was turned from us in anger; far wiser would it be to return home than to languish away in Egypt by famine or to perish by the sword of the infidel. Accordingly, a treaty with certain secret stipulations was concluded through the combined efforts of some of our leaders and certain Turkish satraps, notably through the energetic work of a chief named Jevelino. The Greeks agreed to the same compromise, and presently peace was proclaimed by the voice of the herald.[28]

17. *The expedition is recalled, and the king returns to his own land. On the homeward voyage, almost the entire Greek fleet is lost by reason of unfavorable winds.*

THEN the townspeople and the allies who had come to their assistance went out freely to visit our camp, and those of our soldiers who wished to do so were likewise permitted to pass back and forth between the city and the camp without hindrance. Now at length both sides could freely trade with each other, for permission was given to all to buy, sell, or exchange as they desired. For the space of three days, therefore, the Christians used the market place in common with the infidels and made all their preparations for the march. They then tore down the engines of war and burned them, after which the land army followed the king back into Syria. By forced marches they retraced their steps over the route by which they had come and, on December 21, arrived at Ascalon. Because of the approaching feast

[28] The Greek historians have much to say about this expedition, and, needless to add, they place the blame on the Latins. William, despite the mention of charges against the Greeks, really affords the Greek historians much support. The Latins were evidently divided in sentiment, many of them being none too anxious to divide Egypt with the Greeks. Such must have been the meaning of the embassy to seek aid in the West in 1169, though they already had an alliance for the purpose with Manuel. Such too had been the meaning of Amaury's hasty expedition to Egypt in 1168, though his own envoy was at that very moment returning from Manuel's court with the signed treaty. It would seem that there is much to support Chalandon's contentions (Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 546). The name of the Turkish leader who negotiated the treaty is given by Chalandon as "Djawali."

day, the king hastened on to Acre, which he reached on the eve of the Lord's Nativity.

Those who had come by ship, however, set sail under evil omens and unlucky auspices. Scarcely had they started on the voyage when suddenly a severe storm arose. The inevitable perils of the sea were experienced, for the boats were shattered by the waves and cast upon the shore. Nearly all were wrecked. Of the great fleet which had come to us, only a few ships, some large and some small, remained uninjured and were able to return under their own power.

Although the emperor's envoys had shown all possible diligence in their efforts to complete the task entrusted to them, yet they were obliged to return unsuccessful and sad of heart, appalled by the adversity of fate. For they feared that his imperial majesty might charge to them, beyond their deserts, the disastrous outcome of the campaign. Although this result was wholly due to inevitable chance, yet it was possible that he in his anger might unjustly ascribe it to their negligence or mishandling.

I recall that after my return, I made earnest and careful inquiry of the king and some of the important men of the realm why it was that so large an expedition under the direction of such distinguished princes had resulted so disastrously. My attention during that year had been occupied with my own personal affairs, for to escape the unjust enmity of my archbishop I went to Rome.[29] On my return, I endeavored to investigate the true inwardness of the matter. By listening to many widely differing accounts, I sought to discover the actual truth, for the results of the expedition were reported to have been far other than we had hoped. I used great care in this matter, for I had already conceived the idea of writing a history of these events. I found that the Greeks had not been without blame in the matter. The emperor had faithfully promised to send sufficient money to support the great army, but in that respect his promises proved un-

[29] William offers no further explanation of his difficulties with his archbishop. It would be reasonable to conjecture that Amaury had insisted upon a generous income for William as archdeacon and historiographer beyond the usual income of the office. There may have been other causes also. At any rate William was absent from the kingdom during most of the year 1169 and had to obtain his information about the campaign after his return and that of the army, sometime after Christmas day, 1169. His statement that he had already conceived the idea of writing a history tends to confirm the implication that this decision was reached in 1167. He was collecting notes at this time.

reliable. From the moment when his archons went into Egypt, where they should have been able to provide for the needs of others from the imperial bounty, they themselves began to experience the pressure of need and had to seek money to provide food as well as payment even for their own legions, and no man gave it unto them.

18. *A great earthquake shakes practically the entire East. Ancient cities are destroyed.*

In June of the following summer, that is in the seventh year of King Amaury,[30] a great and terrible earthquake, far more violent than any other within the memory of men now living, occurred in the Orient. Strongly fortified cities dating from very early times were completely demolished. The inhabitants, caught in the ruins of their homes, were crushed to death, and only a very few survived. Not a spot within the entire country was left untouched by loss of property and domestic tragedy. Everywhere were signs of sorrow, everywhere obsequies for the dead. The largest cities of our provinces and those of Syria and Phoenicia as well, cities famous throughout the ages for their noble antiquity, were prostrated. In Coelesyria, Antioch, the metropolis of several provinces and once the head of many kingdoms, was utterly overwhelmed and its entire population destroyed. The massive walls and the immensely strong towers along their circuit fell in ruins. Churches and buildings of every kind were thrown down with such violence that even now, although much labor and expense have been devoted to their restoration, they are only partially repaired. Among other places destroyed in that same province were Jabala and Laodicea, famous cities on the coast. Of the cities farther inland which were still held by the enemy, there were destroyed Beroea, also known as Aleppo, Shayzar, Hama, Hims, and others. The number of fortresses wrecked was beyond counting.

In Phoenicia, on June 29, about the first hour of the day, the great and populous city of Tripoli was suddenly shaken by a violent earthquake, and scarcely a person within its walls escaped. The entire city was reduced to a heap of stones and became the burial place and common sepulchre of the citizens who perished with it. At Tyre, the most famous city of this province, the earth movement was so violent that several massive towers were overthrown. There was, however,

[30] June, 1170, was in the eighth year of Amaury's reign.

no loss of life here. Both in our territories and in those of the enemy were found half-ruined fortresses, open on every side and freely exposed to the violence and wiles of the foe. But since each man feared that the wrath of the Stern Judge might descend upon him individually, none dared molest his fellow man. Each was engrossed in his own troubles and weighed down by the burden of his own affairs; hence none thought of injuring his neighbor.

Peace, brought about by the desire of all, ensued, albeit for a short interval, and a truce was arranged through fear of the divine wrath. Each, while momentarily expecting the outpouring of righteous anger from heaven in punishment for his sins, refrained from acts of hostility and curbed his own evil impulses.

Nor was this revelation of the anger of God a momentary thing, as often happens. For three or four months, indeed even longer, that awful tremor was felt both by night and by day, three or four times repeated, or more. Every movement was now a source of terror, and nowhere was safe rest to be found. Even during sleep the subconscious mind, terrified by the image of that which had frightened it while awake, caused the sleeper to start up with a leap into consciousness again.[31]

Through the merciful providence of an all-protecting God, the upper portions of our province, that is, of Palestine, were spared these evils.

19. *Saladin invades our land and lays siege to the fortress of Daron.*

In December of this same year, that is the seventh year of King Amaury's reign,[32] a persistent rumor spread among the people to the effect that Saladin was about to invade our land. From many sources it was reported that he had already assembled forces from all parts of Egypt and from the land of Damascus as well, that he had enlarged his numbers greatly by levying men from both the middle and lower classes and was planning to advance against Palestine to lay waste the land. As soon as this news reached the king, he at once repaired to the land of Ascalon. There he learned definitely from

[31] The vividness of this description reflects William's own personal experience and implies that he was in Tyre when the earthquake occurred.

[32] December, 1170, was in the eighth year of the reign.

reliable information received from his own people that this great and powerful prince with an immense army, stronger than ever before, had for two days been besieging the fortress of Daron. During that time he had given the besieged no rest and had done them great injury. Those in the fortress had been showered with arrows so continually that nearly all were wounded and only a few were still able to take arms for the defense of the place. The wall had been undermined and laid open by force. Saladin was already in possession of a part of the place, and the townspeople had perforce taken refuge in the citadel which seemed to be the most strongly fortified part. The enemy had forced an entrance into the lower part of one of the towers and had burned the entrance, but the besieged were still defending the upper part. This was the report which was brought to the king, and it proved to be true.

The commander and protector of the fortress Daron was the noble Anselm de Pass, a religious and God-fearing man, a valiant warrior. If he had happened to be away on the day when the assault occurred, the place would unquestionably have fallen into the enemy's hands.

The news of this critical situation filled the king's heart with grief and fury. He immediately assembled cavalry and infantry forces from all directions as well as the brief space of time and the close proximity of the enemy permitted and, on the eighteenth day of this same month, left Ascalon and hastened to Gaza. He was accompanied by the lord patriarch, who carried the revered and precious Life-giving Cross, and also by the two venerable men, Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, the royal chancellor, and Bernard, bishop of Lydda. A few other nobles of the realm also accompanied him. The forces on being numbered were found to consist of two hundred and fifty knights and about two thousand infantry.

At Gaza the troops passed a sleepless night, dragging out the weary hours oppressed by the weight of deep anxiety. About sunrise the next morning they started out from Gaza. The brothers of the Knights Templars who had come thither to protect the place joined forces with them, and together they proceeded to the fortress of Daron.

This fortress, I believe, was situated in Idumea, that is Edom, beyond the stream called the river of Egypt, which marks the boundary between Palestine and the region just named. A few years before this

time, King Amaury had built this fortress on a slightly elevated site above the ancient ruins, some traces of which still remain. A tradition received from the ancient inhabitants of these parts states that in earlier days there was a Greek monastery in this place. The present name, Daron, that is, the house of the Greeks, is reminiscent of that fact.

As has been said, the king had caused to be built on this site a fortress of moderate dimensions, covering scarcely more than a stone's throw of ground. It was square in form and at each corner was a tower, one of which was more massive and better fortified than the rest. There was neither moat nor barbican.

Daron lies about five miles from the sea and four miles from Gaza. Here a few cultivators of the fields near by had united with some traders and formed a little settlement. They built a village and a church not far from the castle and took up their abode there. It was a pleasant spot where conditions of life for people of the lower ranks were better than in cities.[33]

The king had built this stronghold with a view to extending his boundaries; he also had in mind the fact that from this place he could more easily collect the full revenues due annually from those dwelling in the surrounding villages which our people call *casalia.* A fixed toll could also be levied on those travelling past on the road.

20. *The king hastens thither with a small company of knights. Many of our people are slain by the foe, both in the city of Gaza and while on the march.*

Our army accordingly set out from Gaza and, while halting on a slight elevation along the line of march, caught sight of the enemy's camp. Terrified by the vast numbers, they began to crowd together more than usual, with the result that the very density of their ranks almost prevented any further advance. The infidels at once charged and tried to force them apart, but the Christians, by divine help, massed themselves even more closely together and withstood the enemy's attack. Then at a quickened pace they marched on to their destination, where the entire army halted and set up tents. The lord patriarch repaired to the citadel, but all the rest camped outside,

[33] Such sympathetic concern for the lot of peasants and lesser folk was not common in the court literature of the twelfth century.

close to the outlying village. It was then about the sixth hour of the day. During the course of that day many single combats occurred and also some engagements in which entire companies took part. Our men displayed great courage, both in attacking and resisting. As night was now drawing on apace, Saladin drew up his lines in marching formation and led them toward Gaza. That night he rested near the river and in the morning marched on to Gaza and halted before the city.

The very ancient city of Gaza was once a famous metropolis of the Philistines. It is frequently mentioned in both ecclesiastical and secular histories, and the many noble buildings still remaining give evidence of its ancient splendor. For a long time it had lain desolate without a single inhabitant. Finally, before the capture of Ascalon, Baldwin III, of illustrious memory, the fourth king of Jerusalem, gathered the strength and resources of the realm and built on one part of the hill a fairly well fortified stronghold.[34] On the completion of the place he gave it to the brethren of the Temple to be held by them in perpetual right. The fortress, however, did not occupy the entire hill upon which, as has been said, the city was built. But, in order to provide for their own security, the people who had come there to live tried to protect the rest of the hill with a wall and gates. This wall was, however, rather low and far from strong.

When news of the enemy's approach reached the dwellers on the hill, they decided to take refuge in the fortress with their wives and children and to abandon the remaining undefended part of the city to the enemy. For they were tillers of the soil, unarmed men, wholly unfamiliar with things pertaining to war. Milon de Plancy, however, one of the great nobles of the kingdom but a wicked man, desired to encourage them to resist. He therefore refused them admission and bade them defend that weaker section of the city.

It happened that there was at Gaza a company of sixty-five light-armed youths, valiant fighters, natives of a town called Mahumaria, near Jerusalem.[35] They had arrived that very night at Gaza on their way to join the army and by Milon's order had been assigned to the gate of the outer city. Here they were fighting valiantly for their

[34] See Book XVII, chap. 12.

[35] Identified as modern al-Bira, on the main road north from Jerusalem, and is called "La Grande Mahomerie" on the Crusaders' Map of Palestine.

country and for liberty, bravely resisting the enemy's attempts to force an entrance by the sword. Suddenly the infidels broke into the place from another direction between the citadel and the gate just mentioned. They made a sudden attack from the rear on the little band which was still stoutly defending the gate and completely surrounded them. Thus taken by surprise, the latter were unable to resist longer and perished by the sword. Although many of these valiant youths were slain and still more wounded, yet the enemy did not retire from this encounter unscathed, for theirs was a bloody victory.

The townspeople now made another attempt to enter the citadel, but, although the Turks were already inside the walls and were causing terrible and indiscriminate massacre everywhere, they were not permitted to enter, nor had they any other way of escape. The Turks at once rushed in and took possession of the city. Neither age nor sex was spared, even suckling babes were dashed against the stones, yet the boundless fury of the invaders seemed incapable of satiety. The refugees in the tower, nevertheless, kept them at a distance by continually hurling down stone missiles and other weapons, and thus, by the help of God, the stronghold remained intact.

After taking the city and murdering the inhabitants, the enemy marched back to Daron as if they were holding the palm of victory. While on the way thither, they came upon about fifty of our infantry forces who were hastening to the army without observing proper precaution. These they killed to a man, although the Christians put up a valiant fight with their swords in a desperate attempt to save themselves.

21. *Saladin returns to his own land. The king returns to Ascalon after visiting Daron, now partly in ruins. That same year Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, a glorious martyr in Christ, is murdered in his own church.*

THE Turks now drew up their ranks in battle array according to military rule and divided their forces into forty-two divisions. Of these twenty were ordered to proceed by the shore route between Daron and the sea. The rest were to follow the road inland until the fortress was passed, when all the troops were again to unite into one body.

Perceiving that the enemy was returning in battle array, the Christians also prepared for the conflict. Their numbers were few, yet

their trust was in the mercy of God. After first invoking aid from on high, they made ready for the encounter, and the Lord gave them strength and firm courage. Nothing seemed more certain than that the Turks had returned to fight with them. Far different, however, was the intention of the latter; they turned neither to the right nor to the left, but made all haste back to Egypt.

Reliable messengers now brought word that the foe had departed without intention of returning. Thereupon, led by the Lord, the king also went back to Ascalon with his army. He left behind at Daron a force of men to rebuild the half-ruined fortress, which after its reconstruction was to be more substantially fortified and carefully guarded. Those who had witnessed many campaigns in the kingdom said that at no time within their knowledge had so great a host of Turks assembled. According to report, the number of knights alone was about forty thousand.[36]

About this same time, on December 29, there was celebrated at the noble and famous city of Canterbury in England, the passion of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, archbishop of that city.[37] He was a native of London and under Theobald, of blessed memory, archbishop of Canterbury, he became archdeacon of that church. He was later called by Henry II, king of England, to share in the responsibility of the realm and as chancellor was a faithful, wise, and able administrator of the entire kingdom. After the death of the blessed Father Theobald, Thomas was called, at the king's command, to the church at Canterbury, as the reward of his services. With fearless vigor he fought for the rights of the church against wickedness and tyranny and, as a result, was compelled to flee to France to avoid the persecution of King Henry. There for seven years he endured exile with notable patience worthy of high praise. On his return from this enforced absence, while awaiting the peace that had been promised him, he was slain by the swords of wicked men in the very church over which, by the will of God, he had presided. While in the act of praying for his persecutors, he was ignominiously struck down and, crowned with his own blood, received the glorious fate of martyrdom. Through him, in that same church and indeed throughout the whole

[36] Meaning a very large number, as it doubtless was, but not to be taken literally.

[37] Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered December 25, 1170. This brief sketch of his life and death is substantially correct. His canonization was proclaimed by Pope Alexander III, probably at the beginning of Lent, 1173.

province, the holy and merciful Lord has deigned to work so many miracles almost daily that the times of the apostles seem verily to have returned.

22. *The king visits Constantinople attended by some of his nobles. The emperor showers many honors upon him.*

In the following year, which was the seventh of Amaury's reign,[38] the king summoned all his nobles to him and laid before them the needs of the realm. For he perceived that the kingdom was weighed down by many troubles, that the enemies of the Christian faith were constantly increasing not only in number and valor but in power and riches as well. On the other hand, our realm was completely without wise and discreet leaders. The younger generation which was taking the places of their elders were growing up in wickedness; without purpose or result they were occupying the places of illustrious men and squandering in disgraceful ways the inheritance received from their fathers. As a result, the realm had deteriorated so greatly that its weakness was apparent even to the dullest. The king therefore requested the advice of his nobles as to how these evil conditions could be remedied and the kingdom saved. After consulting together, they responded almost with unanimity, "It is because of our sins that the realm has fallen into such a desperate condition that it can neither attack its enemies nor sustain their onslaughts." They advised that aid from the princes of the West should be implored to combat these troubles; they had no other plan of relief to suggest.

Accordingly, with the common consent of all, it was resolved that a delegation consisting of men of high rank be sent to explain the difficulties of the kingdom to the princes of the West and to ask their aid. The envoys were instructed to visit the pope and those illustrious lords, the emperor of the Romans, the kings of France, England, Sicily, and the Spains, and also other distinguished dukes and counts and implore their assistance in combatting the imminent perils now threatening the kingdom. It was further resolved that the precarious situation of the realm be made known to the emperor of Constantinople. Since he was much nearer to us and was besides far richer than the others, he could more easily furnish the desired aid. It was specified also that the envoy sent to the emperor should be a person so

[38] 1171 should be the ninth, not seventh, year of his reign.

gifted with wisdom, eloquence, and authority that by his tact and ability he might incline the mind of that great prince to comply with our wishes.

While they were deliberating over the selection of a suitable person to undertake this important mission, the king had been consulting with some of his more intimate counsellors. He now laid before the assembly a plan which he had conceived. He declared that a mission of such importance could be undertaken by no one but himself and added that he was prepared to undergo all perils and hardships to relieve the desperate necessity of the kingdom. The great nobles of the realm, though filled with admiration, were almost overcome by this proposal and protested that the task was too arduous; moreover, without the presence of the king the realm would be desolate. Amaury answered, however, "Let the Lord, whose minister I am, rule the kingdom; as for me I am determined to go; no one can induce me to recall that decision."

Accordingly, on March 10, attended by a great retinue as befitted the royal majesty, he set out on the journey with an escort of ten galleys. In his train were William, bishop of Acre, and the following nobles of the realm: Guarmond of Tiberias, John of Arsuf, Gerard de Pougy, the royal marshal, Rohard, the governor of Jerusalem, and Renaud de Nephins. Philip of Nablus, who had already resigned his office as master of the Knights Templars, had been sent on ahead by land. Since the favor of the Lord was with him, the king enjoyed a prosperous voyage and reached in safety the straits of Abydos and the mouth of the Bosphorus, which in common parlance is known as the arm of St. George.

The lord emperor, a wise and discreet prince of great magnificence, worthy of praise in every respect, learned with surprise that, contrary to custom, a mighty prince, the ruler of a great and famous kingdom beloved of God, was about to visit his empire. His first thought was of wonder as to the motive for so unusual and difficult a journey. Then, reflecting how greatly such an incomparable favor thus freely bestowed upon him from on high would redound to his own glory and honor, he was filled with exultation. Nowhere in the annals of his empire was such an unusual event recorded, never before had a king of Jerusalem, the defender and advocate of the venerable places of the Lord's passion and resurrection, visited his imperial

predecessors. He determined to anticipate the king's arrival and to show him great honor. Accordingly he summoned John the *protosebastos* his nephew, one of the most illustrious nobles of the sacred palace, whose daughter King Amaury had married, and sent him to meet the royal visitor. He instructed the *protosebastos* to see to it that in all the cities and places through which the king passed great honor should be shown him, in accordance with the long-established custom of the empire and the incomparable magnificence pertaining thereto. Furthermore, he was to advise the king, as a son, to await the coming of the imperial representatives who would escort him into the royal city.

In obedience to the emperor's command, this magnificent prince with a noble retinue met the king at Gallipolis, a city on the Bosphorus, not far from the straits of Abydos. Since the wind was not in the right direction at the time to waft the ship on to the imperial city, the king disembarked here from the galley and with the members of his personal suite proceeded on horseback to Heraclea, a city on the same coast. There, in the harbor, he found the fleet. It had taken advantage of a favorable change of wind and arrived before him. Accordingly he again embarked and after a prosperous sail arrived at Constantinople.

23. *The king is introduced into the presence of the emperor, who receives him with marked honor. Frequent colloquies take place between them over matters of serious importance.*

IN this city, on the shore of the sea facing east is the imperial residence known as the palace of Constantine. The approach leading up to it from the sea has a marvellous pavement of magnificent marble; marble steps descend to the water's edge, and statues of lions and columns, also of marble, adorn the place with royal splendor. This entrance was ordinarily reserved for the use of the emperor alone when he wished to ascend to the upper part of the palace, but contrary to the usual custom, as a mark of special honor, the king was given the privilege of using it. Here the great nobles of the sacred palace, surrounded by a throng of courtiers, awaited his arrival, and a most honorable reception was accorded him. Thence, attended by his suite and many attachés of the court, he was conducted through various corridors and rooms of many kinds to the upper part of the

palace, where the emperor, with his illustrious nobles, had his residence. Before the imperial audience hall hung curtains of precious fabrics, adorned with handiwork not inferior to the material itself; to it, indeed, might be aptly applied the words of Naso, "The workmanship far surpassed the material." [39]

Just outside this hall, the king was met by the great lords of the empire, who conducted him beyond the curtains just mentioned. This is said to have been done that the dignity of the imperial splendor might be maintained and at the same time the good will of the king won for the emperor. For, surrounded only by the most illustrious nobles of his court, the emperor is said to have risen in a friendly way to greet the king, an act which, had it been done in the presence of the assembled court, might have seemed to show too great condescension on the part of his imperial majesty.[40]

As soon as the king had entered, the curtains were quickly drawn aside, and the emperor became visible to those without. He was seated on a throne of gold, clad in the imperial robes. By his side was seated the king on another throne, splendid but slightly lower than that of the emperor.

The emperor very graciously bestowed the customary salutation and the kiss of peace upon our nobles also and made courteous inquiries about the well-being of the king and the members of his suite. Both by his words and expression he plainly showed that their coming had given him great pleasure. He had directed the attendants and officials of the sacred palace to prepare certain apartments of great magnificence within the palace itself for the king and his retinue. Separate quarters of fitting dignity in the city not far from those of the king had also been prepared for each of the attendant nobles. The visitors then withdrew from the imperial presence and retired for a time in attendance on the king. After naming the hour at which they were to return to him, the king also dismissed them and sent them away to their own quarters.

Daily, at hours specially appointed for the purpose, the envoys held earnest conferences, now with the emperor and now among

[39] Ovid *Met.* II. 6. This, a favorite quotation of William, probably reflects his own interest in the products of craftsmanship.

[40] Chalandon, who has retraced Amaury's procession from the ship to the grand palace step by step, denies the significance which William attached to the etiquette of the curtain (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 547–49).

themselves, on the matters which had brought them thither. Above all, they gave most careful consideration to the measures by which the purpose of their journey (for the furtherance of which they had endured so many hardships) might be accomplished so that they might return home crowned with success.

In frequent intimate talks with the emperor, sometimes privately and again in the presence of the illustrious nobles of the imperial court, the king explained the reasons that had led to his visit and set forth at length the needs of his kingdom. He dwelt upon the immortal fame which the emperor might win by undertaking the subjugation of Egypt and demonstrated by positive proofs how easily the project might be accomplished. Persuaded by his words, the emperor lent a favorable ear to the king's proposition and promised to carry out the wishes of the latter to the full.

Meanwhile, as befitted his imperial magnificence, he showered numerous gifts upon the king and upon the nobles of his suite and during frequent visits showed much solicitude about their well-being and health. By his orders, even the inner parts of the palace—the private apartments usually accessible only to his own people, the private chambers set apart for his own use—were thrown open to them as to his own household. These privileges were extended also to the basilicas closed to the common people, and to all the priceless treasures which had been gathered there by his imperial ancestors. Even the relics of the saints and the precious memorials of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Cross and the nails, the Lance,[41] the sponge, the reed, the crown of thorns, the linen robe, and the sandals were freely shown to them. There was no secret or mystical object reverently preserved from the times of the good emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian in the private repositories of the sacred chambers which was not shown to them without reserve.

From time to time, on holidays and at leisure moments, the emperor invited the king and his suite to enjoy the recreation afforded by novel entertainments of dignified character such as befitted the exalted rank of both monarchs. At times, various kinds of musical instruments were brought in, from which strains of marvellous sweet-

[41] This was probably the Holy Lance that had figured in the defeat of Karbuqa at Antioch in 1098. It had been retained by Raymond of St. Gilles and given to the Emperor Alexius when Raymond revisited Constantinople in 1100.

ness in harmonious measure were evoked for their delight. Again, choruses of maidens sang, and pantomimes of great merit were presented. Yet decorum and good manners were always observed. In the king's honor the emperor also commanded that magnificent and costly games resembling those which we call theatrical plays or circuses should be given for the people living in the city.[42]

24. *The purpose of their journey accomplished, the king and his nobles return to their own land laden with gifts.*

A SOJOURN of several days was made in the palace of Constantine. Then, for the sake of change, which is the most effective means of relieving monotony, the emperor, accompanied by the king, moved his residence to the new palace called Blachernae.[43] There also the emperor observed to the full the laws of hospitality. For several days he entertained the king most graciously in his own palace, where state apartments were assigned to King Amaury in the most private precincts of the imperial residence of his ancestors. At the same time dignified and comfortable quarters not far from this palace were ordered provided for the king's retinue. Here, as before, officers of the wardrobe and others specially assigned to this duty did not cease to provide magnificently and in superabundance not only for all necessary expense but even for superfluous luxuries.

The king was escorted throughout the whole city both within the walls and without. He visited the churches and monasteries of which there was an almost infinite number; he looked upon triumphal arches and columns adorned with trophies. Great nobles who knew the places well were his guides, and on his inquiring the nature and purpose of each object he was given full information by the oldest and best-informed men.

At this time also, he sailed through the Bosphorus to the mouth of the Black sea, where the body of water known as the Bosphorus begins its course to the Mediterranean. Thus the king, a man of inquiring mind, ever eager to know the reason of things, visited places hitherto unknown to him. At length, fully satisfied with what he had

[42] The art of entertainment and public amusement was more highly developed in Constantinople at this time than anywhere else in Europe. Doubtless this added to its attractiveness for people from the West.

[43] This was the palace in the northwestern part of the city, in which the emperor ordinarily dwelt.

seen and heard, he returned to the city and resumed the friendly conferences with the emperor, for his most earnest desire was to bring his mission to a successful end.

After a suitable time had passed, the necessary matters were brought to the happy termination so eagerly desired. The agreement was reduced to a treaty agreeable to both the emperor and the king and put into writing, to which the seals of both were affixed. The king then took leave and, followed by the good will of all, began to make preparations to depart. Then more than ever the lavish munificence of the emperor, far beyond praise, was displayed toward the king and his following. For an immense weight of gold and quantities of silken fabrics together with most excellent gifts of foreign wares were bestowed upon the king, while upon his retinue, even to the youngest, presents without stint were showered.

The illustrious *protosebastos* also showed great generosity toward the entire embassy. The same spirit inspired the other princes also; they vied with each other in munificent offerings to the king, wherein elegance of material and fine workmanship were not lacking as evidence of their good will. When the fleet was ready, the king, his mission successfully accomplished, sailed from Constantinople two hundred miles through the Bosphorus, which is generally recognized as the boundary between Europe and Asia. Passing between the famous cities of Sestos and Abydos, the homes of Leander and Hero, he entered the Mediterranean sea and, borne by favoring breezes, landed on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of July at the city of Sidon.[44]

25. *The king assembles the army at Sephorie. Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, returns from the lands across the sea. William, bishop of Acre, is murdered in Romania.*

On his return to the kingdom, the king learned that Nureddin with a large army was still lingering in the vicinity of Banyas. Fearing lest he might try to make incursions into our land from there, the king summoned the barons of the realm and advanced into Galilee to provide as far as possible against such a contingency. He encamped near that famous fountain between Nazareth and Sephorie. Since this lies very near the center of the realm, he could easily move from

[44] June 15, 1171. This sentence is redolent of Ovid's writings.

there to any part of the country where he might be needed. Hence, for the reason just given, Amaury and his ancestors before him had followed the custom of assembling their armies in that place.

About the same time, Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, who had been sent on behalf of the realm to implore aid and counsel from the princes of the West, returned home unsuccessful after a sojourn of two years in the lands beyond the sea. His efforts had been utterly futile, and he had obtained nothing which he had asked in our name. He had, however, sent before him Count Stephen, a man of noble family but of far from noble life. Stephen was the son of the elder Count Theobald II of Blois, Chartres, and Troyes. Through the archbishop's agency, he had been summoned by the king, who intended to make him his son-in-law. On the count's arrival in the kingdom, the king graciously reminded him of the matter, but although the offer had already been made and accepted, Stephen now rejected it and, after leading a disgracefully licentious life for several months in the kingdom, decided to return home overland. In pursuance of this purpose he went first to Antioch and from there into Cilicia. Thence, after obtaining an escort from the sultan of Iconium, he intended to pass through that land on his way to Constantinople. In Cilicia, however, near the city of Mamistra, he had the misfortune to fall into an ambush which Milo [Malih],[45] a very powerful Armenian prince, the brother of Thoros, had laid for him. The bandits rushed upon him from their lurking place and carried off as booty all the precious treasures which he had with him. By urgent entreaties he finally with much difficulty induced them to leave a wretched horse for his use. In this ignominious style, after experiencing great hardships, he finally reached Constantinople with a few attendants. The hatred of all the people of the East followed him.[46]

That same year, another Count Stephen, a son of Count William de Saône, arrived in the kingdom on a pilgrimage of prayer and devotion. Although he bore the same name, he differed greatly from that other Stephen, for he was an unassuming man of honorable life,

[45] This was Mleh or Malih, the brother of Thoros II of Armenia (see note 50). Possibly it was the experience of Stephen or others similarly beset by Mleh that led Henry the Lion to reject the offer of an escort through his lands (see E. Joranson, "The Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion," *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*, p. 196).

[46] This is the third Stephen of Blois to figure in William's account. He was a grandson of the leader in the First Crusade and a nephew of the English king of that name.

entirely worthy of great respect. He was accompanied by Henry the Younger, duke of Burgundy, the son of a sister of the Stephen spoken of above. After a short stay in the kingdom, they returned to their own land but stopped on the way at Constantinople, where the emperor showed them marked attention and dismissed them with many gifts.[47]

In the following year, which was the eighth of King Amaury's reign,[48] William of good memory, bishop of Acre, met with a strange and undeserved fate. The king had sent him from Constantinople to Italy. He had travelled through that country, trying in every possible way to accomplish the mission entrusted to him, and was on his way home. While retracing his steps, he intended to visit the emperor, according to a previous arrangement, and had arrived at Adrianople, a famous city of Thracia Secunda. Much fatigued by his long journey, the bishop partook of food at the noon hour and then lay down to rest his weary limbs. A certain Robert of his staff, one whom he himself had raised to the priesthood and received among his personal retinue, was lying in the same room where the bishop was resting. He was recovering from a long illness during which he had suffered greatly. Suddenly a madness came upon him; he seized his sword and stabbed the sleeping bishop, inflicting fatal wounds. The bishop's people outside heard his cries and recognized by his groans and outcries that their master was in the throes of death. They tried to rush to his aid, but the door was securely locked on the inside so that entrance was impossible. When the door was finally broken open by force, they found their lord almost lifeless although his heart was still faintly beating. Their first impulse was to seize the murderer and deliver him over in chains to the punishment due him according to the laws against homicide. But the bishop forbade them by word and gesture and most earnestly implored them that for the good of his soul full indulgence should be granted the murderer. He was still begging that the present deed should not be held against the young man for death when he yielded up his last breath to the Lord. This happened on June 29.

As yet we have been unable to determine the reason for this deed.

[47] Stephen of Saône and Henry of Burgundy. It is strange that William does not mention the visit of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, to Jerusalem in 1172—all the more so since one of Henry's retinue, Conrad, bishop of Lübeck, died in Tyre.

[48] The year 1172 would be the tenth of Amaury's reign.

It is said by some that Robert, the perpetrator of the outrage, had been suffering from a long illness; that, although convalescent, he was attacked by a sudden violent frenzy and therefore was not responsible for his wicked act. Others, on the contrary, assert that he committed the crime through hatred of a certain chamberlain of the bishop, who, presuming too much on his lord's favor, had treated Robert and others badly.[49]

On November 23 of that same year, Joscius, a canon and subdeacon of that same church, was made bishop of Acre in William's stead.

26. *Malih the Armenian,*[50] *a brother of Thoros, joins forces with Nureddin and ravages the land of Antioch. The king hastens thither to check his evil doing.*

ABOUT this time occurred the death of Thoros, a magnificent and noble man whom I have often mentioned as a powerful prince of the Armenians. His brother Malih, a most wicked man, desired to seize the heritage for himself. He accordingly went to Nureddin and earnestly begged that he be given a body of cavalry with which to take forcible possession of his brother's domains. Now after the death of Thoros, the great nobles of that land had sent for Thomas,[51] a nephew of these two lords on the sister's side, and had placed him in peaceful possession of his uncle's entire principality. Thomas was of Latin birth, but he utterly lacked the energy and sense to adapt himself readily to those who had called him.

On certain well-defined terms satisfactory to Nureddin, Malih was able to obtain a considerable force of cavalry. By thus employing the aid of an enemy and introducing an armed body of infidels into his patrimony, the hereditary land of his forefathers, Malih was the first of his race to violate the customs of his ancestors. He invaded the

[49] This is an excellent instance not only of William's judicial attitude but also of medieval justice, which evidently recognized insanity as a plea in behalf of a defendant. Doubtless William was personally acquainted with the individuals involved.

[50] Mleh or Malih was a renegade in several ways. He had become a member of the western church and a Templar. Later he fled to the court of Nureddin, to whom he became very devoted. With the latter's help he conquered his nephew's kingdom and mistreated the Templars. He was finally murdered by his own troops in 1175 (see Frédéric Macler, "Armenia," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1170–71).

[51] Little is known of this Thomas beyond these statements of William. His mother was a sister of Thoros II and Malih, his father a Latin noble. He was called upon to act as regent for Rupen II, son of Thoros II. Malih drove him out and disposed of the true heir (see Joranson, "Henry the Lion," *op. cit.*, p. 196, note 177).

domains of his forefathers by force, drove out his nephew, and seized the whole region. One of the first acts of his rule after taking possession of the power was to dispossess the Knights Templars of all their holdings in Cilicia, although he had once belonged to their order. He then formed an alliance with Nureddin and the Turks under a treaty such as is rarely made even between brothers. Having become, as it were, an infidel, he cast aside the law of God and did the Christians all the injury he could. All those who chanced to fall into his hands, either in battle or in the storming of fortresses, were cast into chains and carried off into the enemy's country to be sold as slaves.

The outrages committed by this wicked man against the Christians soon showed him to be one of their worst enemies. Accordingly the prince of Antioch and the great men of that land took up arms against him, although it seemed a dangerous anomaly for Christians to rise against one who professed the same faith—almost, in fact, equivalent to civil war. Yet, since it was impossible to pass over the wrongs done to their brethren, they declared war against Malih and denounced him as an enemy of the realm.

On learning of the trouble that had risen in that country, the king hastened with his own forces to the land of Antioch, for he desired to do his part in any measure that tended toward peace. From there he dispatched his personal messengers to that wretch Malih, a man wholly without the favor of God, and urgently demanded that he agree to a conference with himself at a suitable time and place. Malih pretended that he was pleased by this message, but actually his sentiments were quite different. Several times the king sent envoys to him and endeavored to bring about this meeting, but in the end he found that he was being deceived by the subtle tricks of the wicked man and, accordingly, that nothing could be accomplished in this way. He finally assembled all the Christian forces of that locality and with this army invaded the land of his enemy. While marching through the plain of Cilicia (for to proceed by the steep mountainous way would have been too difficult), the troops burned the crops and endeavored to storm the castles along their line of march. But suddenly a messenger arrived with the sinister tidings that Nureddin had laid siege to Petra, the capital of Arabia Secunda, also known as Kerak—a report which proved to be true.

This news caused the king serious distress. He at once took leave

of the prince and hastily set forth with his own personal following. But before he arrived in his own land, the barons of the realm with prompt and sagacious action had assembled all the military strength of the kingdom. Humphrey the constable had been put in entire charge of the army, while to Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, was assigned the honor of carrying the Cross of the Lord. Without delay the troops were hastening valiantly to the appointed place when they were met by a messenger who brought the important news, which proved to be true, that Nureddin had abandoned the siege without doing harm to the place and had returned to his own land. Thus it happened that the king on reaching the kingdom found, contrary to his expectation, that all was as peaceful as could be desired.

27. *Saladin besieges Montreal, a fortress beyond the Jordan. His efforts prove futile, however, and he returns to his own land.*

THE following year, about the beginning of autumn, Saladin prepared to invade our land with mighty forces and a vast number of cavalry. At the head of innumerable hosts drawn from all over the land of Egypt, he crossed the desert and reached the place called Cannes of the Turks.

The king had anticipated his coming, however, and had already assembled his own army. Accompanied by the lord patriarch, who bore the Life-giving and Venerated Cross of the Lord, he had placed his camp near Beersheba, whence he would be able to meet the advancing enemy more easily.

The forces of Saladin were reported to be scarcely sixteen miles away from the king's camp, but Amaury was not yet confident that the Turks had actually reached that place. The report proved to be true, however; Saladin had established his camp there because of the convenient water supply.

After a conference with his nobles, the king decided to change his route in order to avoid a meeting with the Turk. Accordingly, under pretense of seeking the enemy whom they had carefully avoided while he was close at hand, the forces and all the people proceeded toward Ascalon. From Ascalon they marched on to Daron and thence back again to their original starting point, after a useless waste of effort and expense.

Meanwhile, Saladin marched through the plains of Idumea and led his cohorts into Syria Sobal. There he laid siege to a fortress which is the principal and outstanding stronghold of that entire district. This he assailed with furious energy as far as the situation permitted, for it lay on a lofty hill and was splendidly fortified with walls, towers, and ramparts. The village outside was situated on the slope of the hill, yet in a place so steep and high that it need fear neither assaults nor attacks by machines or bows. The inhabitants were all Christians and therefore more reliance could be placed upon them. Moreover, the fortress was well supplied with arms and provisions and had a garrison of men sufficient to defend it.

For some days the infidels expended their efforts on this place without success. Finally, convinced that it was impregnable, Saladin gave the order to depart and returned to Egypt by the desert route with his forces.

28. *Saladin lays waste the entire country beyond the Jordan. The king holds his army in a place called Carmel. Count Raymond of Tripoli returns from prison.*

In the following year, which was the tenth of King Amaury's reign, Saladin again made preparations to invade the realm. Realizing that he had accomplished but little against our forces the preceding year, he desired to retrieve this failure and accordingly assembled a mighty host of warriors from all over Egypt and from elsewhere as well. That his movements might be less noticeable and, as a result, greater injury might be done to the inhabitants, he advanced by way of the desert and, in the month of July, reached the same locality which he had occupied with his armies the preceding year.[52]

The king, however, had been informed of his advance. Accordingly, with the flower of the military forces of the realm, he went out into the desert to meet the infidel prince. Again, as in the preceding year, he was told that Saladin had turned aside into Syria Sobal. Fearing to follow him thither, lest perchance Saladin, on learning that he was pursued, might enter from another direction and devastate the realm,

[52] Saladin's several expeditions into southern Palestine and the region of Kerak and Montreal recounted by William are so similar as to raise a question of his possible confusion in the matter (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, pp. 201–2; *R.K.J.*, pp. 356–57).

the king went up into the mountainous country. There he selected a convenient position and retired to Carmel.

This is not the famous Mt. Carmel on the coast, once the abode of Elias, but a village where, as we read, the foolish Nabal formerly lived.[53] The king chose this position wisely because of the convenience of water. For there was an ancient pool of great extent there which would furnish ample water for the entire army. Moreover, Carmel was near the country beyond the Jordan, separated from it only by the famous valley which forms the boundary between the two regions and in which lies the Dead sea. Hence our army could readily obtain frequent news of the enemy's movements and ascertain the condition of Saladin's forces.

Meanwhile, since the king hesitated to approach that region for the reasons just given, Saladin ravaged the whole country as he would. He caused everything found outside the fortresses to be burned, bushes and vines to be cut down, and villages to be destroyed. Finally, toward the end of September, after completely overrunning the country at his tyrannical pleasure, he returned to Egypt.

About this time, Raymond the Younger, count of Tripoli, returned to his ancestral domains. He had passed eight years as a prisoner in beggary and chains but was finally released on payment of a ransom of eighty thousand gold pieces and restored to his former state of liberty.[54] The king welcomed him on his return most kindly and, without making any difficulty, restored to him the territory which had been under his own care during Raymond's absence. In addition, with royal bounty he gave him large gifts to assist in paying the price of his ransom and induced his nobles and the prelates of the church also to follow his example.

29. *The sect of the Assassins is described. Also of the embassy sent by them to the king.*

About this same time there occurred among us a dreadful affair fraught with dire consequences to the kingdom and the church, a catastrophe to be regretted even today, perchance forever. In order

[53] I Sam. 25: 2.

[54] He had been captured at Harim in 1164. The eight years of captivity would end October 18, 1172, though the general context seems to indicate the summer of 1173 as the year of his release.

to obtain a clear understanding of the matter it is necessary to begin the account somewhat further back.

In the province of Tyre in Phoenicia and in the diocese of Tortosa there lives a tribe of people who possess ten fortresses with the villages attached to them. Their number, as we have often heard, is about sixty thousand or possibly more. It is the custom of this people to choose their ruler, not by hereditary right, but by the prerogative of merit. This chief, when elected, they call the Old Man, disdaining a more dignified title. Their subjection and obedience to him is such that they regard nothing as too harsh or difficult and eagerly undertake even the most dangerous tasks at his command.[55] For instance, if there happens to be a prince who has incurred the hatred or distrust of this people, the chief places a dagger in the hand of one or several of his followers; those thus designated hasten away at once, regardless of the consequences of the deed or the probability of personal escape. Zealously they labor for as long as may be necessary, until at last the favorable chance comes which enables them to carry out the mandate of the chief.[56] Neither Christians nor Saracens know whence this name, the Assassins, is derived.[57] For about four hundred years they have followed the law and traditions of the Saracens so strictly that by comparison all other peoples seem as prevaricators and they alone the complete observers of the law. But during our times they happened to choose as ruler over them a very eloquent man, of subtle and brilliant intelligence. Contrary to the habits of his ancestors, this man possessed the books of the Evangels and the apostolic law. Over these he pored continually and for some time had with much labor tried to follow the marvellous precepts of Christ and also the apostolic doctrine.

[55] Hitti gives a brief account of this Muslim sect, tracing its origin from the Fatimid caliphate. William's allusion to the extraordinary obedience of the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain suggests that he was aware of the story of the hashish ceremony which Hitti quotes from Marco Polo's account. William may have told it in his *Gesta orientalium principum,* for Jacques de Vitry, who used William's work, tells this story (see P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* pp. 446–48).

[56] Both Muslim and Christian leaders were murdered by the Assassins. William has already noted Raymond II of Tripoli as one of their victims. Qalanisi ascribes several assassinations in Damascus to them. They made an attempt to murder Saladin, but his threat to destroy the sect ended those attempts (see Hitti, *Arabs,* p. 447).

[57] It is now generally accepted that the name is derived from *hashashun,* or "users of hashish," the stupefying drug derived from hemp, or marijuana (Hitti, *Arabs,* p. 446).

The gentle and noble doctrine of Christ and His followers, when compared with that which the miserable seducer Muhammad had transmitted to his accomplices and deluded followers, caused him to despise the beliefs which he had absorbed with his mother's milk and to abominate the unclean tenets of that deceiver. He instructed his people also in the same way and made them cease observing the superstition of the prophet. He tore down the places of prayer which they had been accustomed to use, absolved them from fasting, and permitted the use of wine and pork. At length, desirous of advancing into a fuller understanding of the mysteries of God's law, he sent an envoy to the king. This man, Boaldelle [Abdallah] by name, was wise and eloquent, skilled in counsel, and fully instructed in the doctrine of his master. He bore secret propositions, the main burden and most important article of which was that if the brethren of the Temple, who held certain fortresses adjacent to the lands of the Assassins, would remit the tribute of two thousand gold pieces which was paid to them yearly by his people and would thereafter observe brotherly kindness toward them, the race of the Assassins would embrace the faith of Christ and receive baptism.

30. *The envoy of the Assassins is slain by the brothers of the Knights Templars. As the result of this, a violent disturbance arises in the kingdom. Ralph, bishop of Bethlehem, dies.*

THE king received the envoy gladly and, being a man of good sense, agreed fully to the demands made. He was even prepared, it is said, to compensate the brethren from his own treasury for the two thousand gold pieces, the amount of the annual tribute which the Assassins asked to have remitted. He detained the envoy with him long enough to complete the details of the agreement and then sent him back to his master to make the final arrangements, accompanied by a guide to lead and protect him on the way. Under the escort of the guide and companion thus provided by the king, Abdallah had already passed Tripoli and was about to enter his own land, when suddenly some of the Knights of the Temple rushed upon the party with drawn swords and killed the envoy. The latter, far from anticipating any such action, was pursuing his journey without caution, in full reliance upon the king's safe conduct and the sincere good faith of our nation. By

this crime, the knights brought upon themselves the charge of treason.[58]

The news of this atrocious deed roused the king to violent anger. Almost frenzied, he summoned the barons and, declaring that the outrage amounted to injury against himself, he demanded their advice as to the course of action to be adopted. The barons were of one mind that such wickedness should not be passed over. For by that crime the royal authority seemed to be put to naught and undeserved infamy brought upon the good faith and constancy of the Christian profession. Moreover, through this act the church in the Orient seemed likely to lose the increase so pleasing to God that had been already prepared for it.

By consent of all, therefore, two nobles, Seiher de Mamedunc and Godescalous [Godechaux] de Turout, were selected as special messengers to demand from the master of the Templars, Eudes de Saint-Amand, that satisfaction be rendered to the king and the entire realm for this sacrilegious outrage.

It was said that one of the brethren named Walter du Maisnilio [Mesnil], a one-eyed man of evil repute, wholly lacking in discretion, "whose breath is in his nostrils," [59] was the actual perpetrator of the crime, but that it was done with the cognizance of the brethren. It is further said that the master, in his desire to spare this man far beyond his deserts, sent word to the king by a messenger that he had enjoined a penance on the guilty brother and was about to send him to the pope. He forbade anyone, on the part of the pope, to lay violent hands upon the said brother.[60] He added other remarks, dictated by the spirit of overweening arrogance with which he was possessed, but it is unnecessary to record them here.

[58] Lundgreen, who is unable to cite any authority to the contrary, nevertheless scouts this story as another instance of William's prejudice, his desire to accuse them of cupidity. His only evidence is the circumstance that Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had given a generous grant of money to the Templars about this time (*Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, pp. 111–14).

[59] Is. 2:22.

[60] The Templars, like the Hospitallers, had by a series of decrees, especially that of 1154, come under papal protection. As a religious order they could, of course, plead benefit of clergy, as here, to gain immunity from secular jurisdiction. This plea, so long ignored by feudal authorities, had gained great force during the twelfth century. It is interesting to note, however, that even in the Holy Land Amaury gave it only partial respect. The treatment of "criminous clerks" had been one of the chief subjects of the quarrel between Henry II and Thomas à Becket at almost the same period.

The king went himself to Sidon on this matter and found the master with many of the other brethren, including the culprit himself. After consulting with those who had accompanied him thither, the king caused that man guilty of treason to be dragged forcibly from the house and had him sent in chains to Tyre, where he was cast into prison. This outrage against the envoy came near plunging the whole kingdom into irreparable ruin. By declaring his innocence, however, to the master of the Assassins, whose representative had perished in so unfortunate a manner, the king was able to clear his own honor. In dealing with the brethren of the Temple he exercised such moderation that the matter remained in abeyance even to the day of his death. It is said, however, that if he had recovered from that last illness, Amaury had intended to take up the matter with the kings and princes of the earth, through envoys of high degree, when it would have been given most careful consideration.[61]

In the following spring occurred the death of the royal chancellor, the venerable brother Ralph of happy memory, bishop of Bethlehem, a man of liberal and genial nature. He was interred with high honors in the chapel of his church. After his death, the matter of electing his successor came up. While this was under discussion in the same church, difficulties caused by the conflicting views of the electors arose, which were hardly settled until the second year of King Baldwin, the son and successor of King Amaury. Because of this disagreement the church at Bethlehem incurred great expense.

31. *Nureddin dies. The king lays siege to Banyas but finally concludes a truce and withdraws. He is stricken with illness and hastens to Jerusalem, where he dies within a few days.*

In the month of May, scarcely a month after this time, Nureddin, a mighty persecutor of the Christian name and faith, died in the twenty-ninth year of his rule.[62] He was a just prince, valiant and wise, and, according to the traditions of his race, a religious man.

On learning of his death, the king immediately convoked all the

[61] William doubtless had this account of Amaury's intentions directly from the king himself. As archbishop, William resented the independence of the Templars from local ecclesiastical control and probably lent his own hearty assent to such an appeal.

[62] Nureddin's death took place May 15, 1174. His father, Zangi, had been killed September 14, 1146, which renders William's reckoning of the length of his reign a third of a year too long.

strength of the kingdom and laid siege to the city of Banyas. At this, Nureddin's widow, with courage beyond that of most women, sent a message to the king demanding that he abandon the siege and grant them a temporary peace. She promised to pay a large sum of money in return. The king, however, in the hope of extorting a larger bribe, at first pretended to spurn her plea and continued the siege.

For about fifteen days he prosecuted the undertaking with vigor and zeal and caused the foe great trouble with his siege engines and in various other ways. Finally he perceived, however, that the ability of the Turks to resist was steadily increasing and began to realize that he had no chance of success. Meanwhile the envoys of the noble lady kept insistently demanding peace. He finally decided to accept the proffered money, and, on the release of twenty captive Christian knights in addition, he raised the siege with the intention of undertaking greater projects later.

On the way home, he complained to those about him that he was feeling rather ill and was far from being in good condition. He dismissed his forces and went on with his personal retinue to Tiberias, where he began to suffer from a severe attack of dysentery. Fearing the approach of illness, he continued from there on horseback (for his strength was still sufficient for that effort) by way of Nazareth and Nablus to Jerusalem. There he continued to grow worse, and a violent fever came on, although the dysentery yielded to the physician's skill. After suffering intolerably from the fever for several days, he ordered physicians of the Greek, Syrian, and other nations noted for skill in diseases to be called and insisted that they give him some purgative remedy. As they would not consent to this, he had Latin physicians called and made the same request of them, adding that whatever the result might be he would take the responsibility upon himself. They administered medicines which produced the desired result easily and seemed to give him some relief. But before he could take nourishment to strengthen his body which had been weakened by the violent remedy, the usual fever returned, and he yielded to his fate. He died on July 11, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1173, in the twelfth year and fifth month of his reign and in the thirty-eighth year of his life.[63] He was buried by the side of his

[63] It should be July 11, 1174. William is thus in error on the last as well as first year of Amaury's reign. Doubtless this ending is part of the chronological framework

brother among his predecessors of the same line, before the place Calvary. He was a man of wisdom and discretion, fully competent to hold the reins of government in the kingdom. It was due to his urgent entreaties that we determined to write this history concerning the deeds of himself and his predecessors.

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which he constructed, probably in 1182. It is the irony of fate that William should have made more chronological misstatements in the reign of Amaury than in that of any other ruler. The chief cause of these errors was, of course, the fact that he had postponed the work on Amaury's earlier years, before 1167, until he had completed the introductory royal chronicle. The latter task had not been done when Amaury died. The year 1174 is established by the known date of Nureddin's death and William's account of Amaury's activities as a result of it. William seldom errs in his statements of the sequence of related events (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 213).

HERE ENDS THE TWENTIETH BOOK

THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK BEGINS

BALDWIN IV, THE LEPER, FORCED TO ASSUME RULE OF JERUSALEM

1. *Concerning the beginning of the reign of Baldwin IV, the sixth king of Jerusalem; also of his manner of life, his age, and his appearance.*

THE sixth Latin king [1] of Jerusalem was Baldwin IV, son of Amaury, that king of illustrious memory of whom we have just been writing, and the Countess Agnes, daughter of the younger Joscelin, count of Edessa, who has also been frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages. When Amaury was called by hereditary right to ascend the throne of his ancestors, he divorced Agnes, as has been already related. He was led to this act by the coercion of the church, for Amalrich of good memory, at that time patriarch of Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of his predecessor Fulcher, obliged him to put her away. It was claimed, as was indeed true, that the blood relationship between the two was too close. This fact I carefully explained when treating in detail of the reign of King Amaury.[2]

While I was archdeacon of Tyre, King Amaury, anxious about the education of his son, after many entreaties and under assurance of his favor, prevailed upon me to undertake the task of tutor.[3] The boy, then about nine years old, was accordingly committed to my care to be instructed and nurtured in liberal studies. While he was under my charge, I devoted myself to my royal pupil with vigilant care and watched over him with the solicitude befitting his exalted position. I endeavored to train him in the formation of character as well as to instruct him in the knowledge of letters. He was playing one day

[1] This was obviously written before the Prologue, in which William reached the decision to include Godfrey as a king and called Baldwin IV the "seventh" king.

[2] Book XIX, chap. 4.

[3] This request could not have been made before the end of the year 1169, for William was absent in the West during most of that year and Amaury did not return from Egypt until December 25, 1169 (see Book XX, chap. 17). William therefore undertook the education of young Baldwin in 1170, when he was "nine years old," and continued his duties until Baldwin was crowned king four years later when he was "barely thirteen years old." This helps to correct the misstatement of Amaury's death in "1173."

with his companions of noble rank, when they began, as playful boys often do, to pinch each others' arms and hands with their nails. The other boys gave evidence of pain by their outcries, but Baldwin, although his comrades did not spare him, endured it altogether too patiently, as if he felt nothing. After this had occurred several times it was reported to me. At first I supposed that it proceeded from his capacity for endurance and not from lack of sensitiveness. But when I called him and began to inquire what it meant, I discovered that his right arm and hand were partially numb, so that he did not feel pinching or even biting in the least. I began to be uneasy, remembering the words of the wise man, "There is no question that a member which is without feeling detracts greatly from the health of the body, and one who does not realize that he is sick is in danger." [4]

The lad's father was informed of his condition, and physicians were consulted. Repeated fomentations, oil rubs, and even poisonous remedies were employed without result in the attempt to help him. For, as we recognized in process of time, these were the premonitory symptoms of a most serious and incurable disease which later became plainly apparent.

It is impossible to refrain from tears while speaking of this great misfortune. For, as he began to reach years of maturity, it was evident that he was suffering from the terrible disease of leprosy. Day by day his condition became worse. The extremities and the face were especially attacked, so that his faithful followers were moved with compassion when they looked at him. Nevertheless, he continued to make progress in the pursuit of letters and gave ever-increasing promise of developing a lovable disposition. He was comely of appearance for his age, and far beyond the custom of his forefathers he was an excellent horseman and understood the handling of horses. He had a retentive memory and loved to talk. He was economical but always remembered both favors and injuries. In every respect he resembled his father, not alone in face but in his entire mien; even his walk and the tones of his voice were the same. His intellect was keen, but his speech was somwhat halting. Like his father he eagerly listened to history and was well disposed to follow good advice.[5]

[4] This phrase reflects Hippocrates *Aphorism* VI. 2.

[5] William could speak with authority on this point, for he was himself one of the advisors.

2. *Concerning the time of his consecration and coronation.*

At the time of his father's death he was barely thirteen years old. An older sister named Sibylla, born of the same mother, had been brought up in the convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany by the Lady Iveta, her father's maternal aunt, who was the abbess of the place.

On the death of King Amaury, the nobles of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular, met in assembly, and the wishes of all were found to be in perfect harmony. Accordingly, on July 15, the fourth day after the death of his father, Baldwin was solemnly consecrated and crowned, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord. The rites were solemnized by Amalrich, patriarch of Jerusalem of good memory, assisted by the archbishops and other prelates of the church.

At this time Pope Alexander III was head of the holy Roman church. Aimery was the patriarch of the holy church at Antioch, and Amalrich was patriarch of Jerusalem. Frederick was archbishop of Tyre. At Constantinople, Emperor Manuel of great renown and pious memory ruled. Frederick was the emperor of the Romans, and Louis king of the Franks. In England, Henry, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, was reigning, and in Sicily, William II, son of William the Elder. Bohemond, son of Prince Raymond, was governing Antioch; and the younger Raymond, son of the elder Count Raymond, ruled over Tripoli.

3. *In the first year of the reign of Baldwin IV a fleet sent by the king of Sicily suffers an enormous loss before Alexandria. The count of Tripoli, as next of kin, demands the regency of the kingdom and the guardianship of the king.*

During the first year of this king's reign, about the beginning of August,[6] King William of Sicily sent a fleet of two hundred ships to attack Alexandria. With a splendid force of both cavalry and infantry, it sailed down to Egypt. During the stay of five or six days made before that city, through the lack of caution displayed by the gover-

[6] Chalandon has dated this attack on Alexandria as July 28–August 1, 1174. This expedition had resulted from Amaury's call for aid upon the West and failed to receive the expected support by land because of Amaury's death (see F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 396).

nors and leaders, both the infantry and cavalry forces sustained great losses by death and capture and were finally obliged to retire in confusion.

In our kingdom the affairs of the realm were in the charge of Milon de Plancy. A serious enmity now arose between this noble and some of the barons of the realm. They were jealous of his power and could not brook the fact that they were ignored and never summoned, while he alone, with overweening presumption and scorn of others, was always at the side of the king ready to assist him. Meanwhile, the rest were shut out from personal contact with the king, and Milon conducted the affairs of state without consulting them.

About this time, the count of Tripoli came to the king and, in the presence of the barons who chanced to be there, demanded the regency of the realm. He asserted that by the right of next of kin the legal guardianship of the king, who was still a minor, was due to him. And this office, he said, belonged to him for more than one reason: not only because he was the nearest of Baldwin's blood relations, but also because he was the richest and most powerful of all the loyal subjects of the king.[7] He added as a third very cogent reason, "that when he himself was taken captive, from prison itself he had ordered his faithful people, under their pledge of loyalty, to surrender all his lands, strongholds, and castles to King Amaury, the father of this boy, and to place everything under his orders and sovereign care." Furthermore he had added as a final direction that if it should be his fate as a man to end his life in prison, he constituted the aforesaid king his sole heir, as next of kin. In recognition of all these favors, he asked that this return be made to him, rather on account of the honor than through any hope of future advantage. A response to these demands of the count was deferred on the ground that the king had about him at the time only a few of the barons of the realm whom he might consult. At an opportune time as quickly and as generally as possible they should be summoned and consulted, when, by the help of God, fitting response on all these matters would be given. On receiving this reply, the count returned to his own land. Practically all the people favored the cause of the count. Among the barons, Humphrey of Toron, the royal constable, Baldwin of Ramlah,

[7] These statements are amplified in chapter 5. Of interest here is William's apparent implication that Tripoli was a vassal state of the king of Jerusalem.

Balian, his brother, Renaud of Sidon, and all the bishops were his partisans.

4. *Milon de Plancy is killed at Acre. Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, dies.*

This Milon de Plancy of whom we have been speaking was a nobleman of Champagne beyond the mountains, from the land of Henry, count of Troyes. He had been on very intimate terms with King Amaury, his kinsman, who made him the seneschal of his kingdom. On the death of the younger Humphrey, son of Humphrey of Toron, Stephanie, his widow, the daughter of Philip of Nablus, was given by Amaury to Milon as his wife. By virtue of his wife, Milon was lord of Syria Sobal, that is, of the region beyond the Jordan which is generally called Montreal. By her former husband, however, Stephanie had two children, a son and a daughter.

Milon, as has been said, presumed on the close friendship which he had enjoyed with the father of the present king and scorned the barons of the realm, even those greater than himself. In character he was far from discreet, a proud and even arrogant man, lavish of high-sounding phrases and filled with a spirit of excessive presumption. With a view to lessening the jealousy of the others in some way, he made use of a subterfuge only too apparent. He suborned a certain Rohard, guardian of the citadel at Jerusalem, a very ordinary man and utterly inefficient. Milon pretended to obey the orders of this man as if he himself were under his direction. In reality it was quite the contrary; the one bore a title splendid rather than substantial, while the other, under that guise, carried on the affairs of the realm just as he liked. Though conducting himself carelessly and talking imprudently, he brought under his own direction the affairs of the kingdom in spite of the others. He arranged all matters and dispensed all favors according to his wish, thereby rousing intense hatred against himself. At length matters came to such a pass that certain men were secretly incited to plot against his life.

When this was reported to him, he made light of it and continued to conduct himself as usual without taking proper precautions. One day while staying at the city of Acre, he was stabbed on the public street just at dusk and died after suffering ignominious and shameful treatment. The sentiment among the people concerning his death was

varied. Some said that he had been murdered because of the devoted loyalty which he had showed toward the king. Others, on the contrary, claimed that he was secretly taking steps to seize the royal power. It was said that he had sent messengers to his friends and acquaintances in France, urging them to hasten to him, that by their help he might be enabled to lay hold on the kingdom. I have not ascertained definitely whether either of these views is correct. It is well known, however, that Balian of Jaffa, the brother of the Rohard mentioned above, had been sent to the lands across the sea with royal dispatches and gifts and that his return was daily awaited.

About this time, in fact on the thirtieth of this same month of October, Frederick,[8] archbishop of Tyre, our predecessor, a man of very noble rank according to the flesh, died at Nablus, where he had been detained for some time by a serious illness. His body was borne with fitting obsequies and honors to Jerusalem and buried in the chapel of the Temple of the Lord, of which church he had been a regular canon.

5. *The count of Tripoli is described; the ancestors from whom he descended; and how he undertook the regency. The writer of this history is made royal chancellor.*

About this same time, also, the barons of the realm and the prelates of the church having convened and the king also being at Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli returned to receive the answer to the petition which he had presented in regard to the regency. Again he repeated his demand and pressed the same claims. After a deliberation lasting for two successive days, the king finally agreed, with the consent of all; and amid the loud acclamations of the people the count was invested in the chapel of the Sepulchre of the Lord with the entire government and powers of the realm, second only to that of the king. Since the count's name is thus brought into prominence in the recapitulation of the events which we are presenting, this seems a fitting time to record for the benefit of posterity the facts that we have learned with certainty about him; not that we propose to write a panegyric, but as far as the necessarily limited compass of a brief history permits, we shall state who he was and of what lineage.

Count Raymond, the subject of our discussion, traced his descent

[8] October 30, 1174.

according to the flesh to that elder Raymond who was an important leader in that army of the Lord by whose zealous work and labors the kingdom of the East was restored to the service of Christ. These facts were carefully recorded when we were treating of those first chiefs who came with the first expedition. This elder Count Raymond, of precious memory, had a son Bertram, who after his father's death and the assassination of William Jordan, the latter's nephew, became count of Tripoli. Bertram had a son Pons, who, on his father's death, succeeded to the rule by hereditary right. He married Cecilia, the widow of Tancred and daughter of Philip, king of France, and by her had a son Raymond, who succeeded him in the government of Tripoli. Raymond married Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, who became the mother of this Raymond now under discussion. The latter succeeded his father as count of Tripoli when the elder Raymond was killed at the city gate of Tripoli in a sudden attack by the Assassins. On the mother's side, therefore, this count was the cousin of King Amaury and King Baldwin, for they were the sons of two sisters. On the father's side he was of lesser degree; his grandmother on his father's side, the Cecilia just mentioned, was the sister of King Fulk, the father of kings Baldwin and Amaury, having the same mother, but not the same father. For the mother of both, who was the sister of Amaury de Montfort, had first been the wife of the elder Fulk, count of Anjou. After the birth of the younger Fulk, she left her husband and fled to Philip, king of the Franks, by whom she had this Cecilia and several other sons. Philip, infatuated with the Countess [Bertrada], had, contrary to the law of the church, driven out the queen, his legitimate wife by whom he already had two children, Louis and Constance. Thus the count and the two kings mentioned were closely connected on both sides.

The count was a man of slender build, extremely spare, of medium height and swarthy complexion. His hair was straight and rather dark in color. He had piercing eyes and carried his shoulders very erect. He was prompt and vigorous in action, gifted with equanimity and foresight, and temperate in his use of both food and drink, far more than the average man. He showed munificence toward strangers, but toward his own people he was not so lavish. He was fairly well-lettered, an accomplishment which he had acquired while a prisoner among the enemy, at the expense of much effort, aided greatly, how-

ever, by his natural keenness of mind.[9] Like King Amaury, he eagerly sought the knowledge contained in written works. He was indefatigable in asking questions if there happened to be anyone present who in his opinion was capable of answering.

The same year that he entered upon the administration of the kingdom he married Eschiva, a very wealthy woman, widow of Walter, prince of Galilee, by whom she had many children. For some unknown reason, however, after her marriage with the count she had no more. But he is said to have loved her and her children as tenderly as though she had borne them all to him.

Now, after this short digression, let us return to the main account.

During the preceding summer,[10] Ralph of precious memory, bishop of Bethlehem and chancellor of the kingdom, had departed from the light of this world. In order that there might be someone in charge of the royal correspondence, the king, by the advice of his barons, appointed me to that office and invested me with the dignity of chancellor.

6. *At the request of the people of Damascus, Saladin takes possession of that city and the other parts of that region. The count of Tripoli marches against him to oppose his plans.*

DURING the course of that same year, Saladin, son of Najm al-Din, who had succeeded his uncle Shirkuh, his father's brother, over the kingdom of Egypt, was secretly summoned by the important men of Damascus. Their legitimate lord, Melehe Salah [al-Malik al-Salah], son of Nureddin, who had not yet reached the age of maturity, had his residence at Aleppo. Saladin committed the care of Egypt to one of his brothers named Seifedin [Sayf al-Din] and, hastening through the desert wastes of Syria, arrived at Damascus to take possession of the kingdom. A few days later, after receiving the city at the hands of the citizens, he advanced to Coelesyria where he hoped to bring all

[9] This statement seems to contradict the earlier one about his captivity, in which he was represented as in chains and confinement. Raymond was generally regarded by Muslim historians of the period as a man of very keen intellect, the ablest of the Christian leaders at this time.

[10] Ralph's last extant signature as chancellor is on a document of April 18, 1174 (R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 514), William's first is on a document of December 13, 1174 (*R. Reg.*, no. 518). Earlier (Book XX, chaps. 30 and 31) William implied that the death of Ralph had occurred in April, about a month before the death of Nureddin.

the cities of that land under his rule without war. Nor did this hope prove false, for within a short time the inhabitants of those places surrendered and voluntarily unbarred their gates to him. Thus, contrary to the loyalty he owed to his lord and master, Saladin took over all the cities of that province: namely, Heliopolis, so called in the Greek tongue and now known as Malbec or, in Arabic, Baalbeth [Baalbec]; Hims, commonly called Camela; Hama; and Shayzar, usually called Caesarea the Great. He took it for granted that Aleppo and the young lord would pass into his power through the work of certain traitors, but that was prevented by an accident.

This, then, was the situation in that part of the country. Meanwhile the king had taken advice as to the necessary action in so sudden a crisis when other important changes were impending. After a long conference with the nobles, it was finally decided with the approval of all that the count, with an army drawn from the forces of both the kingdom and the county of Tripoli, should march as quickly as possible toward Coelesyria and use every effort to oppose Saladin's advance. This was a wise procedure, for any increase of Saladin's power was cause for suspicion in our eyes and whatever augmented his authority seemed wholly injurious to the good of the kingdom. For he was a man wise in counsel, valiant in war, and generous beyond measure. All the more, for this very reason, he was distrusted by those of our nobles who had keener foresight. Even in our day there is no better means by which princes can win the hearts of their subjects, or, for that matter, of others, than by showing lavish bounty toward them; and nothing more readily attracts the minds of strangers, especially when it proceeds from princes. So our chief men had great reason to fear that when Saladin had doubled his possessions and had increased his empire twofold he would by this strength rise against the kingdom with greater force and harass us more violently than ever. In spite of all our efforts, however, all attempts to restrain him have been in vain, and today,[11] with tearful eyes, we see that our apprehensions have been realized. For so powerfully has he risen against us by land and by sea that if the Dayspring from on high had not mercifully visited us, we should have no hope of resisting.

It seemed wiser to lend aid to the boy king who was not yet of age, not that some show of kindness might be displayed toward him for his

[11] This was probably not written earlier than 1182, in the latter part of the year.

own sake, but to encourage him as an adversary against our distrusted rival, Saladin, that the latter's plans might be hindered and his attacks against the kingdom rendered less effective.

7. *Why the enemy became more powerful against the Christians.*

At this point I must digress somewhat from the course of my story, not to wander about aimlessly, but to bring out something of value. The question is often asked, and quite justly, why it was that our fathers, though less in number, so often bravely withstood in battle the far larger forces of the enemy and that often by divine grace a small force destroyed the multitudes of the enemy, with the result that the very name of Christian became a terror to nations ignorant of God, and thus the Lord was glorified in the works of our fathers. In contrast to this, the men of our times too often have been conquered by inferior forces; in fact, when with superior numbers they have attempted some exploit against adversaries less strong, their efforts have been fruitless and they have usually been forced to succumb.

The first reason that presents itself, as we carefully and thoughtfully study this condition of our times, looking for aid to God, the author of all things, is that our forefathers were religious men and feared God. Now in their places a wicked generation has grown up, sinful sons, falsifiers of the Christian faith, who run the course of all unlawful things without discrimination. They are such as, or even worse than, those who said to their Lord, "Depart from us; for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways." [12] From such, because of their sins, the Lord justly withdraws His favor, as if provoked to wrath. Such are the men of the present age, especially those dwelling in the East. One who would undertake with careful pen to portray their morals, or rather their monstrous vices, would succumb under the vast amount of material; in short, he would seem to be writing satire rather than compiling history.[13]

A second reason occurs to us in passing. In earlier times, those first revered men who came to the lands of the East led by divine zeal and aflame with spiritual enthusiasm for the faith were accustomed

[12] Job 21 : 14.

[13] This reflects William's familiarity with the classical writers, Juvenal and perhaps other satirists. The general indictment of the morals of his contemporaries may be more accurate than the usual discount of a churchman's views would indicate.

to military discipline; they were trained in battle and familiar with the use of weapons.[14] The people of the East, on the contrary, through long-continued peace, had become enervated; they were unused to the art of war, unfamiliar with the rules of battle, and gloried in their state of inactivity. Therefore it is not strange that men of war, even though few in number, easily held their own even against larger numbers and could boast of their superiority in carrying off the palm of victory. For in such matters (as those who have had more experience in war know better than I), facility in arms due to long and continual practice, when opposed to untrained strength and lack of persistence, generally wins.

A third reason, no less important and effective, forces itself upon my attention. In former times almost every city had its own ruler. To speak after the manner of Aristotle, they were not dependent on one another; they were rarely actuated by the same motives but, in fact, very often by those directly opposite. To contend in battle against adversaries of widely differing and frequently conflicting ideas, adversaries who distrusted each other, involved less peril. Those who feared their own allies not less than the Christians could not or would not readily unite to repulse the common danger or arm themselves for our destruction. But now, since God has so willed it, all the kingdoms adjacent to us have been brought under the power of one man. Within quite recent times, Zangi, a monster who abhorred the name of Christian as he would a pestilence, the father of this Nureddin who has lately died, first conquered many other kingdoms by force and then laid violent hands on Rages, also called Edessa, which even within our memory was the splendid and notable metropolis of the Medes. He took this city with all its territories and put to death all faithful believers found within its borders.

Then his son, Nureddin, drove the king of Damascus from his own land, more through the treachery of the latter's subjects than by any real valor, seized that realm for himself, and added it to his paternal heritage. Still more recently, the same Nureddin, with the assiduous aid of Shirkuh, seized the ancient and wealthy kingdom of Egypt as his own, in the manner already related more fully when the reign of King Amaury was under discussion.

[14] Their training in the use of arms was more pronounced than their discipline in the ordinary military sense.

Thus, as has been said, all the kingdoms round about us obey one ruler, they do the will of one man, and at his command alone, however reluctantly, they are ready, as a unit, to take up arms for our injury. Not one among them is free to indulge any inclination of his own or may with impunity disregard the commands of his overlord. This Saladin, whom we have had occasion to mention so frequently, a man of humble antecedents and lowly station, now holds under his control all these kingdoms, for fortune has smiled too graciously upon him. From Egypt and the countries adjacent to it, he draws an inestimable supply of the purest gold of the first quality known as *obryzum*.[15] Other provinces furnish him numberless companies of horsemen and fighters, men thirsty for gold, since it is an easy matter for those possessing a plenteous supply of this commodity to draw men to them. But let us resume our story.[16]

It seemed desirable in the opinion of all present, as we have said, that every possible effort be made to oppose this magnificent man in his swift progress through successive triumphs to the highest pinnacle of his ambition. It was the general feeling that, as he became more and more powerful, he might prove to be a most formidable adversary to us. Accordingly, the count assembled forces from all about and, accompanied by the barons of the realm, hurried to the land of Tripoli. There he took up a position in that part of the district known as the land of Galifa and established his camp near the city of Arka.

8. *The lord of Mosul hastens to the aid of his nephew. Saladin prevails over him and seizes the whole region. The count makes a treaty with him. He receives hostages.*

WHILE these things were happening in our midst, the uncle of Nureddin's son, a very great prince named Cotabedi [Qutb al-Din], one of the most powerful among the Orientals of the Parthian race, had learned of his brother's death and all the circumstances following it. Now Saladin, in defiance of the laws of humanity, wholly regardless of his lowly condition, and ungrateful for the benefits that had been showered upon him by the father of that boy king, had risen against his rightful lord. Gathering a great force of cavalry in which

[15] *Obryzum* is one of the few late Latin terms used by William.

[16] Any comparison of this analysis of the causes for the change in the relations of Latin crusaders and their Muslim foe between the First and Third crusades with that of modern historians reveals William's remarkable ability as an historian.

he was said to be very strong, Qutb al-Din crossed the Euphrates and marched against the traitors to bear aid to his nephew.

This great prince was the lord of that very ancient and famous city of Nineveh, which is said long ago to have repented in sackcloth and ashes at the warning of the prophet Jonah. Not far from that more ancient city a new one under the altered name of Mosul has arisen. Built from the remains of ancient Nineveh, it houses the descendants of that former city and retains the honorable distinction of being the metropolis of all Assyria. On his arrival, the prince placed his camp in the plain around Aleppo.

During this time Saladin was by no means idle. He had laid siege to Bostrum, the most important city of Arabia Prima, and also to Heliopolis, now usually called Malbec, both of which the citizens surrendered voluntarily without battle. He then laid siege to Hims, known also as Camela.

Without the slightest delay, the citizens surrendered the lower part of this city, for those who remained faithful to the young king had retired to the citadel. This was situated upon a somewhat elevated hill and had been previously stoutly fortified and well furnished with arms and provisions. Saladin had also received at the hands of their citizens the surrender of some other cities in the vicinity of this province, namely, Hama, Shayzar, and all the country as far as Aleppo itself.

Meanwhile, the refugees in the citadel of Hims had dispatched messengers to the count of Tripoli and to our forces who had encamped in the place named above and were waiting in the hope that in so great a disturbance one side or the other would call them under the desired conditions. These envoys were instructed to beg them to come without delay and to promise that any aid which they might render against such a pestilential enemy should not lack a fitting reward.

Furthermore, it was in this same fortress that the hostages were held whom the count had given to Nureddin, father of the young king, in exchange for his own release from captivity and as guarantee for a sum amounting to at least sixty thousand pieces of gold. Certain hostages given by Renaud of Sidon for the restoration of his brother Eustace were also held there.

Stimulated by the hope of effecting some arrangement whereby

they might obtain the release of these prisoners from the commander of the citadel where they were confined, in return for the prospect of assistance, the Christians hastened thither as speedily as possible with all their forces. They discovered, however, that no reliance could be placed upon the words of the infidels, for the latter had some hope that through the efforts of the above-named prince the siege might be raised. After carefully considering the matter from various angles for a long time, the Christians at length returned to the camp which they had left shortly before.

The fact that the Christians had retired as if in anger increased Saladin's arrogance, and placing too much importance on their withdrawal, he began to approach Aleppo. There, by a series of repeated attacks, he harassed the chiefs' forces greatly and tried to provoke them to combat. Finally, after many such challenges the forces met in a fierce and desperately contested battle at close quarters in which the tide of battle finally turned in favor of Saladin, and the Ninevites were forced to give way. It is said that they were betrayed by some of their own people who had been bribed by large sums of money. Saladin now returned to Hims and seized the citadel just as he had previously taken the city.

From Hims he sent a message to the Christians requesting the count not to interfere with his victorious progress but to permit him to contend alone with the son of Nureddin and the others who had come to his aid. Lest this proposition be rejected with scorn as without due recompense, he offered to release without payment the count's own hostages and those of Renaud. The count agreed to this proposal; the hostages were returned as agreed upon in the pact; and the rest of the nobles who had taken part in this expedition were dismissed with fitting munificence. The camp was then abandoned and all returned home.

Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, is said to have been the mediator in these negotiations, and he was accused of having been too closely associated in the bonds of friendship with Saladin. His action was decidedly detrimental to our interests, for thus this prince who should have been resisted to the utmost, lest his insolence toward us increase with his power, won our good will, and he whose ever-increasing strength was to the disadvantage of the Christians dared to count upon us.

Thereupon, the forces which had left the kingdom about the first of January returned home again about the first of May.[17]

9. *Mainard, bishop of Beirut, dies. The author of this history is raised to the dignity of metropolitan of Tyre.*

About this time, on April 25, Mainard of happy memory, bishop of Beirut, died at Tyre after a lingering illness of some duration. May his soul rest in peace!

The church at Tyre had now been without a head for seven successive months. In this same month,[18] however, by the unanimous wish of the clergy and people, the king also, as is customary, confirming it, I was called, through the long-suffering of God rather than by any merit of my own, to undertake the charge of that church. Ten days later, on June 8, by the will of God, I, though all unworthy, received the gift of consecration in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord at the hands of Amalrich, patriarch of Jerusalem.

10. *The king invades the land of the Damascenes and ravages the country. Hernesius, archbishop of Caesarea, dies.*

About this same time, while Saladin was busily engaged in the vicinity of Aleppo, news reached the king that the land of Damascus, without an army and without a leader, lay exposed to pillage, an easy prey to any damage which by right of war an enemy might inflict upon it. On receiving this information, Baldwin gathered a force of cavalry and crossed the Jordan. He passed through the forest near the city of Banyas, from which it derives its name, and, with the famous range of Lebanon on his left, arrived in the plain of Damascus. It was the time of harvest. Our forces dispersed over the plains and roamed freely in every direction. The growing crops and the stacks standing in the fields as well as the harvests already stored away in barns were consigned to the flames. The farmers themselves, however, forewarned of our coming, had retreated with their wives and little ones to places more strongly fortified. Consequently our forces,

[17] January to May, 1175.

[18] Hardly the "same" month, though justified in the Latin reckoning, which counts the last half of the month in terms of the Kalends of the next month. He does not reckon the date of his own election, about May 30, in the same manner, however. William thus became archbishop of Tyre on June 8, 1175.

having the whole region at their command, proceeded as far as Daria. This is a village of the plain in the neighborhood of Damascus, about four miles away from that city. From there they went on to Bedegene, which lies at the foot of Mt. Lebanon; the clear waters flowing from those heights have given the place the name of the house of Pleasure. This place they took by force in spite of the brave resistance of its people. Then they departed, carrying off with them rich booty and plunder before the very eyes of the helpless Damascenes and, after several days, arrived at home safe and sound.

About this same time, Hernesius of good memory, archbishop of Caesarea, died. Heraclius, archdeacon of Jerusalem, was chosen as his successor and duly consecrated.

11. *The king again invades the territory of the enemy and lays waste a valley called Baccar. Renaud de Châtillon and Joscelin, the king's uncle, are released from the chains of the enemy.*

In the second year of the reign of King Baldwin IV, on the first day of the month of August,[19] while Saladin was still engaged before Aleppo, the king summoned the chief men of the kingdom, assembled his cavalry, and again invaded the territory of the enemy. After passing through the land of Sidon, he went up into the mountains which lie between our land and that of the enemy and came to Messaara, a place blessed with fertile soil and well watered by springs, in fact, seemingly supplied with almost every temporal good. From there he again descended into a valley called Baccar, where he found the land flowing with milk and honey, as we read in the Scriptures. Some think that this is the region which in ancient times was called Ituraea, of which, as we are told in the Gospel of Luke, Philip, son of Herod the Elder, was tetrarch, as he was also of the land of the Traconites. In still more remote time, perhaps during the days of the kings of Israel, it was called the forest of Lebanon because the valley extended to the foot of Mt. Lebanon. This region is highly desirable on account of its fertile soil, its healthful waters, the numerous population of its many hamlets, and its agreeable climate. In the lower part of

[19] This is one of William's most precise dates and indicates his normal intention to begin the regnal year from the day of accession. At this day Baldwin's second year is about two weeks old. The events are clearly of 1175 and offer additional correction.

this valley is shown a city even today surrounded by strong walls, the buildings of which, under the modern name of Amegara, give many evidences of its early grandeur.

Some students of antiquity think that this is Palmyra, once a noble colony of Phoenicia, which Ulpian of Tyre mentions in the new *Digest* under the chapter "De censibus." [20]

As soon as our forces reached this place, they began to overrun the whole region without hindrance and set fire to everything. No one prevented them, for the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, whither no road that was passable for the troops led. Forewarned of our approach, they had driven the greater part of their flocks and herds to the marshy meadows in the middle of the valley where the pasturage was very luxuriant.

Meanwhile, the count of Tripoli, having passed through the plain of Jubail near the castle called Monethera, as had been arranged, suddenly advanced with his men into the vicinity of Heliopolis in the same valley, where he was reported to be burning everything. At this news, our people eagerly hastened in that direction, and as the count was no less desirous of meeting us, the two armies joined forces nearly in the middle of the valley.

Semsedolus [Shams al-Dula], the brother of Saladin, was residing as governor at Damascus. As soon as news of this movement reached him, he at once assembled his forces and with the assistance of the townspeople made an effort to resist. He drew up his lines in battle array and prepared to march against us. Our forces likewise arranged their battalions in good order and came on with valiant spirit to the encounter. Both sides fought manfully. Many were killed, more wounded, and great numbers taken prisoners. At last, however, by the help of God, the enemy was put to flight. Shams al-Dula escaped with a few followers and fled to the steep hilly country. But the Christians went back laden with the spoils of the enemy, with herds of cattle and a vast amount of plunder. The victors suffered the loss of a few men who, though unfamiliar with the roads, had imprudently ventured into the marshes to pillage and did not know of the sudden withdrawal of the Christian forces.

Thus the king and his men by the will of God returned in entire safety to Tyre. With them they brought rich possessions of every

[20] *Corpus juris civilis, Digest* L. XV. I. 5.

kind, including herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, as notable proofs of their victorious prowess.

The count of Tripoli, also richly laden with immense booty, joyfully led his troops back to his own domains by the same road along which he had come.

During that same year,[21] Renaud de Châtillon, who by espousing Constance, the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, had succeeded to that principality, was restored to freedom. After many years of hard captivity at Aleppo, he obtained his release when a large ransom was paid by his friends. With him was Joscelin, son of Count Joscelin of Edessa and uncle of the king, who through the persistent efforts of his sister, the Countess Agnes, wife of Renaud of Sidon and mother of the king, was rescued from prison and restored to liberty.

In that same year, on the second day of the month of May, Odo, bishop-elect of Sidon, who had been precentor of the church at Tyre, and Raymond, bishop-elect of Beirut, received through our ministry the gift of consecration in the church at Tyre.

12. *The emperor of Constantinople is defeated ignominiously at Iconium.*

ABOUT this same time also Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, of illustrious memory and loving remembrance in Christ, whose favors and most liberal munificence nearly everyone had experienced, met with a serious disaster in Iconium. With praiseworthy piety he was endeavoring to extend the Christian name by fighting against the monstrous race of the Turks and their wicked leader, the sultan of Iconium. But, because of our sins, he suffered there a great massacre. This involved not only his own personal following but also the imperial forces which he was leading with him in numbers so vast as almost to exceed human imagination. This engagement was attended by an enormous loss of men, among whom were some illustrious kinsmen of his own, well worthy of special mention. In the number was his nephew, John the *protosebastos,* his brother's son, a man of distinguished liberality and noteworthy munificence, whose daughter Maria King Amaury had married. While making a vigorous resistance

[21] Presumably the regnal year is meant, July 15, 1175–July 14, 1176, so that the release probably occurred in 1176 as did the consecration of the two bishops which is mentioned next.

against the foe he fell, pierced with many wounds. The emperor himself succeeded in rallying most of his army and reached his own land, safe in body but almost overwhelmed in mind by the unfortunate disaster. This tragedy is said to have been due rather to the imprudence of the imperial officers in charge of the battalions than to the strength of the foe. For, although there were broad and open roads well adapted for the passage of the army and for transporting the mass of baggage and impedimenta of all kinds, which is said to have been beyond estimating, they incautiously entrusted themselves headlong to dangerous narrow places which had been already seized by the enemy. Under such circumstances it was impossible to offer resistance, nor was there any opportunity to turn the tables against the enemy. From that day the emperor is said to have borne, ever deeply impressed upon his heart, the memory of that fatal disaster. Never thereafter did he exhibit the gaiety of spirit which had been so characteristic of him or show himself joyful before his people, no matter how much they entreated him. Never, as long as he lived, did he enjoy the good health which before that time he had possessed in so remarkable a degree. In short, the ever-present memory of that defeat so oppressed him that never again did he enjoy peace of mind or his usual tranquillity of spirit.[22]

13. *William the Younger, marquis of Montferrat, arrives in Syria and marries the king's sister.*

In the third year of King Baldwin IV, about the beginning of October, Marquis[23] William, surnamed Long Sword, son of the elder William, marquis of Monferrat, arrived at the port of Sidon by invitation of the king and all the barons of the realm, both ecclesiastical and secular. Within forty days after his arrival, he was given the king's elder sister as wife. This marriage had been arranged the year before at the time when William was invited to come for this purpose and had been confirmed by the hand of the king and all the barons, under solemn oath. With his wife, William received the maritime cities of Jaffa and Ascalon with their appurtenances and the entire county also, as

[22] This was the famous disaster of Myrokephalion, 1176 (see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 507 ff.).

[23] This title never really descended to William Long Sword, for he died before his father. Our historian, however, applies it no doubt as a title of courtesy. The arrival of William Long Sword is here dated October, 1176.

had been agreed upon at that time. Some, however, were opposed to this measure and did not hesitate to express themselves openly. They had been among those who, without giving the matter adequate consideration, had approved of the invitation to William. Now, as is characteristic of changeable and inconstant natures, they changed their views.

The marquis was a rather tall, good-looking young man with blond hair. He was exceedingly irascible but very generous and of an open disposition and manly courage. He never concealed any purpose but showed frankly just what he thought in his own mind. He was fond of eating and altogether too devoted to drinking, although not to such an extent as to injure his mind. He had been trained in arms from his earliest youth and had the reputation of being experienced in the art of war. His worldly position was exalted—in fact, few if any could claim to be his equals. His father was the uncle of King Louis of France, the brother of the king's mother. His mother had been the sister of Conrad, the illustrious emperor of the Romans, and aunt of Frederick who now, since the death of Lord Conrad of distinguished memory, his paternal uncle, vigorously administers the Roman empire. Thus the marquis was connected with these two illustrious monarchs by the same degree of relationship.

Barely three months after his marriage he was seized with a serious illness. For about two months he suffered without intermission, and in the following June, at the time when the king likewise was very ill at Ascalon, he died, leaving his wife pregnant. His body was borne to Jerusalem and buried with great magnificence in the vestibule of the church of the house of the Hospital to the left of the entrance, the present writer officiating.[24]

About that time, Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, married the Lady Philippa. She was the daughter of Prince Raymond of Antioch and sister of Bohemond III, who now governs this principality, and of Maria, empress of Constantinople. Philippa had first married Andronicus, a kinsman of the emperor, but he put her away

[24] The writer's modesty almost causes the reader to overlook the importance of the statement. The funeral of the king's brother-in-law and intended successor was an event of major importance at which the head of the church, the patriarch, would normally preside. The choice of William to act for him, presumably because he was old and ill at the time, carried with it some possibility of succession in the event of the patriarch's death.

and clandestinely carried off Theodora, the widow of King Baldwin and his own niece, an act both shameless and unchaste.[25] This Humphrey, of whom we have just been speaking, had no sooner led Philippa home than he began to be desperately ill; his wife too was seized with a grave malady and died within a few days.

14. *The count of Flanders, whose coming had been long awaited, arrives in the kingdom.*

IN the fourth year and the second month of the reign of King Baldwin IV, about the first of August, Philip, count of Flanders, whose arrival had been expected for a long time, landed at Acre.[26] The king, although still ill, caused himself to be carried in a litter from Ascalon to Jerusalem. Greatly delighted, he sent some of his barons and ecclesiastical nobles to welcome Philip with due ceremony. On the count's arrival at Jerusalem, where the king was still lying seriously ill, by the unanimous advice of the lord patriarch, the archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, the masters of the Hospital and the Temple, and all the chief laity, Philip was offered the power and the general administration of the entire kingdom without restraint. In peace and in war, both without and within, he was to have full jurisdiction over the greater and the less and to exercise his will freely over the treasure and revenues of the kingdom.[27]

After conferring with his followers, the count responded that he had not come for the purpose of receiving any power, but to devote himself to the divine service which was the object of his visit. Nor was it his plan to commit himself to any responsibility; on the contrary, he wished to be free to return to his own land when his personal affairs recalled him. Let the king appoint anyone he chose as governor in his realm, and he himself would obey that one for the good of the kingdom, as he would his own lord, the king of France.

[25] See Book XX, note 4. Philippa represents one of the earlier and passing affairs of Andronicus.

[26] William's chronology is still precise, his statement being equivalent to August 2, 1177, thus further correcting the error of 1173 as the year of Amaury's death and Baldwin's accession.

[27] It may be of some interest to note that the terminology here employed is reminiscent of the forms used by the Roman emperors in conferring powers upon their procurators. The legists of the twelfth century appear to have combined formulae from the *Code* and the *Digest;* it is probable that William drew from them (cf. *Corpus juris civilis, Code* II. xii. 10; *Digest* I. xix. 1; III. iii. 1. 58; XV. i. 7. 1).

Perceiving that he utterly refused the honor which we had offered him, the king, through his barons, again earnestly requested that he at least consent to take command of all the Christian forces on the campaign about to be undertaken. This expedition had been arranged with the emperor of Constantinople long before, and the king now besought him to take care of the battles of the Lord against the Egyptians. To this request the count gave the same answer as before.

Thereupon the king constituted Renaud, formerly the prince of Antioch, regent of the realm and commander in chief of the army, as had been arranged before the count arrived. Renaud was a man of proved loyalty and remarkable steadfastness. On him was to rest the duty, if the king was unable to appear in person, of directing the affairs of the kingdom and ruling over all things, with the assistance, however, of the count.

When this was reported to the count, he answered that such a procurator did not seem to him necessary. On the contrary, someone should be appointed who would personally receive the glory of this war, if so it should please the Lord, or the disgrace of defeat, if God should thus ordain. To such a leader, also, should be given the kingdom of Egypt, if the Lord should bring that under our sway.

To this we who had been sent by the king made answer that the king could not appoint an official with such powers without making the same a king, which was not the idea of the king nor of ourselves. This being the situation, the count at last revealed the secret thought of his mind and did not try to conceal to what end all his plans were directed. He remarked that it was strange that no one had approached him on the subject of the marriage of his kinswoman [Sibylla].

As we listened to these words, we were amazed at the subtlety of the man and his evil designs. For the count who had been so courteously received by the king was now, in defiance of the laws of hospitality and the claims of kindred, attempting to supplant him.

15. *The followers of the count influence him falsely and persuade him not to acquiesce in the views of the barons of the realm.*

IT is necessary to digress a little at this point, that our readers may understand more fully the wicked plan which the count was endeavoring to carry through. Our information on this subject has been ob-

tained not only from many individual accounts but also from his own confession.

A certain man of great influence, the advocate of Bethune, had accompanied the count on his pilgrimage and had brought with him his two sons, who were already grown men. It is said that the advocate, with the help of Count William de Mandeville, who was also on this same pilgrimage, began to influence Philip to believe that he could turn the situation of the kingdom greatly to his own advantage. He claimed to own extensive hereditary estates in the count's own land, all of which he promised to relinquish to the count as a perpetual possession with hereditary rights, if Philip would bring about a marriage between the two daughters of King Amaury and the two sons of the advocate. King Amaury had left two daughters: one of these was the widow of the marquis; the other, now of marriageable age, was living with her mother the queen at Nablus. The count agreed to this proposal and was endeavoring to bring about the marriage. But to return to our story.

We had now learned the goal toward which the count's ambition was directed. Accordingly we answered that the matter must first be submitted to the king; on the following day, we would report the response which the king, after taking counsel, should deem advisable to give.

In the morning, after first holding a conference, we returned to the count and made answer as follows: that it was our custom, approved by long usage, not to consider the remarriage of a widow, especially of one who was pregnant, within one year after the death of her husband, for that would not be honorable mourning. In the case of this lady, scarcely three months had passed since the death of the marquis; therefore he must not take it ill that we could not treat of her remarriage, since that would be contrary to the customs of the times and of our land. Yet it would meet with the favor and approval of us all if the aforesaid proposal could be handled with the advice of him from whom it now came, for assuredly, in this as in all other matters, the king desired to be governed by the count's advice and wished, as far as was consistent with his own honor, to concur with his wishes. Let the count take the initiative and name a suitable person for that alliance, and we were ready, in the present matter, to act according to the general desire.

The count was offended at this reply and answered that he would in no wise consent to do this unless all the barons would first swear to abide by his proposal without dispute, for any noble would consider himself insulted if, after being named, he should suffer rejection.

To this we responded that it would reflect on the honor of the king as well as on our own, if we should give his sister to one unknown to us even by name. The will of the king and of all the barons being at last plain, the count abandoned his design, but not without evincing much angry resentment.

16. *Ambassadors arrive from the emperor of Constantinople. They demand that the treaty which the king had concluded with their lord be carried out at once and an expedition against Egypt made ready.*

THERE was in Jerusalem at this time an imperial embassy composed of eminent men of high rank: namely, Lord Andronicus, surnamed Angelus, the son of the emperor's sister; the *Megaltriarch* [*sic*] John, a very magnificent man; Count Alexander of Conversana in Apulia, a nobleman of high rank; and Georgius of Sinai [George Sinaites], a member of the imperial court.[28] They had come to the king by command of the emperor, who considered the time now ripe for carrying out the treaty which had been made between himself and King Amaury and had subsequently been renewed under similar terms with the present King Baldwin. He hoped much also, with the aid of God, from the coming of the count of Flanders. Accordingly, a general assembly was called at the same Most Holy City to consider this matter, and thither all the barons of the realm repaired. One and all cherished the same hope, that by the counsel and

[28] This embassy consisted of Andronicus Angelus, John Dukas, the grand heteriarch, George Sinaites, and Count Alexander de Gravina (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 551). This is the third mission of Count Alexander to Jerusalem reported by William. Few persons of the twelfth century had more diplomatic experience. A Norman of southern Italy, he had been dispossessed of his lands in a revolt of the barons against Roger II. For some years he shuttled back and forth between the courts of Conrad III and of Constantinople seeking to recover his lands with the help of either. Both courts made use of him as an envoy. Finally he settled down at Constantinople, where Manuel entrusted him with the command of the Norman troops and sent him on missions to Germany and Sicily as well as to the Holy Land. His name appears prominently for an extraordinarily long time, 1132 to 1177 at least (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 551 *et passim*).

aid of the count and his train the kingdom beloved of God might receive the desired enlargement and that effective measures might be taken for the destruction of the enemies of Christ. Then without warning, as we have said, the count made an about turn and, unmindful of his promises, devoted himself to other projects. Thus the very foundations of our hope were destroyed.

Notwithstanding the defection of the count, the imperial envoys insisted that the treaty should be carried out. They argued that delay was likely to be attended with danger; there was no reason on the part of the Greeks why the proposed campaign should not proceed; they were prepared to fulfil all the terms of the treaty in good faith and that with a broad interpretation.

After listening to the words of the envoys and conferring together, we decided to lay the matter before the count in the fullest detail. He was called; and when he arrived the substance of the agreement between the emperor and ourselves was put before him, accurately transcribed and sealed with the golden seal of the emperor.

After he had carefully perused the document and thoroughly understood its contents, he was asked for his opinion. He answered that he was a stranger, unfamiliar with localities and especially with the land of Egypt, which was said to lie far remote from all other countries and to be subject to different conditions, as when, at certain seasons of the year, the waters overflow their banks and completely submerge the land. We of course knew the nature of the country better and the chances of approaching it, yet he had heard from those who had often visited Egypt that the present was not a favorable season for an invasion. He added that winter was at hand and Egypt was covered with the overflow of the Nile. Again, he had heard that Turks had flocked there in vast numbers. Finally, he feared—and this most of all—that there would be a scarcity of supplies during the march and even after they reached Egypt and that, as a result, the army would suffer from famine.

We perceived from these objections that he was seeking to find subtle excuses to avoid undertaking the campaign. To prevent this, we offered him six hundred camels to transport food, arms, and other baggage by land and promised the necessary number of ships to carry by sea provisions, engines, and all the necessary equipment for war. He rejected these offers entirely, however, and added that he would

not go down into Egypt with us on any terms, lest haply he and his forces might be compelled to suffer from famine. He added that he had been accustomed to lead his armies through rich countries and his troops could not endure privations of this kind. But should we choose another region whither we could conduct the armies more easily and conveniently to strive for the increase of the Christian name and the destruction of the enemies of Christ, then he and his men would gladly make preparations to set forth.

17. *The count's opposition to this honorable project hinders the carrying out of the treaty.*

HOWEVER, it was neither safe nor honorable for us to withdraw from the treaty.[29] The imperial envoys, distinguished men of rank, were now in Jerusalem with large pecuniary resources and declared that they were ready to carry out in good faith, as we have said, the conventions initiated between the emperor and ourselves. They had seventy galleys lying in the port of Acre, besides other ships, sufficient for the voyage and the campaign as agreed upon. To refuse to fulfil the agreement to which we had pledged ourselves seemed most dishonorable and in fact dangerous. Even if the imperial deputies would consent to defer the campaign till another time, we felt that it would be unwise to lose the aid of the emperor now prepared for us; moreover, we feared his displeasure, which might have serious results for the realm. Therefore, with the consent of both parties, we resolved to undertake the campaign, in accordance with the treaty and the arrangements already made, and to proceed with the preparations for the expedition so long ago agreed upon with the emperor.

When the count of Flanders learned of our decision, he was extremely angry and declared that the whole affair had been framed as an insult to him. Finally, after much discussion, that we might comply with his wishes in some measure, the expedition was again deferred until after the end of April with the consent of both the Greeks and our people.

Matters were accordingly settled in this fashion. The count had now been at Jerusalem for about fifteen days and had accomplished

[29] The treaty to which William alludes is probably the one made by Amaury on his visit to Manuel in 1171. Various events had intervened to postpone the execution of the treaty (see Book XX, chaps. 22 and 23).

his devotions. Accordingly he assumed the palm, which is with us the sign of a completed pilgrimage, and departed for Nablus as if intending to withdraw entirely. From there, after several days, he sent to us at Jerusalem the advocate of Bethune with others of his company. They were commissioned to declare, on the part of the count, that he was prepared—and this was the substance of his deliberations—to follow us wherever we wished, be it to Egypt or to other lands. This frequent change of mind seemed to us ridiculous, and we felt that the count might justly be accused of an unstable character, since he never adhered to any definite project. Yet, on the receipt of this message containing the news of his decision, we reluctantly conferred with the Greeks. It proved, however, that he had no intention of making good his words by works. On the contrary, he was trying with all his might to put us in the wrong, that he might be able to write to the princes beyond the mountains that we were responsible for deferring the campaign.[30] He had sent the above-mentioned envoys hoping that the Greeks would in no wise consent to our request, and that thus his own error would recoil upon us.

18. *The emperor's envoys return to their own land. The count proceeds to the land of Antioch. Balian marries the widow of King Amaury.*

THEREUPON we addressed the Greeks to ascertain whether they were still willing to stand by their original agreement and go down into Egypt, provided the count would come with us. They answered that although the time was very short to make the necessary preparation for their armies, yet if the count would swear by his own hand that he would go with us and, in the event of his own illness either here or on the march, would send his forces; if he would promise to strive for the expansion of Christianity on the entire campaign in good faith, without fraud or evil intent; if, furthermore, he would guarantee that the agreement which had been arranged and committed to writ-

[30] These negotiations have been described at such length, no doubt, because William was apparently the king's chief advisor at this time and directly in charge of the negotiations with Philip. Fearful of Philip's intentions to discredit the Latin court in the eyes of Western rulers, William not only reports the negotiations in detail here, but appears also to have sent out letters to the same effect. Thus both Robert of Torigni and William of Newburgh, neither of whom lived long enough to have read William's book, gave a somewhat abbreviated account of these events as William recounts them.

ing should not be infringed in any particular, be it by advice or aid; and if he would cause his people to swear to the same, then, although his many changes of feeling seemed to them strange and inconsistent with a steadfast and virile character, they would go with us, that the glory of the kingdom dear to God and the honor of the emperor might be increased.

The advocate and those who had been sent with him then offered to take oath on the terms as given above. Yet they were not willing to include therein all the stipulations, nor would they promise that the count also would take oath. Thereupon, as we did not care to continue the discussion to no purpose, the conference was broken off and the matter so often under negotiation was deferred to a more opportune season. The imperial legates then took leave and returned to their own land.

After their departure, the count's envoys began to inquire why the proposed campaign should not take place at once. "What project could the count undertake with the aid of the kingdom, that he might not seem utterly idle?" At last those with whom the final decision lay determined to move into the territories of Tripoli or Antioch, where it seemed possible that something might be accomplished for their own honor and the advancement of Christianity.

There were some who laid it to the charge of the prince of Antioch, who was present at the time, and also to the count of Tripoli that the count was so averse to the expedition into Egypt.[31] They were endeavoring, it was said, to draw him into their own lands, that by his aid some project might be undertaken that would lead to the increase of their own domains. But that hope was frustrated, for neither among us nor, forsooth, among them was the count permitted from on high to do anything worthy of record. It was indeed fitting that he from whom the Lord had withdrawn His favor should prosper in nothing, for "God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble."[32]

However, the king promised to give Philip his coöperation and aid and, on his departure, granted him a hundred of his own knights and a force of two thousand foot soldiers.

This was the condition of our affairs about the first of October.[33] At that time, accompanied by the count of Tripoli, the master of the

[31] William is here not sparing his friend Raymond of Tripoli from a possible share in the blame for the failure of the negotiations.

[32] I Pe. 5:5.

[33] October 1, 1177.

Hospital, and many brethren of the Knights Templars, the count left with his forces for the land of Tripoli.

About the same time Balian d'Ibelin, the brother of Baldwin of Ramlah, with the king's consent espoused Queen Maria, widow of King Amaury and daughter of John the *protosebastos*, so often referred to above. With Maria, Balian received the city of Nablus, which had been given her under the name of jointure at the time of her marriage and which he was to hold during the life of his wife.

19. *The count of Flanders, with the help of the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, lays siege to the fortress of Harim, but their efforts are without result.*

On arriving at Tripoli, after all necessary preparations for the march had been made and the troops well organized, the count, accompanied by the count of Tripoli, led his forces into the land of the enemy. They remained for a time near the cities of Hims and Hama, a step which resulted in some loss to the enemy. For Saladin, after accomplishing his purpose in that vicinity and making peace with the son of Nureddin on his own terms, had departed for Egypt. The preparations to which I have alluded above seemed to him to indicate that the long-threatened campaign, arrangements for which had been made long ago, was about to take place. Accordingly he led with him all the forces to be obtained from any source and concentrated his immense strength of cavalry at the strategic points where it seemed probable that the most important events would occur. As a result, the count and his forces found the country without defenders and were able to overrun the land without opposition. The fortified towns and the citadels of the cities were, however, well supplied with provisions and had sufficient guards and arms for their defense.

When the prince of Antioch learned that the two counts had entered the enemy's country, he hastened to join them by another route, as had been agreed upon between them. The forces thus united in body were of one mind also; accordingly, as the best plan under the circumstances, it was decided to besiege the fortress of Harim. This place lies in the territory of Chalcis and is now called Artasium. It was once a noble city but is now reduced to the status of a very small stronghold. Both city and fort are about twelve miles distant from Antioch.

On arriving before Harim, the camp was established in a circle about the place. Thus surrounded on all sides, the besieged were entirely prevented from emerging, nor could anyone, however desirous, approach to lend them aid. Machines and all the necessary engines for carrying on a siege were at once constructed. As an intimation that operations would be continued to the end, the Christians also built huts of osiers and, as winter was approaching, they fortified the camp with palisades to prevent their possessions from being swept away by the torrential rains. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the surrounding country and the Christian people worked zealously to bring in the necessary provisions from Antioch and the places in the vicinity.

The fortress of Harim belonged to the son of Nureddin and was the only one in that part of the country which Saladin had permitted him to retain. After a complete blockade on all sides had been effected, the Christians, in relays according to custom, made assaults on the place at regular intervals and battered the walls with their engines and machines so constantly that the besieged could obtain no rest whatever.

20. *Saladin arrives from Egypt with vast forces and invades the kingdom. He takes up a position before Ascalon. The king marches out to meet him with all the strength of the realm. An important engagement takes place before the city.*

THIS, then, was the condition of affairs in Antioch. In the meantime, Saladin had learned that the count and the entire Christian army had advanced into the land of Antioch while he, not without grave apprehension, had been awaiting them in the land of Egypt. It seemed to him with reason that he could safely invade a land thus stripped of its troops, when one of two things might easily be secured: the invasion would either force the enemy to abandon the siege of Harim, or, if they persisted in continuing that, he could obtain a victory over those left in the kingdom.

He accordingly assembled troops in great numbers from all sources and caused them to be equipped even better than usual with arms and all manner of things commonly used in warfare. Then with this army he marched out of Egypt. After traversing by forced marches the vast intervening wilderness, he arrived at the ancient city of

al-Arish, now deserted. There he left part of the heavy baggage and the packs of the soldiers. Then, taking with him the lighter-armed troops and the most experienced fighters, he passed by our fortresses Daron and Gaza, the latter a very famous city, and, sending scouts on in advance, appeared suddenly before Ascalon.

However, the king had received warning of his advance some days before; he had hurriedly mustered the forces still left in the kingdom, and his troops were already occupying the city.

As already stated, the count of Tripoli was gone, taking with him a hundred of our knights, picked men selected from a large number; the master of the Hospital with his brethren and a large number of the Knights Templars had also left. The rest of the brethren had retired to Gaza in the expectation that Saladin would lay siege to that place, since it was the first of our cities which he would reach. Humphrey, the royal constable, was suffering from a serious illness, as has been mentioned. The king therefore had but few with him. When he learned that the enemy were roving freely about in hostile fashion, scattered through the plains adjoining our territory, he left a few men to guard the city and, invoking aid from above, marched out with his forces prepared to fight.

Saladin had concentrated his troops in one body near the city. When the Christian army advanced and saw the vast numbers of their adversaries, those of greater experience in warfare advised that the forces remain in their present position rather than risk the uncertain chances of battle. Accordingly the Christians stood off the enemy's attacks until evening, although during that time single combats took place at intervals, for the two armies were not far apart. As the day drew to a close, the Christians prudently retired to the city again, for in view of the enemy's superior numbers it seemed hazardous to trust their modest forces to a camp for the night. This act roused Saladin and his men to such a pitch of arrogance that they no longer remained in close array but paraded about in admiration of their own prowess. As though already victorious, Saladin began to allot definite parts of his conquered possessions to his fellow soldiers, and his forces, as if they had already secured all they desired, began to conduct themselves with utter disregard of caution. In scattered bands they wandered freely about and scoured the country in every direction.

21. *The Turks devastate the land far and wide; they burn cities and outlying districts.*

WE supposed that during the night the enemy were engaged either in establishing their camp before the city, where they had been the day before, or had drawn nearer and were already investing it. But on the contrary, without allowing themselves or their horses to rest, they spread in bands over the whole region hither and yon, as the impulse seized each one. Among their satraps was a certain Jevelino, a valiant fighter, ever ready for any daring exploit. He was an Armenian by birth, an apostate who, abandoning the faith of the Mediator between God and man, had gone over to the Gentiles and was following devious ways.[34] With the troops which he commanded, this man proceeded to Ramlah, a city in the plain, and, finding it deserted, burned it. Since the place was not well fortified, the citizens had abandoned it in despair; some had gone with Baldwin's expedition to Ascalon, and others, with the weaker ones and the women and children, had repaired to Jaffa. Still others had gone up to a fairly well fortified stronghold in the mountains called Mirabel. After burning Ramlah, Jevelino marched on with all his forces to the neighboring city of Lydda; here he divided his troops and quickly surrounded the place. Then, with showers of arrows and weapons of all kinds, he attacked the citizens and harried them without intermission. The entire population fled to the church of the blessed martyr St. George.

At this point such desperate fear laid hold on the Christians that their only hope seemed to lie in flight. Great terror descended not only upon the people in the plains, where the enemy was roving about freely without opposition, but even upon those living in the mountains. The citizens of Jerusalem itself were almost ready to abandon the Holy City; having no confidence in its fortifications, they hastened in all eagerness to the tower of David, as it is commonly called, and abandoned the rest of the city. Some of the marauders had advanced as far as the place called Calcalia and had spread over almost the entire surface of the plain. Now they were about to leave the level country and ascend to the hills.

[34] Jawali (see Book XX, note 28). Beha ed-Din (*The Life of Saladin,* p. 89) calls him a mamluk.

Now was the appearance of this region desolate and overwhelmed with bitterness, as in the day when the Lord, provoked to wrath, "covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud." [35] Yet, "even in his anger, he did not withhold his pity, nor did he forget mercy;" [36] "but he inclined toward us; he consoled and aided us [37] and was still favorable toward us" [38] and "according to the multitude of sorrows in our hearts, his comforts delighted our souls." [39]

22. *The king goes forth from Ascalon and meets the enemy. Both sides are drawn up in battle array prepared for the encounter.*

WHILE these events were happening in that part of the country, news was brought to the king that a host of the enemy, scattered far and wide over his land, had seized upon his domain. Thereupon, he immediately left Ascalon with his men and prepared to march against the foe, for he felt that it was wiser to try the dubious chances of battle with the enemy than to suffer his people to be exposed to rapine, fire, and massacre. So, marching along by the seashore, he was following the coast, that he might come upon the enemy stealthily and suddenly when he reached the place where Saladin was encamped on the plain. He immediately directed all his forces, both cavalry and infantry, in all their martial array against him. He was joined by the brethren of the Knights Templars who had remained at Gaza, and together, with ranks in battle formation, they prepared to meet the foe. As they advanced, intent on the one purpose of avenging their wrongs, the sight of the fires on every side and the reports of the massacre of their people inspired them with divine courage, and they hastened on as one man. Suddenly, opposite to them and not far away, they saw the enemy's lines. It was about the eighth hour of the day.

During this interval, Saladin had learned that the Christians were advancing in the hope of fighting. Dreading the engagement which heretofore he had apparently desired, he sent out messengers to recall his troops, who had scattered in various directions. By the sound of the trumpet and the roll of the drums and by admonitions also, as

[35] Lam. 2: 1. In this and the following passages William is paraphrasing Scripture to meet his needs.
[36] Ps. 76: 10. [37] Ps. 70: 2. [38] Ps. 76: 8. [39] Ps. 93: 19.

is usual at such times, he sought to encourage his men for the conflict and to rouse them by his words.[40]

With the king were Eudes de Saint-Amand, the master of the Knights Templars, and eighty of his brethren, Prince Renaud, Baldwin of Ramlah and his brother Balian, Renaud of Sidon, and Count Joscelin, the king's uncle and seneschal. Their numbers, including all ranks and conditions, were barely three hundred and seventy-five. Led by the wondrous Life-giving Cross which was borne by Albert, bishop of Bethlehem, and after first invoking aid from on high, they all advanced in battle formation, eager for the encounter.

In the meantime, the enemy's forces who had ventured some distance away to seek booty and spread conflagration began to arrive from different directions, a circumstance which greatly increased Saladin's strength. In fact, had not the Lord, who never fails those who put their trust in Him,[41] graciously inspired our men with inward courage, the Christians would have been driven to despair, not only of victory, but of liberty and safety as well. However, they nonetheless drew up their forces in battle array and arranged their lines according to military rules, disposing in proper order those who were to make the first attack and the reserves who were to come to their aid.

23. *A battle ensues. Saladin is defeated and put to flight with extreme danger and ignominy.*

THE ranks of fighters on both sides now gradually approached each other, and a battle ensued which was at first indecisive, but the forces were very unequal. The Christians, however, strengthened by the grace shed upon them from on high, soon began to press on with ever-increasing boldness; Saladin's lines were broken and, after a terrible slaughter, were forced to flee.

Wishing to ascertain the actual facts, I made a careful investigation of the enemy's numbers and, from the narratives of many trustworthy people, found that twenty-six thousand light-armed cavalry, in addition to others mounted on camels and beasts of burden, had entered our territory.[42] Of these, eight thousand belonged to those

[40] Reminiscent of Virgil *Aen.* IX. 717. [41] Ps. 33:23.

[42] It is probable that William accompanied the king on this campaign. The use of the first person here, the definiteness of detail, and the fullness of his description seem to indicate that fact.

splendid soldiers called in their own language *toassin;* the other eighteen thousand were the common knights known as *carnagoles*.[43] A thousand of the most valiant knights acted as a bodyguard to Saladin. All these wore yellow silk over their breastplates, the color that Saladin himself bore. It is the custom of Turkish satraps and of the great chiefs, who in the Arabic tongue are called amirs, to rear with great care certain young men, some of whom are slaves captured in war, others are bought or perhaps born of slave mothers. These youths are instructed in military science, and when they have reached manhood are given wages or even large possessions, according to the merit of each. These men are called in their own language mamluks. To them is entrusted the duty of protecting the person of their lord in the vicissitudes of battle, and upon them in no slight degree depends the hope of obtaining the victory. Always surrounding their lord, they endeavor with one accord to protect him from harm, and they cling to him even unto death. As one man, they continue to fight until he has fled. Consequently it often happens that while the rest make good their escape by flight, nearly all the mamluks fall.[44]

The Christians pursued the defeated foe from the place called Mons Gisard to the swamp known as Cannaie des Etourneaux, until day declined and night fell upon them. For twelve miles and more, during this entire flight, the foe was mercilessly slaughtered, nor would any of their number have survived, had not the swift descent of night rescued them from their pursuers. To assist them in their flight, the stronger men and those who had swift horses threw away their arms and apparel, abandoned their packs, and, leaving the weaker people behind, fled with all their might. Thanks to the approach of night, these escaped death. The remainder met with a worse fate, for all were either captured or put to the sword.

At the very beginning of the engagement, we lost four or five knights and some foot soldiers, but the exact number of these is not known.

When those who had escaped by flight reached the marsh just mentioned, they cast into the sedges and into the water itself whatever

[43] Röhricht quotes Nöldeke in identifying *toassin*, or *tawasin*, as a designation of troops having religious significance, and *carnagoles*, or *Caragholam*, as literally "black servants" or mamluks (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 377, note 1).

[44] This is the usual description of mamluks.

they still carried, namely, their breastplates and ironshod boots, that they themselves might proceed unimpeded. Even weapons were thrown into the water, that the Christians might not use them even as tokens of victory.

All these things, however, were soon recovered by our people, for, following hard on the footsteps of the flying foe, that very night and the next day they carefully searched the reedy swamp just mentioned and, by combing the swamp itself with poles and hooks, speedily found whatever the foe had hidden there.

We have heard from persons worthy of credence that in one day they saw a hundred breastplates recovered from that place, besides helmets, iron greaves, and other articles of less worth which still were valuable and useful.

This notable mercy, worthy of remembrance forever, was conferred upon us by divine grace in the third year of King Baldwin IV, on November 25, the feast day of the holy martyrs, Peter of Alexandria and the virgin Catherine.[45]

The king went back to Ascalon, where he awaited the return of his forces who had pursued the fugitives by different roads. Within four days they had all arrived, loaded with plunder. Carrying tents and driving before them slaves, troops of camels, and horses, they came, according to the words of the prophet, "as men rejoice when they divide the spoil."[46]

24. *Stormy weather and unusual cold exhaust the endurance of the fugitives who had escaped from the battle. Great numbers die while many others are captured. The king returns victorious to Jerusalem.*

STILL another circumstance plainly showed that divine clemency was with us. On the following day and for ten successive days thereafter, violent rains accompanied by unusual cold occurred so that it almost seemed that the very elements had conspired against the foe. They had lost all their horses, which, during the three days' occupation of our territories, had received neither food nor drink, nor even rest. They had also voluntarily thrown away their baggage and all kinds

[45] It should be "fourth year." Either William is here using the calendar year or is guilty of a slip of the pen, probably the latter. The date is November 25, 1177.

[46] Is. 9:3.

of clothing, as we have said. To add to the sum of their miseries, they were entirely without food and were perishing from cold and hunger, from fatigue of the march and the burden of unaccustomed hardships. Everywhere were to be found, now a few of these fugitives, and again larger numbers, against whom even the weak and powerless could vent their fury as they would. Many, in their ignorance of the localities and thinking that they were on the way home, presented themselves in our villages either to travellers or to those who were hunting them.

Meanwhile the Arabs, that race of unbelievers, perceiving the catastrophe that had befallen the Turks, hastened to those who, as we said above, had been left to guard the baggage at the city of al-Arish. By reporting the disaster that had overtaken their people, they so terrified them that they fled in dismay. These Arabs also persistently pursued any who by chance had managed to evade our clutches. Thus those who thought they had escaped from us fell into their hands as prey, so that the prophecy seemed to be fulfilled which says, "that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten." [47] The following is said to be a custom of that wicked race. Under whatever chief they advance to battle, they always avoid the dangers of combat, and, as long as the result of the battle is uncertain, they look on at a distance; when it is decided, they attach themselves to the victor, pursue the conquered enemies, and enrich themselves by the spoils.

For many days captives were brought in from the forests and mountains, even from the desert. Sometimes they came to us of their own accord, preferring to be held in chains and prisons rather than to waste away under the torture of cold and hunger.

Meanwhile, the king, after distributing the spoils and treasures according to the rules of war, hastened to Jerusalem to give thanks and make offerings for the blessings bestowed upon him by the Lord. But Saladin, who had gone up in a spirit of great arrogance with a numerous array of knights, returned stricken by the divine hand, attended by barely a hundred followers. He himself is said to have been mounted on a camel.

Let us regard more closely and carefully the bounty of this divine gift and consider how in the liberality shown toward us, the Holy Comforter desired all the glory to be His own. For if the count of

[47] Joel 1:4.

Flanders, the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and the great company of knights who were not present had participated in this victory brought about by divine grace, they would not have hesitated to think, even though they did not say, "Our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this." [48] For heedless and inconsiderate persons are wont to creep in thus when all is prosperous.

But now, according to His word as it is written, "my glory will I not give to another." [49] He has retained all the glory and authority for Himself, while employing the aid not of the many but of the few. In His loving kindness he renewed the miracle of Gideon, he scattered a great multitude and thus made it plain that it was He alone and not another, by whose aid one could "chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." [50]

Therefore to Him from whom comes every good and perfect gift [51] let it be ascribed, for in this present instance there is nothing which man can attribute to his own works. It is the gift of divine grace, and it has been shown to those who do not deserve it. "Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them;" [52] "in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee." [53]

25. *The besieging forces before the fortress of Harim in the land of Antioch abandon the task and return to their own land.*

WHILE these events were taking place among us, the count and those with him continued to besiege the castle referred to above, but without result. For they were given over to frivolity and paid more attention to games of chance and other evil pleasures than military discipline or the rules of siege operations permitted. They were continually going back and forth to Antioch, where they spent their time at the baths and at banquets and indulged in drunken debauches and other pleasures of the flesh, thereby forsaking the work of the siege for the delights of idleness.

Even those who seemed to be assiduous in attendance there became lazy and careless and accomplished nothing of importance. They passed their time in idleness and led vicious lives.[54] The count himself daily remarked that he must return home and intimated that he was

[48] De. 32:27. [49] Is. 42:8. [50] De. 32:30. [51] Ja. 1:17.
[52] Ex. 15:12. [53] Ex. 15:7. [54] Persius *Sat.* v. 60.

detained at Harim against his will. This attitude not only hindered those who were honorably endeavoring to carry on the siege outside, but it furnished an incentive to a bolder resistance on the part of the townspeople. The hope that the siege would soon be raised enabled them to endure all things for a short time. To bear the injuries inflicted upon them was hard, yet even that was better than to surrender to the hated race the stronghold which had been committed to their loyalty and thus to incur forever the opprobrium of traitors.

The fortress of Harim occupies an elevated position on a hill which is apparently largely artificial and is accessible to assailants on one side only. The other sides are practically unapproachable to anyone wishing to make an assault, yet it is possible for hurling machines to scourge it from all directions without hindrance.

Repeated attacks had been made, with varying results. These seemed to indicate that if a vigorous assault were made, with divine assistance the place might be taken. Yet the affair had lapsed into a state of indifference, as we have said and, because of our sins, all valor had departed from us and all prudence had vanished. Although those shut up within its walls had now fallen into the last state of despair, the Christians began to consider returning home. We cannot sufficiently marvel at the fact (for it seems beyond human understanding) that the Lord brought such darkness over the minds of these great princes and in His wrath so blinded them. For, although no one constrained them and the castle was now almost in their power, yet, under the spur of jealousy and their own desire for idleness, they abandoned it to the enemy. When the prince perceived that the count of Flanders had determined on his course and was irrevocably set upon this decision, he accepted from the besieged a sum of money, the amount of which is unknown to us, and raised the siege.

The count of Flanders then returned to Jerusalem, where he celebrated the holy days of Easter and then made his preparation to return. As soon as the galleys and necessary transports were ready, he sailed from Laodicea in Syria with the intention of returning to his own land after a visit to the emperor of Constantinople, but he left behind him a memory in no wise blessed.[55]

About this same time, Frederick, emperor of the Romans, after twenty years of schism was reconciled to Pope Alexander at Venice.

[55] He reached his homeland in the fall of 1178.

The walls of the holy city of Jerusalem had partly fallen because of their great age. Accordingly, about this time the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, joined together and decided that a fixed sum of money should be paid annually until, by the help of the Lord, the work of repairing the walls should be finished. And thus might be fulfilled the saying, "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem." [56]

26. *A general synod at Rome is proclaimed. The king builds a fortress beyond the river Jordan under unfavorable auspices and commits it, when completed, to the care of the Templars.*

In the year of our Lord 1178, which was the fifth year of the reign of King Baldwin IV, in the month of October,[57] certain men who had been summoned left our East to attend a general synod at Rome which had been proclaimed the previous year throughout the entire Latin world. The delegates invited were: myself,[58] William, archbishop of Tyre; Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea; Albert, bishop of Bethlehem; Ralph, bishop of Sebaste; Joscius, bishop of Acre; Romanus, bishop of Tripoli; Peter, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre; and Raynald, abbot of Mt. Sion. Joscius not only attended the synod with us, but also went as envoy to Henry, duke of Burgundy, charged with the mission of inviting him to come to the kingdom. For we had unanimously agreed that he should be given the king's sister in marriage under the same conditions which had been made at the time of her previous marriage to the marquis. The duke received this offer at the hand of Bishop Joscius graciously and is said to have sworn by his own hand that he would come. However, for reasons still unknown to us, he later disregarded his oath and refused to fulfil the solemn promise by which he had bound himself.

During the same month in which we started on our journey to at-

[56] Ps. 51:18.

[57] The statement is again precise in terms of the regnal year reckoned from the day of accession.

[58] This list is of interest not only in that it places William at the head of the delegation, but also because of the omission of several prelates, notably the patriarch Amalrich and the archbishop of Nazareth, both of whom were too old and feeble to attempt the journey. Peter, prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, went as personal representative of the patriarch, though William does not mention the fact (see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. XXII *passim*).

tend the synod, the king, with the entire strength of the realm, began to build a fortress beyond the Jordan in the place commonly called Jacob's ford.[59]

Old traditions say that this is the place where Jacob, as he was returning from Mesopotamia, divided his people into two bands and sent messengers to his brother, saying, "With my staff I crossed this river and now I am returning with two bands." [60] It lies in the region of Cades Nephtalim between Nephtalim and Dan, the latter of which is known both as Banyas and as Caesarea Philippi. These form part of Phoenicia and are suffragan cities of Tyre. The place is ten miles from Banyas. There, upon a hill of moderate height, they laid foundations of suitable depth and within six months had erected a fortification of solid masonry in the form of a square, of marvellous thickness and adequate height.

While they were engaged in building operations there, it happened that bandits emerged from the land of Damascus and so beset the highways that none could go to and from the army without peril, neither could travellers pass along any of the ways. These bandits came from a place in the mountains near Acre called Bacades or, in the vulgar tongue, Bucael. This is most delightfully situated in the land of Zebulon, and, although on the top of a mountain, it is well watered and planted with thick groves of fruit trees. Its inhabitants are insolent men, fierce fighters and men very proud of their great numbers, through which they have made all the surrounding fields and villages tributary to them. To evildoers fleeing from due punishment, to brigands and highwaymen, they offer a safe refuge among them, in consideration of which they receive a share of the booty and spoils taken by violence. Because of their intolerable arrogance, these people had become hated and abhorred by all around them, both Christians and Saracens, and frequent attempts had been made to exterminate them utterly, but without success. As a result, they became bolder every day. The king finally found himself unable longer to endure their insufferable arrogance and the thefts and murders perpetrated by them. He suddenly seized the place by force of arms and put to death all whom he could apprehend. The majority escaped, however, for, having learned of the king's intention, they had

[59] October, 1178.

[60] Ge. 32: 10.

fled with their wives and little ones to the land of Damascus. From here they kept up their ancient habits and made frequent, though stealthy, sallies into our territory.

At this time, with associates of the same type, they had invaded our territories, as has been said. The knowledge that men of this stamp were rendering the public highways so dangerous roused the Christians to wrath; accordingly they laid ambushes in strategic places and bent all their energies to outwitting the rascals. It happened one night that these highwaymen, after making a raid, were coming down from the mountains of Zebulon, intending to return to the place whence they had set out. But, falling into the ambushes laid by the Christians, they gathered the fruit of their ways; nine of their number were captured and more than seventy killed. This happened on March 21.[61]

At this same time, on March 5, a synod of three hundred bishops convened at Rome in the basilica of Constantine called the Lateran. This was in the twentieth year of the pontificate of Alexander,[62] and the twelfth of the indiction.

If anyone desires to know the statutes enacted and the names of the bishops, their number and titles, he may read the writing which, at the earnest request of the holy fathers who took part in this synod, we have carefully compiled. We have directed that this be placed in the archives of the holy church at Tyre among the other books which we have collected for that same church, over which now for six years we have presided.[63]

27. *The king invades hostile territory and suffers an enormous loss. Humphrey, the king's constable, meets death there.*

WHEN the fortress had been constructed and was complete in all parts, news reached the king that the enemy in search of pasturage

[61] March 21, 1179.

[62] Alexander III had been elected pope late in 1159. The Third Lateran council, which he had called, convened officially March 5, 1179, though the clergy, like the delegation from Jerusalem, had been gathering at Rome for some time before, while a few arrived after the council convened. It was quite the largest and most important church gathering that had been held in the West for centuries.

[63] The time of this writing is thus after June 8, 1181. His library is evidently a matter of pride. No catalogue of its contents has been preserved, but it is reasonable to assume that it included all the books to which he referred frequently.

had incautiously led their flocks and herds into the forest near Banyas. They were without fighting men on whom they might count to repel any attack made by us. Accordingly our people, thinking they could easily be vanquished if, as had been reported, they were undefended and without military protection, stealthily made their way thither. In order to fall upon the Turks suddenly and without warning before they were aware of the enemy's vicinity, the Christians made the entire march by night. The morning found them at their destination. While some of the troops were hurrying about in one direction and another, looking for booty, and others were following rather slowly at some distance behind, the company with which the king was riding very carelessly became entangled in a certain narrow place among the rocks where some of the enemy were lurking. For, having learned that we were coming, they had decided to hide, hoping in this way to avoid our attack and provide for their own safety. But when they saw the Christians rush upon them without due caution, necessity forced them, although reluctant and still despairing of their lives, to become brave. Realizing that our men were in a difficult position, they suddenly leaped forth and boldly attacked them. Up to this time their only desire had been to avoid the adversary by hiding; now, however, letting fly a shower of arrows from afar, they killed our horses and then pressed hard upon our forces.

The lord constable, on perceiving that the enemy had so unexpectedly emerged, threw himself impetuously upon them. As usual he fought vigorously and faithfully strove with all his might to protect the king in this dangerous crisis, that the enemy might not rush upon him to his peril. While he was thus engaged, the enemy again and again rained furious blows upon him which inflicted fatal wounds. From this critical situation he was with difficulty rescued by his men and carried off on horseback.

Several distinguished men, well worthy of pious remembrance, fell in that engagement. Among this number were Abraham of Nazareth, a youth of fine appearance, whose noble character, high birth, and great wealth gave good promise for the future, and Godechaux de Turout, who also left a good reputation behind him. Several others of lesser rank also fell at that place.

Such was the situation of affairs when the king, thus rescued from

so great danger by the efforts of his followers, returned to the camp from which he had set out earlier and recalled the disorganized troops who had scattered hither and yon.

The condition of Humphrey, the royal constable, became more critical; accordingly he was borne on April 11 to the new fortress which was still under construction. There he lingered for about ten days, prolonging his life under stress of great pain. He made his last testament wisely and with forethought. On April 22 the exemplary life of this man, who will be forever mourned by his country, came to an end. He was buried with due ceremony at his noble and famous castle Toron, in the church of the Blessed Mother of God, the Immaculate Virgin.

Immediately after Humphrey's death, on the twenty-seventh of the same month of May,[64] Saladin began to besiege the recently built fortress. Without intermission he sent forth dense showers of arrows and harassed the besieged within its walls with repeated assaults. But suddenly an arrow sent by one of the besieged whose name is said to have been Rainerius of Marum [Renier de Maron à Mareuil] chanced to deal a fatal wound to one of the richest of Saladin's amirs. The death of this noble threw the infidels into such utter confusion that they abandoned their project, raised the siege, and departed.

28. *Saladin invades the land of Sidon. The king assembles the military strength of the realm and goes out against him.*

SALADIN had already invaded the land of Sidon by force of arms twice or more and without any opposition had freely plundered, burned, and slaughtered. In the following month he decided to make another invasion. Accordingly he located his camp between the city of Banyas and the river Dan and sent out skirmishers in large numbers to drive off booty and set fires. He himself, ready to aid in emergencies, remained in the camp and there awaited their return and the result of their aggressions. Meanwhile the news that Saladin was laying waste our lands in this fashion reached the king. Taking with him the Cross of the Lord, he hastened to the city of Tiberias with all the forces he

[64] This misstatement of "same" month is more excusable, since he dated the previous event in terms of the Kalends of May. Humphrey of Toron, who had been made constable by Baldwin III in 1151, had been a source of strength to three successive kings. He was not only a courageous fighter, but also a wise military leader. His death occurred May 27, 1179.

could muster from every source. From there he went on through the town of Sephet and the ancient city of Naason and arrived with his forces at Toron.

Here he received accurate information from the messengers who were constantly going and coming that Saladin with his army was still in the same position. He had sent his light-armed cavalry on ahead, however, to lay waste the fields of Sidon; and there in hostile fashion they were killing, burning, and plundering. After consultation, therefore, it was unanimously determined to advance against the foe. In accordance with this plan, the Christians directed the army from Toron toward Banyas and came to a village called Mesaphar. This was located on the top of a mountain, and from it could be seen the entire region below as far as the base of the Lebanon range. The enemy's camp was also visible in the distance, and the conflagrations and ravages committed by them as they scoured the country hither and yon were evident to all.

The infantry troops, wearied to exhaustion by the long march, could not keep up with the pace of the knights as they rode swiftly down the mountainside. Accompanied by only a few of the more active foot soldiers, therefore, the cavalry descended to a place commonly known as Merguim in the plain directly below the mountain. There they halted for several hours to deliberate over their further course.

In the meanwhile, Saladin became somewhat alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the king. He was anxious about his advance guard, who seemed to be shut off from himself and the army, and feared also that his camp might be attacked. He therefore ordered the baggage, impedimenta, and all the equipment to be placed between the wall and the forewall of the neighboring city where it could easily be found whatever the result of the battle might be. Thus prepared, but very doubtful of the result, he awaited the outcome of events.

Meanwhile the skirmishers, who had gone out on a plundering expedition, learned with great alarm of our approach and, laying aside all other considerations, determined to reach their own lines if possible. But after crossing the river between the land of Sidon and the plain where, as I have mentioned, our army was located, they encountered our forces. A skirmish at close quarters immediately ensued, wherein the Christians, by the help of God, were victorious. After

many had been killed and still more thrown to the ground, the enemy turned in flight and endeavored to gain Saladin's camp.

29. *A battle is fought. The Christians are defeated, and many of them are taken prisoners.*

WHILE things were in this state Eudes, the master of the Knights Templars, accompanied by the count of Tripoli and some others who were following them, ascended a hill lying opposite. On their left was the river and on the right the great plain and the camp of the enemy.

When Saladin learned of the desperate plight of his men, exposed as they were to danger and even to death, he prepared to go to their assistance. He had reached this resolution when he caught sight of some of his defeated soldiers in full flight. He rode to meet them and, on learning the situation, cheered them with encouraging words and sent them back to the ranks. Then suddenly he fell upon the Christians who were in reckless pursuit of the fugitives.

In the meantime our infantry, enriched by the spoils of the slain, had encamped along the river bank and, in the belief that a complete victory had been won, were quietly resting. The cavalry, however, realized that the enemy whom they had thought vanquished were rushing upon them with renewed vigor. In confused ranks, without time or opportunity to reconstruct their lines and draw up their forces in battle array according to military rules, they fought bravely and for a time resisted and stoutly sustained the enemy's attacks. Their strength, however, was unequal to that of the foe, and, scattered and disorganized as they were, they could not aid one another. Consequently, they finally turned and fled in a disgraceful rout. They might easily have avoided the pursuing enemy and saved themselves by turning in another direction, but, because of our sins, they adopted a poorer plan and plunged into a narrow defile beset with steep cliffs. Here it was impossible, except at peril of death, either to advance or to retreat through the enemy's lines. Some crossed the river; most of these, in the hope of saving their lives, retreated to the nearest stronghold, which was called Belfort, while others, after making the crossing, followed along the farther bank to Sidon and thus avoided the furious tide of battle. On the way they encountered Renaud of Sidon and his men, who were hastening to the army; but on learning

of this disaster, Renaud heeded their warning and returned to Sidon. This act is believed to have been responsible for manifold disasters that day. For if he had continued his march to the fortress, he could probably have saved many from the enemy with the help of the townsfolk and the country people who knew the locality. As it was, these fugitives hid that night in caves among the rocks. The next morning the enemy, scouring every nook and corner, discovered them and threw them into prison. The king, however, by the aid of his royal soldiers escaped without injury. The count of Tripoli also reached Tyre with a few companions.[65]

Among the Christians who were captured at that time were Eudes de Saint-Amand, the master of the Knights Templars, a wicked man, haughty and arrogant, in whose nostrils dwelt the spirit of fury,[66] one who neither feared God nor revered man. Many people laid at his door the loss and never-dying shame of this disaster. It is said that within the year he died a captive in a squalid prison, mourned by no one.

Baldwin of Ramlah, a noble and powerful man, was also captured there, as was likewise Hugh of Tiberias, the stepson of the count of Tripoli, a young man of fine natural promise, greatly beloved by all. Many others whose names I do not know were also taken prisoners there.

30. *Saladin besieges the fortress recently built. He takes it by storm and destroys it. Henry, count of Troyes, and Peter, brother of Louis, king of the Franks, arrives in Syria.*

Such was the condition of affairs in the kingdom at this time. Our fortunes were at the lowest ebb when Henry, the illustrious count of Troyes and son of Count Theobald the Elder, from whom we had parted at the city of Brindisi in Apulia as we were returning from the synod, landed at Acre with a numerous following of nobles. As has been mentioned, many nobles had come in the same crossing, among them Peter de Courtenay, brother of Louis, king of the Franks, and Philip, [bishop] elect of Beauvais, son of Count Robert and brother of King Louis. The hearts of our people, greatly depressed by the late disasters, were revived by their coming, which emboldened them

[65] This battle is dated June 10, 1179 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, p. 221).
[66] Job 27:3.

to hope that under the protection of so many great nobles they might be able to avert misfortunes in the future and perhaps avenge those of the past. But, since the Lord was against them, this hope was vain; they were unable to overcome the results of past evils and fell into even worse troubles. For Saladin, our most redoubtable enemy, had been raised to such a pitch of arrogance by his many successes and good fortune that suddenly, before we had a chance to regain our breath, he laid siege to our stronghold which had been completed the April previous.

On its completion, this oft-mentioned fortress was given into the charge of the brothers of the Knights Templars, who laid claim to all that region for themselves by concession of the kings.

On learning that Saladin had invested the place, the king called out the full strength of the realm and all the military forces. He also summoned Count Henry and the other nobles who had recently arrived and hastened to Tiberias. There he convoked all the leading men of the realm with the intention of going to the aid of the besieged and forcing the enemy to raise the siege.

But while he was waiting there, having deferred preparations for a day, a report arrived which proved to be true that the enemy had taken the place and razed it to the ground.[67] All the men of the garrison which had been left there to guard it had either been slain or captured. Thus an even greater catastrophe was added to their former misfortunes, so that of them it might truly be said, "The Lord their God has departed from them." Truly "thy judgments are a great deep"; "how terrible art thou in thy works." [68]

He who, during the year just past, had bestowed such great gifts upon His faithful children now suffered them to be clothed with great fear and confusion. And who knoweth the mind of the Lord? And who is the sharer of His counsels? Wherefore is it then, O Lord? Hast Thou withdrawn Thy favor because of the great multitude and the many nobles present, lest they ascribe to themselves that which is given not by merit but by grace? Or because they did not make sufficiently rich returns to Thee, their benefactor, for the favors erstwhile conferred by grace? Or because "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." [69]

[67] The castle was taken by storm August 30, 1179.

[68] Ps. 36:6; 66:3.

[69] He. 12:6.

Thou hast covered our faces with shame that we may seek Thy holy name, which is blessed forever. We know and confess, O Lord, that Thou dost not change. For Thou hast said, "I am the Lord, I change not." [70] Nevertheless whatever the cause may be, we know that Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgments are righteous.

At this time the negotiations which had been made the year before with reference to the duke of Burgundy were renewed through Count Henry, his uncle. It was hoped that he would arrive by the next crossing, but, as was afterward quite apparent, for some unknown reasons he still declined to come.

[70] Mal. 3:6.

HERE ENDS THE TWENTY-FIRST BOOK

THE TWENTY-SECOND BOOK BEGINS

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

1. *The king marries his sister, the widow of the marquis, to a young man named Guy de Lusignan. He concludes a truce with Saladin on equal terms, an unprecedented act.*

At this same time also, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Raymond, count of Tripoli, arrived in the kingdom with a cavalry escort. This caused the king much alarm; for he feared that they might try to bring about a revolution, in which case, after dethroning him, they might try to seize the realm themselves. The king's malady was now troubling him more than ever, and from day to day the symptoms of leprosy became more and more apparent.

His sister, who had been the wife of the marquis of Montferrat, was still a widow and was awaiting the coming of the duke, as has been explained. But the king knew these two nobles well and, although both were his kinsmen, he distrusted their motives in coming. When he learned that they had arrived, he hastened the nuptials of his sister. He might have found in the kingdom nobles of far greater importance, wisdom, and even wealth, both foreigners and natives, an alliance with any one of whom would have been of much greater advantage to the kingdom. But without waiting to consider that "too much haste spoils everything," [1] the king, for reasons of his own, suddenly married his sister to a young man of fairly good rank, Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugh the Brown, of the diocese of Poitiers. Contrary to the usual custom the marriage was celebrated during the week of Easter.

The nobles just mentioned perceived that their coming was regarded with suspicion by the king and his barons; accordingly they returned home as soon as they had completed the customary devotions. They remained for a few days at Tiberias, however, and while they were there, Saladin, unaware of their presence, made an attack on the city. No harm resulted to the citizens, however, and he again withdrew into the country around Banyas. There he remained with

[1] Statius *Theb.* x. 704.

his armies, waiting, as was afterwards learned, for the arrival of a fleet of fifty galleys which he had ordered to be prepared during the course of the winter just past. This delay caused the king some uneasiness, and he therefore sent messengers to Saladin to discuss a truce.

Saladin willingly agreed to the suggestion, although not, it is claimed, because he distrusted his own strength or had any reason to fear our forces, which he had so often defeated during the past year. But for five successive years extreme dryness and a dearth of rain in the region round Damascus had caused a scarcity of food of every description for both man and beast.

A truce on both land and sea, for foreigners and natives alike, was accordingly arranged and confirmed by an exchange of oaths between the two parties. The conditions were somewhat humiliating to us, for the truce was concluded on equal terms, with no reservations of importance on our part, a thing which is said never to have happened before.

2. *Saladin invades the land of Tripoli and destroys the crops and other Christian possessions in that locality.*

THE same year, during the summer immediately following, Saladin, after arranging for the safety of the provinces of Damascus and Bostrum, led all his cavalry forces to the land of Tripoli. There he established a camp and sent out his squadrons over the surrounding country. The count had retired with his forces to the city of Arka and was there awaiting an opportunity to engage the enemy without too much risk. The knights of the Temple, who lived in the same vicinity, also remained shut up in their strongholds; they expected almost hourly to be besieged and did not wish to risk an encounter with the Turks. The brothers of the Hospital had likewise retired in alarm to their fortified castle of Krak. They felt that if, in the midst of such confusion, they could defend the fortress just named from injury by the enemy, their duty had been done. The Turkish army occupied a position between these brethren and the forces of the count; consequently the Christians could not assist one another, nor could they send messengers from one army to the other to ascertain the conditions in each.

During this time Saladin ranged here and there over the plain, especially over the cultivated fields, and without opposition traversed

the entire locality. He burned all the crops, those that had been gathered into the granaries, those still stacked in the fields, and the growing grain as well. He drove off cattle as booty and laid waste the whole country in every direction.

3. *An Egyptian fleet arrives at the island of Arados. The count of Tripoli makes a truce with Saladin.*

THIS was the situation in the land of Tripoli when, about the beginning of June, Saladin's naval force suddenly appeared in the vicinity of Beirut. But when the commanders of that force learned for a fact that Saladin had concluded a treaty with the king, they respected the terms of the peace which he had declared and feared to violate any provisions of that treaty in the territories of Beirut or indeed within the boundaries of the entire realm.[2] Learning that their lord was with his army in the land of Tripoli, they repaired thither and seized Arados, an island opposite the city of Tortosa, some three miles away. There in the harbor they found a convenient anchorage for their galleys.

The first person to dwell on this island and establish thereon a fortified city is said to have been Aradius, son of Canaan and grandson [*sic*] of Noah, whence is derived the name Arados. Near by on the east, is a once splendid city called Antarados, so named, as we have said, because it lies opposite Arados. This name, however, has now been corrupted to Tortosa. Here the apostle Peter, when travelling through Phoenicia, is said to have founded a small church in honor of the Mother of God. This edifice is still visited by large numbers of people, and here, through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, many benefits are reported to have been granted from on high in answer to the prayers of the faithful in time of need. Both these cities are suffragans of the metropolis of Tyre, as is also another place near by known as Maraclea, which is regarded as belonging to Phoenicia.

The landing of these forces at the island of Arados sent a thrill of terror through the whole region. While awaiting the commands of

[2] It should be noted that William here expresses no surprise at the fact that the truce made by the king does not apply to Tripoli even though Raymond of Tripoli had asserted his claims to the regency as the most important vassal of the kingdom (see Book XXI, chap. 3).

their master, the troops set fire to a house above the harbor of Tortosa and sought to injure the citizens as much as possible. Their efforts proved futile, however. Meanwhile, Saladin had devastated the region to his satisfaction, and he now ordered the fleet to return. He then rallied his troops and also retired to his own land. A few days later he concluded a treaty of peace with the count and withdrew to a more remote part of the land of Damascus.

4. *The archbishop of Tyre returns from Constantinople. Louis, king of the Franks, dies.*

DURING this time, for seven successive months, we had been sojourning with Manuel, the great emperor of Constantinople, of illustrious memory, a stay which had resulted in great advantages both to ourselves and to the church. On the fourth day after the feast of Easter, after many earnest entreaties, we obtained permission to return to our own land.[3]

As we departed, the emperor commended to our care his envoys, noble and magnificent men. Then we set sail in four galleys most generously furnished with his usual imperial munificence. Our course lay past the islands of Tenedos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Delos, Claros, Rhodes, and Cyprus, with the provinces of Phrygia, Asia Minor, Lycia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Isauria, and Cilicia on our left. At last, on May 12, by the grace of God, we arrived safe in health and prosperity at the mouth of the river Orontes and the Port of St. Simeon.

A matter which should be of no slight interest to the present history ought not, we believe, to be passed over here. While we were staying in the imperial city, as already mentioned, partly because the winter season was unfavorable for sailing, but also at the express command of the most happy emperor, that monarch, with paternal foresight and perchance with some foreboding of his own early departure from this world, celebrated the nuptials of a son and a daughter. On his son Alexius, who bears the name of his paternal grandfather,[4] he solemnly bestowed Agnes, the daughter of Louis,

[3] William thus obtained leave to depart April 23, 1180. His arrival at Constantinople may therefore be dated in late September or early October, 1179.

[4] This Alexius, named after the emperor of the period of the First Crusade, was the son of Maria of Antioch, the second wife of Manuel.

the illustrious king of the Franks. Alexius was not yet of age, in fact hardly thirteen years old, while Agnes was scarcely eight years old. The imperial insignia were conferred on the two in that part of the palace of Constantine the Elder called the Trullus. It was here that the sixth holy general council is said to have met, in the time of Constantine, son of Constantine, son of Heraclius.

The emperor's daughter was given in marriage to a young man named Renier, son of William the Elder, marquis of Montferrat and brother of the William to whom we had given the sister of our king. The emperor had caused this young man, then about seventeen years old, to be summoned by the imperial envoys, and he had reached the royal city about fifteen days before our own arrival there. He remained for a while in the city and also visited the army with the lord emperor. On their return thence about the time of Epiphany, in the month of February, the emperor called his court together with imperial magnificence in the new palace called Blachernae. There, by the hand of Theodosius, patriarch of Constantinople, he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Maria and Renier, to whom he gave the name of his own father, John, and the title of Caesar. Maria was the daughter of the emperor by his first wife, the Empress Irene of pious memory, who had come as his consort from the kingdom of the Teutons.[5] By his second marriage with Maria, his only offspring was Alexius, the present emperor of Constantinople.

Because of the immense amount of material, any attempt to describe in detail all the wonders of those days would be utterly futile, even if a special treatise were devoted to it. We may mention the games of the circus which the inhabitants of Constantinople call hippodromes, and the glorious spectacles of varied nature shown to the people with great pomp during the days of the celebration; the imperial magnificence of the vestments and the royal robes adorned with a profusion of precious stones and pearls of great weight; the vast amount of massive gold and silver furniture in the palace, of untold value. Words would fail to speak in fitting terms of the valuable draperies adorning the royal abode; to mention in detail the numerous servants

[5] This was Bertha of Sulzbach, whose name had been changed to Irene. She had borne no sons, a fact which led to some estrangement on the part of Manuel, who feared that the marriage lay under a curse. She devoted most of her time during her last years to pious works (see C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2d Series, pp. 170–91).

and members of the court, the magnificence of the nuptial splendour, and the generous gifts which the emperor lavished on both his own people and on strangers. But to return to the narrative.

At Antioch we carried out the commands of his imperial majesty with the prince and the lord patriarch of that land, and at Beirut we found the king, who was on his way to Tyre by land. Continuing our voyage, we returned to the church at Tyre by the grace of God on July 6, a year and ten months from the time of our departure for the synod.

On September 18, in the seventh year of King Baldwin IV, Louis, most pious and Christian king of the Franks, a prince of many virtues and immortal memory, laid aside the burden of the flesh, and his spirit fled to the skies to enter upon its eternal reward with the elect princes. He left an only son and heir, Philip, by his queen Alix, daughter of the elder Theobald and sister of Count Henry of Troyes, of Theobald, count of Chartres, of Stephen, count of Sancerre, and of William, archbishop of Rheims. He died in the fiftieth year of his reign and the sixtieth of his life.[6]

On October 6 of the following month, Amalrich of precious memory, patriarch of Jerusalem, an extremely simple man of practically no importance, died after twenty years in that office. Within ten days thereafter, Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea, was chosen to fill his place.[7]

5. *The king gives his younger sister in marriage to Humphrey III. The emperor of Constantinople dies.*

THAT same month the king betrothed his sister, then hardly eight years old, to a young man named Humphrey.[8] This Humphrey III

[6] Louis VII had become king upon the death of his father in 1137 and had therefore ruled over forty but not "fifty" years when he died in 1180.

[7] This is a singularly dispassionate recital of a fact that probably constituted the greatest disappointment of William's life. The only evidence of feeling is the negative one that he fails to characterize his successful rival in any way. Ernoul describes this election at great length. According to Ernoul, William was the choice of the clergy, but it was customary for the clergy to submit two names to the king for his final choice. Agnes exerted all of her powerful influence in behalf of Heraclius, the other candidate named, and had her way (see L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, pp. 82–86).

[8] Isabelle was the daughter of Amaury's second marriage, that with the Greek Princess Maria, and was therefore a half sister of Baldwin IV. Her numerous mar-

was the son of Humphrey II and Stephanie, daughter of Philip of Nablus. The father of Humphrey II was the elder Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, to whom frequent reference has been made. Philip of Nablus, the maternal grandfather of Humphrey III, had been lord of Arabia Secunda, which is Petra, now commonly called Kerak, and also of Syria Sobal, known now as Montreal, both of which lie beyond the Jordan. He later embraced the religious life and became the master of the Knights Templars.[9]

The negotiations in respect to this alliance were undertaken with great ardor by Prince Renaud, the third husband of the mother of young Humphrey, who had now reached man's estate; and on the completion of the same, the betrothal of Humphrey and the king's sister was celebrated at Jerusalem.

On the death of his paternal grandfather, Humphrey had received by hereditary right certain domains in the territory of Tyre: namely, Toron, Chastel Neuf, and the city of Banyas with their appurtenances. He made an exchange of this patrimony with the king under definite conditions, the text of which, dictated by us as pertained to our official duty, was deposited in the royal archives.[10]

On the third day of the same month, Manuel, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople, of immortal memory, the most munificent of all the princes of the land, laid aside the burden of the flesh and rendered his soul to heaven. His memory will ever be held in benediction by all the assembly of the saints because of his alms and liberal benefactions. He is said to have died in the fortieth year of his rule and, as nearly as we have been able to ascertain, in the sixty-first of his life.[11]

About this same time also, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, left his

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riages formed the center of politics of the later kingdom of Jerusalem (see J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 47 *et passim*).

[9] Philip of Nablus, master of the Templars, has been frequently mentioned in these pages. For the genealogy of Humphrey of Toron, see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 35 *et passim*.

[10] This document has not been preserved. Presumably it was drawn up in September, 1180, and affords clear evidence that William was still discharging the formal duties of chancellor even though the court was dominated by a group hostile to him.

[11] The death of Manuel occurred September 24, 1180. William's penchant for round numbers has led him to assign an additional three years to Manuel's reign. This mistake may have resulted from his failure to establish the year of John's death, which had occurred in 1143 (Book XV, chap. 23; see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 606).

legitimate wife, Theodora, a niece of the emperor, and in defiance of the rules of the church dared to marry a certain Sibyl, who had the reputation of practicing evil arts.[12]

Joscelin, the king's uncle and likewise his seneschal, was at this time in Constantinople, whither he had been sent by Baldwin on certain affairs of the realm. Baldwin of Ramlah was also staying there to implore the emperor's aid in the matter of paying his ransom. During their sojourn in the imperial city, Manuel, emperor of precious memory now being dead, it was discovered on March 1 that certain great and illustrious nobles had conspired to bring about a revolution against Emperor Alexius, the son of Manuel who was, by the wish of his father, still under the guardianship of his mother. These men were arrested on the charge of treason and were by the emperor's orders bound and thrown into prison, although some of the guilty ones were his blood relations.

Among the leaders of this conspiracy were Manuel, son of the elder Andronicus, who was mentioned above; Alexius, the *protosebastos*, son of Theodora Calusina, the emperor's niece; the brother of the *logothete*, who held the office of *canaclinus*; and some twelve other distinguished men of high rank. The emperor's sister, the Lady Maria, was also an accessory to the plot. During the night she fled with her husband, the son of the marquis mentioned above,[13] to the church of Santa Sophia, where, in suspense as to her fate, she cast herself on the protection of the church. From that refuge, whither weapons and armed men had been assembled, she and her husband, with her partisans and those implicated in the same plot, attempted to take measures against her brother, the emperor. Even the patriarch of the city favored her. The party of the emperor, however, which relied especially on the aid of the Latins, kept increasing in strength, and finally, with shattered forces and in despair of life itself, she humbly begged for mercy through mediators. The emperor granted her request and restored her to favor.[14]

[12] The belief in magic, sorcery, and soothsaying was widespread in the East as well as in the West. Emperor Manuel was required on his deathbed to sign a formal document to dismiss his astrologers and disavow the practice as contrary to the teachings of the church (see Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II, 606).

[13] Chapter 4. The *logothete* and *canaclinus* were somewhat lesser officials in the imperial administration. Their duties were chiefly secretarial, with some concern for imperial expenditures as well.

[14] This abortive revolution was but the symptom of the more serious troubles which were soon to appear (see chaps. 10–13).

6. *Excommunication is pronounced against the prince of Antioch because of the mistress whom he had taken although his wife was still living.*

At this time the situation of the Latin people in the Orient, especially in the principality of Antioch, was greatly disturbed because Bohemond, the prince of Antioch, had put away his legitimate wife and taken his mistress as a second wife. More than once he had been warned to leave the wicked state of adultery in which he was so openly living and to take back his legitimate wife. But, "when the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt," [15] so the prince turned a deaf ear to those "charming never so wisely" [16] and refused to listen. Consequently, as he obstinately persevered in his sin, he drew upon himself the just sentence of excommunication. To this, however, he paid but slight attention. On the contrary, he continued on his wicked course with redoubled energy. He treated the patriarch, the bishops, and other prelates of the church in that land as enemies and laid violent hands upon them. He violated the precincts of sacred places, both churches and monasteries, carried off their sacred objects, and, in a wicked spirit of presumptuous daring, disturbed their possessions. It is said that he actually besieged the patriarch together with the clergy who had fled to him for refuge in a fortress belonging to the church. This place was well equipped with arms and soldiers and provisioned with food, and he is reported to have made frequent assaults upon it as if it were a possession of the enemy.

At this, certain great men of this land found themselves unable to endure his mad conduct longer. Aware that their duty was to God rather than to man, they withdrew from him both in body and in spirit, in utter abhorrence of his wicked deeds. Among these was a powerful nobleman, Renaud Masoier. He retired to one of his own fortresses, a strong and impregnable place, and invited those who had the good of the cause at heart and the fear of the Lord before their eyes to join him there. To these nobles who had been driven from their own domains and to others of any condition who had fled for the same reason, he offered a safe asylum there.

As the result of Bohemond's conduct, the entire land faced an extremely difficult situation. Wise men of long experience saw that unless divine mercy speedily came to our aid, a way would unquestion-

[15] Pr. 18:3. [16] Ps. 57:5.

ably be opened by which the enemy would accomplish our ruin and the cause of Christianity be injured forever. The whole province would again fall into the power of the Turks, from whom, with God's help, it had been rescued through the work of faithful leaders and at the expense of untold hardships endured by the people of Christ. For unchanging is the word of truth and worthy of all acceptance that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." [17]

With their usual sense of responsibility, the king of Jerusalem and the lord patriarch met with the other prelates of the church and the lay princes to confer earnestly as to what course should be pursued in such a critical emergency. Although the reprehensible conduct of the rash and dissolute prince seemed to call for strong measures, yet they hesitated to use force, lest, in his efforts to resist, he might call the enemy's forces to his assistance. Such an action would open to the Turks the country from which thereafter the most earnest efforts would not avail to eject them. It was plain also that the present was no time for entreaties and wholesome admonition; hence they did not venture to send wise men gifted in the art of persuasion to one who was rushing madly along evil courses, wholly engrossed in evil doing; for that would be like "telling a tale to a deaf ass" [18] and "throwing words to the wind." [19]

They determined to endure this evil, therefore, lest they should fall upon worse things. Meanwhile they continued to look for aid from Him who is wont to rescue even those cast down in the depths of the sea, the Lord who "giveth snow like wool," who "scattereth the hoarfrost like ashes." [20] Their hope was that the prince, warned by a divine visitation, might be restored to his right mind and, clothed from on high with all the virtues of the greatest leaders, might be led to strive for the fruit of a better life.

7. *The patriarch of Jerusalem is sent to Antioch to try to find a remedy for these dangerous conditions. Pope Alexander dies.*

It soon became evident to all that the evil was on the increase and that there was no hope of any immediate remedy. Not only was the prince himself held in the bonds of anathema, but, as a result of the

[17] Mat. 12:25.
[18] Horace *Ep.* II. i. 199.
[19] Ovid *Am.* I. vi. 42, and *Her.* II. 25.
[20] Ps. 147:16.

plundering and burning of the possessions of the venerable places, the entire land had been placed under an interdict. Except for the baptism of children, none of the sacraments of the church were now administered to the people, and the Christians realized with alarm that present conditions could not continue long without peril to all.

By common consent, therefore, it was decided that the lord patriarch should go to Antioch and endeavor, if possible, by the grace of God, to find some remedy, either temporary or permanent, which might relieve these great evils. Renaud de Châtillon, formerly prince of Antioch and the stepfather of the younger Bohemond, Brother Arnold of Toroge, master of the knights of the Temple, and Brother Roger des Moulins, master of the house of the Hospital, accompanied the patriarch. This step was taken because it was feared that if we gave no sign of compassion for the wretched plight of our neighbors and did not seek to remedy the situation, the pope and the princes across seas might accuse us of negligence or even of evil intent.

The patriarch was attended also by some of the prelates of the church, wise and discreet men, among whom were Monachus, archbishop-elect of Caesarea; Albert, bishop of Bethlehem; Raynald, abbot of Mt. Sion; and Peter, prior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. With the other companions of his journey, he set out for Antioch, taking with him also the count of Tripoli, an intimate and dearly beloved friend of the prince, whose words, it was hoped, when added to our own might bring about the achievement of their purpose.

On arriving at Laodicea, the envoys conferred with the patriarch and the prince individually and set a day when both should come to Antioch. Here, after the matter had been thoroughly discussed from every viewpoint, a temporary truce was concluded under the following terms. It was agreed that when all the lost property should be restored to the patriarch, the bishops, and the holy places, the interdict should then cease and the privilege of the sacraments of the church be restored to the people. As to the prince himself, he in his own person must patiently suffer the sentence laid upon him by the bishops, or, if he should seek complete absolution, he must dismiss his concubine and take back his legitimate wife.

When this arrangement had been made, the legates returned to their own land, in the belief that they had quieted to some extent at least the fires of lawlessness raging in the principality of Antioch.

The prince, however, obstinately persisted in his shameless course

and, in addition, entered upon a policy which was attended with great danger to the realm. He drove out of the city—and, in fact, from his entire domains—the best of his faithful nobles, men of great eminence, apparently for the sole reason that they were said to disapprove of his conduct. Among those whom he exiled were his constable and chamberlain, Giscard de Lille [Guichard de Lisle], Bertrand, son of Count Gislebert,[21] and Garinus Gainart. These nobles, since they were forced to leave Antioch, repaired to Rupinus [Rupen], a noble chief of the Armenians.[22] He received them all most honorably, gave to each splendid gifts, and made ample provision for their support.

On August 27 of that same year, in the twenty-third year of his pontificate, Pope Alexander III [23] died and was buried in the church of the Lateran. He was succeeded by Lucius III, formerly Hubald, bishop of Ostia. The new pope, an aged man of little learning, was a native of Tuscany from the vicinity of Lucca.

About the same time, also, on the Ides of September, our venerable brother in Christ, Raymond, bishop of the church at Beirut, of blessed memory in the Lord, departed from this life to enjoy, through the grace of God, the reward of eternal life. Later an honorable and well-lettered man, Master Odo, archdeacon of our church, was chosen in his place, and upon him, during the feast days of December, by the will of God, we conferred the rank of priesthood and the pontifical office.

8. *The son of Nureddin dies. His inheritance is left to Thebeth, his kinsman.*

About this time occurred the death of Melechsalah [Malik Salah], the son of Nureddin, a youth still in early manhood. Of all the patrimony received from his father there remained to him only Aleppo and a few strongholds. In his last will, made as he was dying, he is said to have bequeathed Aleppo and his entire patrimony to a certain Thebeth, lord of Mosul, who was the son of his father's brother Hezedin. After Malik Salah's death, his nobles sent messengers to Thebeth, who was a great and distinguished Turkish satrap, and bade him not to delay coming to them as speedily as possible.[24]

[21] Their expulsion afforded an interesting test of feudal strength.

[22] Rupen III, 1175–1185.

[23] Alexander III died August 30, 1181.

[24] There is some confusion in this statement of relationships. Hezedin probably represents Izz al-Din, who was the son of Qutb al-Din, Nureddin's brother. Perhaps The-

As soon as he received the message, Thebeth hastened thither and took possession of his ancestral property and of all that was his by hereditary right. For he feared that Saladin, who had already despoiled his cousin of most of his possessions, might come again from Egypt and, despite the will of the inhabitants, seize this city by force, especially since some of the more important nobles secretly favored him.

Saladin, however, after concluding with us a temporary peace for the period of two years, had returned to Egypt to attend to his own affairs in that kingdom. He had heard with much uneasiness that the fleet of the king of Sicily with a mighty equipment and innumerable forces, had put to sea with the intention of proceeding against Egypt. His fear in this respect, however, was needless, for the course of the fleet was directed westward to the Balearic Isles. These islands, one of which is commonly called Majorca and the other Minorca, lie near Hither Spain. The voyage thither proved disastrous. Driven by unfavorable winds, practically the entire fleet was wrecked in the vicinity of the coast cities Sãone [Savona], Albenga, and Ventimiglia, where the tumultuous waves dashed the ships upon the shore.

At this time, while the kingdom was enjoying a temporary state of peace, as has been related, a race of Syrians in the province of Phoenicia, near the Lebanon range, who occupied territory near the city of Jubail, underwent a wonderful change of heart. For almost fifty years these people had followed the heretical doctrines of a certain Maro, from whom they took the name of Maronites. They had separated from the church of the faithful and had adopted a special liturgy of their own. Now, however, by divine leading, they were restored to their right minds and abandoned their heresy. They repaired to Aimery, the patriarch of Antioch, the third of the Latin patriarchs to preside over that church, renounced the error by which they had been so long enslaved, and returned to the unity of the catholic church. They adopted the orthodox faith and prepared to embrace and observe with all reverence the traditions of the Roman church.

These people were by no means few in numbers; in fact, they were

beth is intended for Qutb al-Din, in which case William has reversed the relationship of father and son. It was Izz-al-Din who did take Aleppo as his inheritance at this time and shortly afterward exchanged it with his brother Imad al-Din (see Beha ed-Din, *The Life of Saladin*, pp. 80–81). William doubtless received this information from oral report.

generally estimated at more than forty thousand. They lived, as has been said, in the bishoprics of Jubail, Botron, and Tripoli, on the slopes of the Lebanon mountains. They were a stalwart race, valiant fighters, and of great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements which they so frequently had with the enemy. Their conversion to the true faith was, therefore, a source of great joy to us.

The heresy of Maro and his followers is and was that in our Lord Jesus Christ there exists, and did exist from the beginning, one will and one energy only, as may be learned from the sixth council, which, as is well known, was assembled against them and in which they suffered sentence of condemnation. To this article, condemned by the orthodox church, they added many other pernicious doctrines after they separated from the number of the faithful. Now, however, as has been stated, they repented of all these heresies and returned to the catholic church, under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops. These leaders who had hitherto led their people in the ways of iniquity, now displayed equal zeal in piously guiding them as they returned to the truth.[25]

9. *A dangerous hostility which soon develops into open enmity springs up between the count of Tripoli and the king.*

At this time, thanks to the temporary peace which had been concluded between the king and Saladin, the kingdom was enjoying a certain degree of tranquillity, as has already been said. Nevertheless, there were not lacking restless spirits, sons of Belial and foster sons of iniquity, who were ever on the alert to create discord in the kingdom and to bring about civil troubles.

For two successive years a multiplicity of affairs had detained the count of Tripoli in his own county of Tripoli, and for that reason, he had been prevented from visiting the kingdom.[26] Now, however, the responsibility which he felt for the city of Tiberias, his wife's patrimony, led him to go thither, and he made all his preparations for the journey. He had proceeded as far as Jubail when the aforesaid wicked men, by their malicious insinuations, induced the too credulous king to believe that the count was coming to the kingdom with the wicked

[25] This union of Maronites with Latins has continued down to the present day. See article by M. Spinka, "Effect of Crusades upon Eastern Christianity," *Environmental Factors in Christian History*.

[26] His last visit had been at Easter time, 1180 (see chap. 1).

design of secretly working to supplant him. He readily lent an ear to their seductive words and at once sent a peremptory message refusing the count permission to enter the realm.

At this injury, so little deserved, the count, confused and justly indignant, very unwillingly refrained from advancing farther and returned to Tripoli after a useless expenditure of effort and money.

It was the intention of these troublemakers, unrestrained by the presence of the count, an indefatigable and thoroughly upright man, to handle the affairs of the kingdom themselves just as they wished and to turn the infirmity of the king to their own advantage. Among those who shamelessly influenced the king to this course of action were his mother, a most grasping woman, utterly detestable to God; her brother, the king's seneschal; and a few wicked men, their partisans.[27]

When the principal barons, men of much experience and foresight, learned of this action, they were greatly alarmed, for they feared that, deprived of the protection of the illustrious count, the kingdom would speedily fall from its high estate and, according to the word of the Lord, being "divided against itself shall not stand." [28] This was more especially the case because the king, whose illness was daily increasing, was becoming more and more incapacitated and less and less fit to attend to the business of the realm; in fact, he was scarcely able to hold himself up and was almost totally paralyzed.

The more important barons, seeing the danger which would certainly result to the realm as the consequence of the above act, bent all their efforts toward recalling the count and softening his anger. Finally, after much negotiation and various proposals, the king, in spite of his unwillingness, was forced to permit them to bring the count back into the kingdom. The illustrious man wisely overlooked the insults that had been offered him, and peace between the king and himself was fully reëstablished.[29]

[27] This is William's first direct outburst against this pair, who were probably also responsible for his own loss of the patriarchate. Such expression of unrestrained emotion is unusual in our author and implies that he wrote it either in 1182, when he was still in the first flush of indignation about the matter, or in 1184 after the death of Agnes, which La Monte dates late in 1183 or early in 1184 (see J. L. La Monte, "The Rise and Decline of a Frankish Seigneury in Syria in the Time of the Crusades," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen,* XV [1938], 313).

[28] Mat. 12:25.

[29] Perhaps this reconciliation was accomplished as early as April 27, 1182. There is extant at Jerusalem an intensely interesting document of that date in which Baldwin IV

10. *An uprising occurs at Constantinople in which the wicked Andronicus prevails. As a result the Latin race is greatly disturbed.*

WHILE these events were taking place in our part of the Orient, an important change occurred in the empire of Constantinople. This resulted most unfortunately for the entire Latin race and brought upon them unheard of affronts and enormous loss. For the evils long since conceived by false and perfidious Greece travailed and "brought forth falsehood." [30] For on the death of Manuel, that most happy emperor of illustrious memory, his son Alexius, a boy scarcely thirteen years old, succeeded to the throne, both by his father's will and by hereditary right. He was under his mother's guardianship, however, and the affairs of the empire were administered by Alexius, the *protosebastos*, son of the elder brother of the dead emperor. The principal nobles and the people of that city accordingly felt that an opportunity had come to carry into effect the evil designs which they had formed against our people.

During the reign of Manuel, beloved of God, the Latins had found great favor with him—a reward well deserved because of their loyalty and valor. The emperor, a great-souled man of incomparable energy, relied so implicitly on their fidelity and ability that he passed over the Greeks as soft and effeminate and intrusted important affairs to the Latins alone. Since he held them in such high esteem and showed toward them such lavish generosity, men of the Latin race from all over the world, nobles and men of lesser degree as well, regarded him as their great benefactor and eagerly flocked to his court. As the result of this eager deference, his affection toward the Latins increased more and more, and he was constantly improving their status.

The Greek nobles, especially the near kindred of the emperor, and the rest of the people as well, naturally conceived an insatiable hatred toward us, and this was increased by the difference between our sacra-

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makes a grant of certain tithes at Toron to William, archbishop of Tyre. The document is witnessed by Raymond of Tripoli as well as by other great nobles and is sealed by William himself as chancellor. The transaction, a generous favor to William, may imply not only that cordiality was reëstablished between Raymond and the king, but also that William was an important factor in that happy solution (R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 615).

[30] Ps. 7: 14.

ments and those of their church, which furnished an additional incentive to their jealousy. For they, having separated insolently from the church of Rome, in their boundless arrogance looked upon everyone who did not follow their foolish traditions as a heretic. It was they themselves, on the contrary, who deserved the name of heretics, because they had either created or followed new and pernicious beliefs contrary to the Roman church and the faith of the apostles Peter and Paul against which "the gates of hell shall not prevail." [31]

For these and other reasons they had for a long time cherished this hatred in their hearts and were ever seeking an opportunity, at least after the death of the emperor, to destroy utterly the hated race of the Latins, both in the city and throughout the entire empire, that in this way they might satisfy their inexorable animosity.[32]

11. *The causes of the uprising and dissension are given.*

When the Emperor Manuel was removed from the affairs of this world and while Alexius, the *protosebastos,* had the administration of the realm, there seemed to be no favorable opportunity to carry out these evil designs. Alexius himself followed the example of the emperor, availed himself of the advice and assistance of the Latins, and as far as possible made them his friends. In one respect, however, he was hated by Latins and Greeks alike. Although, like all Greeks, he was extremely effeminate and completely given over to the lustful sins of the flesh, yet he was avaricious and sparing of the imperial treasure, as if he had earned it himself by the sweat of his brow. It was rumored also that he carried on a criminal liaison with the empress, although while her husband was lying on his deathbed she had professed the religious life.[33]

His attitude, moreover, was one of extreme haughtiness; he regarded no one as superior to himself but managed everything according to his own wishes without consulting the other lords. He seemed

[31] Mat. 16: 18.

[32] This analysis of the feelings of the Greeks is the result of William's expert knowledge of the conditions. His recognition of the importance of the religious differences as a factor in the revolution is of special interest. This is confirmed from Greek sources (see A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 77).

[33] This charge of illicit relations with the empress, who was now nominally regent, was generally accepted by the Greek historians (see Diehl, *Figures byzantines,* 2d Series, p. 195).

to care nothing for the rest, although they were magnificent men of rank quite equal to his own. Hence, moved by extreme hatred against Alexius for the reasons just given, the princes of the palace took active measures against him. They summoned Andronicus the Elder, a cousin of the late emperor, from Pontus, where he was ruling, that he might assist them in their wicked plot to drive Alexius, the *protosebastos,* from the control of affairs in the realm.

This Andronicus, a cousin of the late emperor, was a false and wicked man, ever disloyal to the empire and ever active in sowing the seeds of conspiracies. In the time of the emperor he had suffered chains and imprisonment because of his many crimes. Ignominiously treated, as his merits richly deserved, he became an exile and a fugitive and wandered over the entire East. Yet even in his exile he had been guilty of many disgraceful acts, worthy of universal condemnation. Quite recently, however, about three months before Manuel's death, the emperor had restored him to favor once more. In order to prevent him from stirring up trouble in the city, according to his custom, and fomenting revolutions in the hope of gaining the kingdom, he was sent to Pontus under pretext of the office of governor.[34]

This then was the man whom the near kindred of the emperor and of the *protosebastos* as well, those in whom he had especial confidence, had secretly summoned. Through their envoys they invited him to arm against the man who had shamefully thrown his sons and other illustrious men into chains. For, as has been said, the *protosebastos* had imprisoned certain distinguished men who had been caught in a conspiracy and thereby had roused still more enmity against himself.

Thus summoned, Andronicus came to the city bringing with him large forces of barbarian troops. He encamped along the Hellespont in full sight of the city and took possession of all Bithynia. Certain powerful nobles who had been sent against him to resist his attempts traitorously deserted to his side. First and most important among these were Andronicus Angelus, commander of the troops which had been dispatched against him, and Alexius Megalducas, commander in chief of the fleet, both kinsmen of the emperor. The desertion of those who had gone over to Andronicus thus openly weakened the cause of our people greatly as did also the fact that many other no-

[34] See Book XX, note 4.

table men and a great many citizens as well showed their partisanship for Andronicus no longer secretly but in public. They longed to see him enter the city and in every possible way helped to hasten the time of his crossing.

12. *Andronicus kills the nobles and seizes the palace and the city. He oppresses the people by the violence of his rule.*

THE conspiracy continued to gain strength; the *protosebastos* was seized, blinded, and horribly mutilated. This change of affairs spread consternation among the Latins, for they feared that the citizens would make a sudden attack upon them; in fact they had already received warning of such intention from certain people who had private knowledge of the conspiracy. Those who were able to do so, therefore, fled from the wiles of the Greeks and the death which threatened them. Some embarked on forty-four galleys which chanced to be in the harbor, and others placed all their effects on some of the many other ships there.

The aged and infirm, however, with those who were unable to flee, were left in their homes, and on them fell the wicked rage which the others had escaped. For Andronicus, who had secretly caused ships to be prepared, led his entire force into the city. As soon as they entered the gates these troops, aided by the citizens, rushed to that quarter of the city occupied by the Latins and put to the sword the little remnant who had been either unwilling or unable to flee with the others. Although but few of these were able to fight, yet they resisted for a long time and made the enemy's victory a bloody one.

Regardless of treaties and the many services which our people had rendered to the empire, the Greeks seized all those who appeared capable of resistance, set fire to their houses, and speedily reduced the entire quarter to ashes. Women and children, the aged and the sick, all alike perished in the flames. To vent their rage upon secular buildings alone, however, was far from satisfying their unholy wickedness; they also set fire to churches and venerated places of every description and burned, together with the sacred edifices, those who had fled thither for refuge. No distinction was made between clergy and laymen, except that greater fury was displayed toward those who wore the honorable habits of high office or religion. Monks and priests were

the especial victims of their madness and were put to death under excruciating torture.

Among these latter was a venerable man named John, a subdeacon of the holy Roman church, whom the pope had sent to Constantinople on business relating to the church. They seized him and, cutting off his head, fastened it to the tail of a filthy dog as an insult to the church. In the midst of such frightful sacrilege, worse than parricide, not even the dead, whom impiety itself generally spares, were suffered to rest undisturbed. Corpses were torn from the tombs and dragged through the streets and squares as if the insensate bodies were capable of feeling the indignities offered them.[35]

The vandals then repaired to the hospital of St. John, as it is called, where they put to the sword all the sick they found. Those whose pious duty it should have been to relieve the oppressed, namely the monks and priests, called in footpads and brigands to carry on the slaughter under promise of reward. Accompanied by these miscreants, they sought out the most secluded retreats and the inmost apartments of homes, that none who were hiding there might escape death. When such were discovered, they were dragged out with violence and handed over to the executioners, who, that they might not work without pay, were given the price of blood for the murder of these wretched victims.

Even those who seemed to show more consideration sold into perpetual slavery among the Turks and other infidels the fugitives who had resorted to them and to whom they had given hope of safety. It is said that more than four thousand Latins of various age, sex, and condition were delivered thus to barbarous nations for a price.

In such fashion did the perfidious Greek nation, a brood of vipers, like a serpent in the bosom or a mouse in the wardrobe evilly requite their guests—those who had not deserved such treatment and were far from anticipating anything of the kind; those to whom they had given their daughters, nieces, and sisters as wives and who, by long living together, had become their friends.

[35] The mutilation of the Roman cardinal underlines the importance of the religious element in the antipathy of Greeks toward Latins. It was not the political or economic importance of the Latins but rather the success of the Latins in gaining Manuel's approval of a possible union of the Greek and Latin churches under Roman headship which gave the uprising this fanatical edge. The remains of the cardinal's body were later gathered up and accorded a decent burial (see E. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, VI, 373).

13. *The Latins who had escaped in ships ravage in hostile fashion the islands and other places along the shore.*

THIS horrible outrage, unprecedented throughout the ages, did not go entirely unpunished, it is said. The Latins who had fled in the galleys, as has been related, and the large numbers who followed them a little later with a good-sized fleet had assembled in the vicinity of Constantinople to await the outcome of events. Here they received definite information that those who had excited the first tumult in the city had burned the entire Latin quarter and that their wives and children with all the members of their households had perished either by fire or by the sword. This news roused righteous wrath and resentment in the hearts of all and inspired them with a fervent desire to avenge the blood of their friends. Accordingly they sailed along the shores of the Hellespont, from the mouth of the Black sea, which is thirty miles from Constantinople, to the entrance of the Mediterranean sea, a distance of two hundred miles, took by force all the cities and fortresses along both shores, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. They made their way also into all the monasteries along both shores and on the small islands scattered throughout that sea. Here, in retaliation for the blood of their brethren, they slew all those pseudo-monks and sacrilegious priests and burned the monasteries together with the refugees who had fled thither. From these places they are said to have carried off an immense amount of gold and silver, with jewels and silken stuffs in large quantities, and therewith repaid themselves many times for the loss of their property and the destruction of their goods. For, in addition to the vast wealth of the monasteries and the countless treasures which had been accumulating there for a long time, the citizens of Constantinople had deposited in these holy places for safekeeping immense quantities of gold and other treasures.

Laden with all these spoils, the Latins then left the straits of that sea and sailed into the Mediterranean between the ancient coastal cities, Sestos and Abydos.

As they sailed along the shores of Thessaly, they searched all the cities and towns of the lands near the sea with the minutest care, gave everything over to pillage and fire, and massacred countless numbers. Near Chrysopolis, a city of Macedonia, they are said to have found ten

other galleys, and in various places a great many more. With these they formed an exceedingly large fleet which proved a most formidable engine of destruction to the Greeks.

Some of the Latins, however, shrank from these deeds of slaughter and rapine;[36] this latter group embarked on some of the many ships in the harbor and, with their wives and children and all that remained of their effects, left the army and came to us in Syria.

Meanwhile, Andronicus was in possession of the city, according to his wishes, and since there was no one to object he had the emperor solemnly crowned on the holy day of Pentecost, together with his destined wife, the daughter of the king of the Franks, and showed him all reverence. The mother of the emperor, together with his sister and her husband, who were still within the palace precincts, he as yet treated with kindness. Andronicus personally directed all the affairs of the empire, however, both in the city and without, and arranged everything according to his own pleasure.

It is to be feared that he made this show of courtesy toward these persons in order to hide his treacherous purpose, until he should have held the throne for a time and gradually subjected everything to his own power, when he could show openly his real intentions in regard to them.[37]

This happened in the month of April, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1182.

14. *Saladin revokes the treaty which he had made with the king. The latter marches out beyond the Jordan to encounter him. The Turks assault the village of Buria and carry the people away into captivity.*

WHILE these events were transpiring in Greece, a certain ship with fifteen hundred pilgrims on board, driven by adverse winds, was

[36] The effect of these massacres upon the commercial city states of Italy, especially Venice, which suffered most heavily, has usually been overlooked. The Fourth Crusade has too often been represented as a purely business enterprise of the Venetians. The sons and daughters and more distant relatives of the Venetians who lost thir lives in this massacre of 1182 would not have agreed with that opinion. It is gratifying to know that some of the Latins did not approve of the severity of the revenge, even in retaliation. William doubtless obtained his information from these refugees.

[37] He disposed of them before the end of the year 1183, first having Maria of Antioch strangled and in the same year having her son Alexius treated similarly. Also at this time he formally married the young French empress, Agnes, who was about twelve years old at the time (Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire,* II, 76).

wrecked at Damietta in the kingdom of Egypt. However, the shipwrecked people felt confident that they would be saved, for it was known that Saladin had made a truce and temporary peace with the Christians, on both land and sea.

But the fate that befell them was far different from that required by the law of treaties. For Saladin, overcome by his desire for spoils, was reluctant to allow so many Christians to depart freely from his land, as he was bound to do by the terms of the agreement. He accordingly threw them all into prison and ordered their goods to be confiscated for his own use. He then sent a messenger to the king and, in direct defiance of the terms of the treaty, made demands upon him with which it was practically impossible to comply. He added as an ultimatum that, unless all these demands were met in accordance with his wishes, he would retain the aforesaid ship as compensation for himself and would, moreover, abrogate the pact which had been concluded between them.[38]

The messenger was unable to obtain the satisfaction of Saladin's demands, since he tried to invent barefaced excuses under pretext of which the ship might be retained rather than to present just causes of complaint. Thereupon the prince at once broke the treaty and, giving way to his long-cherished animosity, began to plan how he might harass the kingdom in his usual manner. He mustered both cavalry and infantry forces and increased the size of his army by large numbers of men who in former years had left Damascus and the neighboring countries and had gone to Egypt to avoid the stress of famine. With this force he determined to return to Damascus, where as from a nearer base he could cause us greater trouble.

While on the march to Damascus, he intended also to injure as much as possible that part of our possessions which lay beyond the Jordan. Here the crops were already white for the harvest, and by burning these or by seizing one or more of our strongholds in that locality he could do the Christians much damage.

His special purpose in acting thus is said to have been the desire to retaliate on Prince Renaud, the lord of that land. For the prince, contrary to agreement, was reported to have seized certain Arabs dur-

[38] William is slow to bring in the charge which Muslim writers make that Renaud de Châtillon was first to break the truce. This is stated somewhat later in this chapter. Each side accused the other of the violation of the truce (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, pp. 224–25).

ing the period of the truce and to have refused to release them on demand.

Through his scouts, the king learned of Saladin's advance and also of his designs. He at once held a general council at Jerusalem where the terms of the Turkish prince were carefully considered. Then, acting on the advice of certain of his counsellors, he led all his forces across the valley of Sylvester, wherein is the Dead sea, and arrived at the spot where he proposed to meet Saladin on his march and prevent him from devastating that land.

Saladin's march across the desert had been accomplished under great difficulties in barely twenty days, and he was now established with his forces upon habitable land in our territory, at a distance of about ten miles from the Christian stronghold of Montreal. Here he was waiting to receive definite information about the condition of the locality and of the whereabouts of the king and his army.

Baldwin had placed his camp near an ancient city called Petra of the Desert, in Arabia Secunda, about thirty-six miles from Saladin's camp. He had with him the entire strength of the army. The count of Tripoli also remained with the forces, although much against his will, for it was contrary to his advice that the king had marched thither and thus left the other parts of his realm unprotected and utterly stripped of soldiers. Certain of the barons, out of regard for Prince Renaud rather than for the general welfare, had influenced the king to this course, without giving due attention to what might happen in the kingdom thus left without defenders.

How far from wise this action was subsequent events soon showed. For the rulers in the vicinity of Damascus, Bostrum, Baalbec, and Hims, perceiving that the flower of the realm was absent and the whole region destitute of troops, secretly and silently mustered their forces. They crossed the Jordan near the sea of Galilee, that is, near Tiberias, and furtively entered our land. After overrunning a part of Galilee, they came to a place at the foot of Mt. Tabor called Buria, near the ancient city of Nain. The people of those parts were as yet unaware that the truce had been broken. Accordingly, in complete reliance upon it, they did not take measures to protect themselves. As a result the enemy fell upon them stealthily by night and completely surrounded the place so that the besieged could not escape to the mountains which rose above them.

When day dawned, the inhabitants saw that they were surrounded on all sides by the enemy and hastily retreated to a tower above the village. The Turks immediately encircled this tower and put forth mighty efforts to undermine it. Within the space of four hours they were successful, and the building fell to the ground. Before the final catastrophe, however, when cracks began to appear and its downfall seemed imminent, the refugees who had fled to it for protection surrendered.

The infidels thereupon gathered up all the plunder from Buria and other places near by and, without opposition, led away with them as prisoners about five hundred souls. Many dead who had fallen in the fight were left on the field. For since the locality was very productive and the time of harvest was at hand, large numbers of people had come thither from neighboring places to help harvest the crop. All of these, as we have said, were carried off by the enemy without resistance. Then the Turks again crossed the Jordan and returned, safe and sound, to their own land.

15. *Saladin likewise seizes by force one of our strongholds, a well-fortified cave, in the land of Sawad.*

DURING this time, while the king and the Christian army were still occupied in Syria Sobal, a very serious disaster occurred which exposed us to new peril and which will ever be regretted by our people. Beyond the Jordan in the land of Sawad, sixteen miles from Tiberias, the Christians possessed a very strongly fortified place. It was thought to be impregnable and was of great service to our people. This district was nearer to the enemy's domains than to our realm, and in consequence they could easily work their will over it and command the inhabitants as they would. Yet, because of the protection afforded by this fortress, the custom had prevailed for many years and was still in practice at this time of dividing the powers equally between the Christians and the infidels; the taxes and tribute were also equally divided between them.[39]

The fortress just referred to was situated in a cave on the slope of a certain mountain under an immense overhanging cliff. On the upper side there was no approach whatever, while on the other there was

[39] The ability of the Latin crusaders and their Muslim neighbors to live peaceably together is usually lost to sight in the narrative of warfare. Yet here is a clear instance of such coöperation that had been going on for years.

only a narrow footpath by which a man, if free from all encumbrance, might with difficulty find his way. The care of this place had been committed to Fulk of Tiberias, a loyal and vigilant nobleman of great wealth.

The leaders of the Turkish forces had taken Buria and made prisoners of our people there, as has been related above; now they appeared suddenly before this place and within five days had taken it by storm.

There is a difference of opinion about the capture of this fortress. Some say that the garrison in the citadel surrendered it in consideration of a sum of money. Others assert that the enemy forced an entrance into the cave from the side by mining, a feat which could easily be accomplished since the rock was of cretaceous nature. They burrowed into the first story and seized it; then, after taking that, they compelled the surrender of those in the middle and top stories (for the place is said to have had three stories).

It was later ascertained, however, that the foe gained possession of the cave through the treachery of the officers in charge. For, although the rest wished to make resistance, those in authority forbade any defense to be made, and after surrendering they themselves deserted to the enemy.

The commanders in charge were, it is said, Syrians, a race which is regarded by us as weak and effeminate.[40] The greatest blame, therefore, rested upon Fulk of Tiberias, who was responsible for placing men of such caliber in charge of so important a place. Such was the report which spread far and wide through the realm and which finally reached the ears of the Christians beyond the Jordan who were trying to prevent Saladin from crossing into Syria on his way from Egypt to Damascus.

This news overwhelmed the hearts of all with consternation. Especially was this true of the count of Tripoli, on whom rested the responsibility and care of this fortress.

And so it happened that those who had so carelessly left the kingdom and were conducting themselves still more unwisely in this place were unable to accomplish anything acceptable to God or of benefit to the realm. They should have met Saladin at the frontiers of our kingdom and prevented his entering the land; but, rashly enough,

[40] This passage is usually cited to prove that William, though born in Palestine, was not a Syrian.

they permitted him to advance as far as the place called Gerba, where he found a great abundance of the water so desperately needed by his thirsty army. From Gerba he sent a part of his forces to the vicinity of our fortress called Montreal, where they cut down vineyards and inflicted other losses upon the people living there. But, if the Christians had hurried to that place he would unquestionably have been forced to retire to Egypt, for he was leading an immense crowd of unwarlike people who had already discovered that the water in their skins and the bread in their chests was beginning to fail. All this multitude must have perished of famine in the desert, for to advance was impossible and to engage our forces would be attended with great danger.[41]

On learning that the prince had already reached the place just named, the Christians again decided to attack him, this time at the waters called Ras el Rassit. If this plan had been carried out, Saladin would have been obliged to attempt a march through the farther desert, a feat which could not have been accomplished without great loss of men and pack animals.

Since they neglected to do this, however, he reached the waters without difficulty, and then entered his own land without opposition and arrived in entire safety at Damascus.

On learning of his departure, the Christians also returned to their own land over the same route by which they had come. But it was to be feared that from Damascus, whither he had departed with all his following, Saladin might be devising some trickery which would bring danger upon the realm. All the people of the country were accordingly ordered to concentrate at the fountain of Sephorie, between Sephorie and Nazareth. The king, the patriarch, and all the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, with the Cross of the Lord, attended them, and there from day to day they awaited the approach of the enemy.

16. *Saladin invades our land with an armed force. At the fortress of Forbelet a battle without decisive results is fought.*

DURING this time Saladin had mustered forces from all over his domains to reinforce the army which he had brought with him from

[41] William has usually not felt himself sufficiently informed or interested in military matters to criticize strategy and tactics.

Egypt. Determined to invade our land, he now advanced to the place which is called in their tongue, Raseline, that is, the Head of the Waters. This is said to be only a short distance from our land and quite near the city of Tiberias. After remaining at Raseline for a few days, Saladin suddenly entered our land and encamped between two rivers in a place known as Cavan, which is about four miles distant from Tiberias.

Scouts soon reported this fact to our leaders. An immediate attack was decided upon, and the forces were hastily dispatched to Tiberias to unite with the contingent that had been sent there to protect that city and the fortified places in the vicinity, namely Saphet and Beauvoir.

It happened that the count of Tripoli, an able and valiant man of great experience in war, was at this time lying critically ill with an attack of double [*sic*] tertiary fever. This added much to the troubles of the Christians, for it deprived them at a critical time of the help of this great lord, on whose counsel and prudence they placed great reliance.

Nevertheless, they called in additional forces from the neighboring places and marched forth against the foe with standards raised. As soon as Saladin heard that they were advancing, however, he crossed the Jordan with his armies and withdrew into the environs of Scythopolis.

Scythopolis, [once] the metropolis of Palestina Tertia, and also known as Bethsan, lies in a plain amid well-watered fields, between the mountains of Galboa and the river Jordan. The privileges which it once enjoyed, however, have now been transferred to the church at Nazareth in the same diocese. For Scythopolis has now very few inhabitants and has become merely a small town.

Thither the enemy's battalions marched and at once made a vigorous assault on a small fort situated on marshy land. But the townspeople offered a stout resistance, and the Turks found that they had no prospect of success. In order to march against the Christians, therefore, they directed their lines toward a new fortress, now called Beauvoir, situated in the hills between Scythopolis and Tiberias.

The Christians followed the course of the Jordan until they arrived at the place just mentioned, when they left the valley and went up into the mountains. They were greatly exhausted by the intense

heat which became almost unendurable as they advanced. The night was passed in a state of constant vigilance, for they suspected that the enemy was in the vicinity. When morning came, they returned to the plain which lies between the fortress just mentioned and a village called Forbelet. Here they beheld Saladin's forces stretching out all around in numbers far greater than they had ever before experienced; in fact, the older princes of the kingdom declared that at no time since the Latins first entered Syria had they beheld such a mighty array of foes. The number of knights equipped for battle was about twenty thousand, while our cavalry was estimated at barely seven hundred. Saladin and his nobles had one common intent and purpose, namely to surround our army completely, so that not a man might escape—for, relying on their great numbers, just given, they despised our small force and were confident that the Christians would be unable to withstand them.

But far otherwise did it seem to Him who easily overcomes a great multitude with a few. Although in comparison with the enemy's host, our numbers seemed as nothing, yet, upheld by the God of mercy, the Christians drew up their lines according to the rules of military science and with their usual courage advanced upon the foe. Firmly they resisted the attacks against them and, although to their own everlasting disgrace many Christians, whose names we refrain from giving, ignominiously fled from the heat of battle, yet in that conflict we proved superior to our foes. Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian his brother showed magnificent prowess that day and fought with vigor and courage. Hugh the Younger, stepson of the count of Tripoli, who was with the contingent from Tripoli, also deserves that his memory be held in benediction. Although younger than the others, he strove with valor far beyond his age and, with the troops under his command, routed and put to flight three companies of Turks; then, by the grace of God, he returned uninjured to his friends.

In that battle only a few of our knights fell, about to be received in the company of the saints above; but of the people many perished. The loss of the enemy was far greater. Some of their principal leaders also fell, a catastrophe which caused the infidels to desert the field of battle in consternation.

The fact ought not to be passed over in silence that the heat dur-

ing those days was so much greater than usual that fully as many in both armies perished from sunstroke as by the sword.

Concerning the number of the enemy slain we could learn nothing positive; for to conceal their losses from us, they carried away the bodies of those who had fallen in battle and stealthily buried them the next night in camp, lest the proof of their death might inspire our people with additional courage. We ascertained, however, that from the two causes named above about a thousand perished.

Since matters had not turned out as he had hoped and the Christians had proved stronger than he anticipated, Saladin now retired discomfited. He recrossed the Jordan and returned to his own land, camping a second time in the place from which he had set out.

The Christians also recalled their troops and returned to the fountain of Sephorie, which had been their starting point. On this march Baldwin, a canon of the Sepulchre of the Lord and treasurer of that church, who was bearing the Revivifying Cross, was overcome by the intense heat. He was placed in a litter and borne to the foot of Mt. Tabor, near the torrent of Cison, where he expired.

Another brother, Godfrey of Villeneuve, a canon of the same church, who had been sent on that expedition as an aide to this Baldwin, also perished. Carried away by his zeal for secular interests, he was struck by an arrow and perished. It is indeed just, according to the word of the Lord, that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." [42]

17. *Saladin summons a fleet from Egypt and lays siege to the city of Beirut.*

THE king now returned with his forces to the place mentioned above. Saladin, exceedingly wroth that his campaign had proved so ineffective, now for a second time mustered his forces and again reviewed in his mind all manner of plans. Anxiously he deliberated with his counsellors as to the best way to renew aggressive measures against the Christians. He came to the conclusion that the most effective means of injury was to attack our people in several different places simul-

[42] Mat. 26: 52. This quotation reflects William's own views on the proper relation of churchmen and warriors. These events occurred in July, 1182 (see Stevenson, *Crusaders*, pp. 228–29).

taneously. He accordingly sent strict instructions to his brother, whom he had left in charge of his affairs in Egypt, to assemble a fleet from Alexandria and Egypt and dispatch it to Syria as soon as possible. He explained that, immediately on the arrival of this fleet, he intended to blockade Beirut both by land and by sea. To prevent the king and his people from hurrying to its relief, he directed his brother to assemble the cavalry forces which had been left in Egypt. With these troops he was to enter our land on the south and lay waste all the region around Gaza, Ascalon, and Daron, which are the last cities belonging to the kingdom on this side the land of Egypt.

Saladin's purpose in giving these orders was that, while one part of the Christian forces was engaged in opposing the invaders from Egypt whereby the army was reduced in strength and numbers, he himself might be free to assault the besieged city with greater fury.

His plans were carried out according to the orders which he had given. Within a few days, a fleet of thirty beaked ships arrived as he had directed, and his brother conducted to the vicinity of Daron the forces which he had raised from all over Egypt.

That all might be in readiness when the fleet arrived, Saladin himself led a force into the locality commonly known as the valley of Baccar. Scouts were stationed upon the hills which jut out into the sea between the region just mentioned and the plain of Beirut to notify him when the fleet was in sight. During this interval he gathered additional infantry forces from the adjacent country and with great care made all the preparations which he thought would be necessary for the successful operation of the siege.

Punctually, about August 1, the fleet arrived off the coast near Beirut. The scouts specially detailed for the purpose gave immediate notice of this arrival, and Saladin at once crossed the intervening mountains and led his forces down into the plain. Here he completely invested the city of Beirut according to the plan long before arranged.

Conflicting rumors in regard to Saladin's intentions now began to reach our forces which were encamped at Sephorie. Some said that he intended to besiege the city of Beirut, which eventually proved to be true; others thought that his whole idea was to obtain Aleppo; while still others asserted that it was his purpose to engage the lord of Mosul, a magnificent and powerful Turkish satrap, who was reported to be besieging some of Saladin's cities in the vicinity of the Euphrates.

But while these desultory reports were circulating in the camp, all uncertainty was ended by the arrival of a messenger who announced that Beirut was most certainly in a state of siege. At the same time another courier came from the south with trustworthy information that Saladin's brother with an immense force had invaded our land in the vicinity of Daron. Thirty-six of the light-armed knights who are called Turcopoles had been slain and some of the outlying villages burned.

On receipt of this news, the king, after consulting with his barons, decided to attack the point of greatest danger first by relieving the besieged city from the peril which confronted it; for he did not regard his forces as sufficiently strong to repulse both enemies from his land at the same time.

18. *The king arrives at Tyre on his way to relieve Beirut. Saladin raises the siege.*

Accordingly he summoned his forces and at the head of the entire army proceeded to Tyre, where he ordered the fleet which lay at anchor in the harbors of Acre and Tyre to be made ready. Within seven days, sooner than all expectation, a fleet of thirty-three ships, well-armed and manned with valiant men, was ready for action.

While the Christians were making these preparations with zealous care, Saladin was besieging the city of Beirut, as has been stated. Both his armies were exerting themselves to the utmost to cause the citizens all possible trouble. The legions, drawn up around the city, were employed in successive relays and for three days kept up such a continual pressure that no respite was given the besieged for rest or for taking the necessary nourishment.

Saladin had brought with him neither hurling engines nor any other kind of machine generally employed in besieging a stronghold. Possibly he thought that by a sudden attack he could take the city without the help of such instruments, or, since he was momentarily expecting the arrival of the Christian army, he may have deprecated such a waste of effort without promise of result. But by his zealous and careful efforts he accomplished all that was possible without the aid of machines. For, as has been explained, he had placed his great host in successive ranks about the city; these divisions relieved one another by turns and poured forth such showers of arrows upon the

defenders, who were fighting upon the walls and in the towers, that the city and fortifications were covered as with hail.

But this was not the only method by which Saladin's forces tried to prevent the inhabitants from defending the city. They also introduced by force sappers brought for the special purpose of undermining the wall. It was hoped that by breaking down the barbicans and walls in this way, openings might be made through which bodies of armed men might be introduced in spite of the efforts of the besieged. That the miners might apply themselves to their work without hindrance, the rest of the soldiers kept continually pouring forth showers of missiles from their bows and ballistae. So persistently was this done that the citizens within the walls were in imminent danger of death and scarcely dared to raise a finger.

Although very few in number, the defenders responded nobly to the orders and exhortations of the governor and especially of the bishop. The great valor and firmness shown by the latter in this emergency is worthy of high praise. All the tactics of the enemy were met by the Christians with counteracting measures and no possible method of resistance was left untried. Darts and arrows were hurled against the archers outside with a skill and enthusiasm equal to that of the assailants, with the result that great loss was inflicted upon the Turks and again and again those who were boldest in advancing to the charge were slain.

The miners who were striving to undermine the walls were met with skill equal to their own so that many of those who were zealously engaged in that work were killed or lost their digging tools.

It was not only the forces which had arrived by land who wrought such havoc upon the besieged, but those who had come by sea also showed equal fury and courage in attacking. Saladin himself had taken up a position on a hill not far away and by his presence and cheering words did not cease to encourage his men to the combat. In this he was so successful that one of his chief nobles, named Choelin, proposed that they raise the ladders to the walls and force an entrance, for he felt that it was disgraceful that so small a force should have the courage or the power to resist such a host. He was zealously insisting on this plan and by word and example urging the rest to agree to it, when he was suddenly hit near the eye by an arrow. This

accident forced him, as well as the others, to abandon the enterprise.

For three successive days the city had been besieged in the manner just described. But at length, since it was evident that there was no chance of success, the naval forces withdrew to the galleys by Saladin's command and at nightfall on the third day silently and furtively sailed away.

Saladin recalled his land forces also and retired a short distance from the city. He then divided the cavalry into bands and ordered them to scour the plains about the city and raze to the ground every tower in the outlying districts. By his orders also all the many orchards and vineyards in the vicinity of the city were destroyed by axes and hatchets.

That the work of the siege might proceed more freely and securely, he caused some of the infantry to occupy certain narrow and difficult roads between Beirut and Sidon over which our army must pass on their way to the relief of the city. He also had barricades of stones without mortar built to the very shore of the sea. By the help of these two devices, he hoped to hinder our legions from advancing. In the meantime, he would be able without restraint to continue the attack on Beirut.

It was reported that he had been firmly resolved not to abandon the siege until he had taken the city by force, yet now he changed his mind and prepared to return home. The reason for this change of purpose is reported to have been as follows: those who were guarding the passage happened to intercept a courier who was the bearer of encouraging letters from some of the faithful to the people of Beirut. This messenger was brought before Saladin and subjected to a most severe questioning. From the confession wrung from him by force and also from the contents of the letter, Saladin learned that both our armies were fully prepared and would without doubt arrive within three days. He therefore changed his plans and raised the siege, as has been related.

Our fleet arrived safely at its destination, but finding the city free, it returned without much loss of time to the ports from which it had sailed. The king, on learning that the enemy had abandoned the siege and departed, remained for a few days at Tyre with his entire army. He then again assembled his forces and returned to Sephorie.

19. *Saladin crosses the Euphrates and enters Mesopotamia.*

SALADIN, always active and vigilant, desired with his whole heart to increase the glory of his name and expand the limits of his kingdom. Eager to achieve still greater victories and scorning the strength of the Christians as nothing, he resolved to advance toward the east. It is not yet entirely plain whether or not he proceeded thither on his own initiative, inspired by the greatness of soul natural to him. It is possible that this difficult task which seemed beyond his strength was undertaken at the request of the princes of that region. However this may be, he again assembled a great force of horsemen, caused to be prepared, as well as time and place permitted, all the necessary equipment and baggage for undertaking so long a march, and led his forces toward the Euphrates.

The prevailing opinion among the Christians was that he was marching toward Aleppo in an attempt to take that city. For, of the entire heritage of Nureddin, Aleppo alone and a few strongholds adjacent to it had not yet fallen into his power. After the death of Nureddin's son, it was held by the brother of Qutb al-Din, lord of Mosul, by the favor of the latter, on whom it had devolved by hereditary right on the death of the aforesaid youth.[43] It was generally believed, therefore, and this seemed probable, that Saladin was marching thither to take possession of the city. But, as the result proved, he had conceived far loftier ideas. Leaving Aleppo behind him, he crossed the Euphrates and within a few days took by storm Edessa and Haran, those splendid cities of Mesopotamia, together with a great many other cities and their dependent towns. In fact, he took, either by armed force or by bribes, almost the entire region which had formerly been under the power of the prince of Mosul just mentioned. By his great liberality he corrupted the magnates of the land who owed loyal allegiance to their lord; and, after receiving their fortresses, he also succeeded in winning their allegiance to himself. The great and noble prince of Mosul, thus entirely deprived of the support of his nobles, was said to be unable either to meet or to resist Saladin. It was a matter of common talk that Saladin had corrupted the servants and friends of this prince and had caused a deadly potion to be given him which came near proving fatal. Hence it was be-

[43] See note 24.

lieved from these reports that Saladin had without mishap reached Mosul with his forces. Stories of varying import were in circulation among us in regard to this, some to the effect that his march had been successful and that everything was turning out according to his wishes, others, on the contrary, indicating that the great lords of that land had banded together to check his insolent attempts and that his army had accordingly met with harsh treatment.[44]

20. *The king lays waste the territory of the Damascenes in hostile fashion.*

THUS the land of the enemy seemed to have been stripped of its defenders. The king and the barons of our realm thought, therefore, and not without apparent reason, that the long-desired opportunity of injuring the enemy had arrived. Their wrath against Saladin was greatly increased by the fact that in his superb arrogance he had scorned the military strength of the kingdom and, without entering into either truce or treaty with the king, had departed to win foreign kingdoms. After taking counsel together, therefore, they mustered their forces and, accompanied by the patriarch and the precious Life-giving Cross, entered the land of the infidel to lay waste the region as far as their strength permitted.

They passed through the country of the Traconites, which forms a large part of the land of Bostrum, and entered Syria Minor, of which Damascus is the capital. Then, directing their march toward the eastern part of this land, they forced their way into the famous and populous city of Zoro, not far from Damascus. From there they overran the land and destroyed a large part of the outlying places which are commonly known as *casalia.* These they either burned or injured in every possible way. The inhabitants of this district had learned betimes of our approach and, with their wives and children, flocks and herds, had fled to localities which had better defenses. Consequently, the Christians brought back with them little or no spoils or treasure. The crops and other necessaries of life which the enemy had been unable to take with them in their flight, however, they either burned or damaged in some other way.

[44] This campaign into the northeast of Syria extended from September, 1182, to August, 1183. William here recalls the attitude of the Latins in 1182 before the outcome of the campaign became known (see Stevenson, *Crusaders,* pp. 229–30).

After ravaging everything in sight, they had to pass, on their return, near a noble city of those parts called Bostrum, commonly known as Bosseret. Here our people deliberated on the advisability of seizing the suburban districts. However, as this could not be done quickly but would require a longer stay than the dearth of water permitted, they decided to return, lest they and their beasts should suffer from thirst. This region is utterly arid and dry, entirely without springs, brooks, or rivers. During the winter months, the people are in the habit of collecting rain water in reservoirs. This they carefully preserve for necessary uses during the entire year, although through the heat of the sun and the slime which accumulates on top it becomes insipid. To prevent the army as it passed from lingering there, the people, forewarned of our coming, had either broken these cisterns so that the water ran out, or had contaminated it by throwing in filth. The time of year, however, did not permit the Christians to do as much damage as they could have desired. The grain and other crops, which they would ordinarily have burned, had already been gathered into the granaries, which it is the custom in that region to build in caverns underground. Since these were covered with earth and very skilfully hidden, they were difficult to find. Whatever grain still remained on the threshing floors had been stripped of its hulls and cleaned of straw, and therefore, as grain alone does not catch fire, it did not easily burn. Scarcely any damage could be done to the threshing floors except to scatter the grain and to carry off some of it with them as feed for the horses. Many of the soldiers, however, seeking ways of doing damage, mixed hulls and straw here and there with the grain already cleaned so that it might more readily take fire.

The small force of troops which had been left in that district on Saladin's departure was not strong enough to risk an encounter with the Christians or to oppose them at close quarters. They followed in bands, however, at a distance on the rear of the departing foe and tried to do some damage. But even in this way they were unable to offer any impediment to the Christians or to injure the army, either in part or as a whole.

21. *The Christians blockade the fortress lately held by Saladin. They take it by siege and restore it to the Christian faith.*

After traversing the whole region and doing as much damage as lay in their power, our people halted, on their return, in that part of

the same province which is called Sawad. This is the district where lies that castle which, as has already been related, the enemy had taken from the Christians by trickery shortly before this time, while our army was in Syria Sobal.

Sawad is famous for its products of wine, grain, and olives, and also for its salubrious climate and generally delightful situation. Bildad, the friend of Job, who took the surname of Shuhite from this land, is said to have belonged here.

On arriving here the Christians judged that it would be desirable to besiege the stronghold and thereupon decided to undertake it, that the evils which the infidels had brought upon them in treacherously capturing and keeping the place might, if Heaven permitted, recoil upon themselves.

Accordingly a camp was established before the castle just named, and vigorous efforts were put forth to force those within to surrender. The fortress was extremely well defended. Its situation was such that it was assailable only by the upper part, and not even there unless the rocks were cut through to the dwelling place itself. It was decided, therefore, to put stonecutters at work on the upper portion. All the helpers needed and also guards were to be furnished, that they might work in safety and without danger of attack.

The cave was located on the side of a very high mountain. Approach to it was attended with the greatest difficulty over a path arduous even for a single foot soldier if free from all encumbrance. The path approaching from the side was scarcely a foot wide, and below yawned a deep and dreadful precipice which extended to the bottom of the valley.

This cave had three stories, one above the other. A wooden staircase with narrow openings led from one level to the other.

Since this was the only method by which it could be attacked, the Christians tried to cut into the cave from above, as we have said, in the hope that they might be able to penetrate in this way into the first and upper level of the citadel. This was their whole aim and intention, and every effort was put forth to attain that end. All the workmen needed were placed in position and helpers provided who, as fast as the fragments of rock and stone were cut away, threw the refuse down into the valley below. In order that the work might proceed without interruption, shifts were arranged during both night and day so that when those on the first crew were weary, their places were

taken by fresh workers who had the necessary skill and ability to carry on the work. The labor progressed rapidly because of the number and enthusiasm of the workers and also because the rock itself was easily cut. For it was of cretaceous nature and readily penetrated except where veins of very hard flint obtruded which often injured the iron tools and presented a hindrance to the eager workers. The fragments were rolled down into the valley below to clear the place, as has been explained. All these passed in full view of those shut up within the cave and greatly increased their fear; for hourly they anticipated the time when the work would be finished and an entrance achieved by force.

Our army was divided into two sections: one part, as has been said, had located a camp on the top of the hill occupied by the cave, from which position they could more easily protect those engaged in the work from the wiles of the enemy. The other part remained in the plain below, placed there for the special task of preventing any going or coming on the part of the besieged. Occasionally some of the latter force approached the lower level of the cave along the narrow path described above and attempted to attack those inside. These efforts were, however, futile. For within, well supplied with food and weapons, was a force of about seventy strong and valiant men. These experienced men Saladin had chosen as he was about to depart, and to their vigilant care, as to those on whose fidelity and steadfastness he had especial reason to rely, he had entrusted the stronghold.

The work had now reached a point where the almost incessant blows of the hammer permitted the garrison in the cave no rest. As the strokes redoubled, the whole mass seemed to shake and tremble, so that the dread lest a forcible entrance might be effected gave way to apprehension that the whole cave, shattered by the repeated blows, might suddenly collapse and crush all within. It was useless to hope that any aid would arrive, for Saladin, as they knew, had departed with all his troops to far distant parts whence he could not easily return. Finally, after the siege had lasted for three weeks or a little longer, they sent an embassy to the king, and, through the intervention of the count of Tripoli, obtained permission to depart freely to Bostrum. The condition was made that they surrender the citadel and give up the arms which they had borne and all their equipment. Thereupon, they at once resigned the place and departed. Thus,

through the superabounding grace of God, we were freed from the dangerous situation which heretofore had seemed to menace us.

Now that the surrender had been made, the king and the other leaders saw to it, as seemed wise, that the fortress was supplied with arms and provisions. It was then entrusted to the charge of faithful men whose loyalty and ability was unquestioned, and after everything had been carefully attended to the forces returned to their own land.

This happened in the year 1182 of the Incarnation of the Lord, in the month of October, the . . . day of the month.[45]

22. *The king again invades the land of the Damascenes with his forces.*

A SHORT time afterward—that is, in the following December—our leaders observed that Saladin, detained by more important matters in the country near Mosul, had not yet returned. Loath to lose the opportunity which his absence afforded, they again assembled and, after consulting together for the good of the kingdom, unanimously decided to call a rendezvous at Caesarea on the coast. It was resolved with one accord to muster the forces of the realm and to provide everything necessary for the use of both men and beasts during another campaign of fifteen days into the enemy's land, that the offered opportunity might not be neglected. A secret raid in which only knights took part was first made into hostile territory near Bostrum, as had been arranged in advance. From this they returned in safety and brought back much plunder in the form of flocks and herds and also many slaves. Since this raid started from the land of Tiberias and returned to the same place, it was under the command of the count of Tripoli.

At length, on the fifteenth day, the king and the barons of the realm, with as large a force of infantry and cavalry as the kingdom could afford at the time, and accompanied by the Cross of the Lord, assembled near Tiberias at a place on the sea of Galilee called *Castellum.* From there they crossed the river at Jacob's ford and entered the enemy's land. With Lebanon on the left, the army proceeded through the plain as far as a place called Bettegene. This they utterly destroyed with all the adjacent hamlets, and, partly by burning and partly by razing to the ground, they completely ruined everything found there. Still farther along they came to Daria, a place about

[45] The day of the month is missing in the text.

four or five miles from Damascus. This also was laid waste in the same manner, together with the outlying villages.

The people in this vicinity had fled, some to the Lebanon mountains and some to Damascus. Consequently, scarcely a prisoner was taken in all that region. We lost some of our men, however, because of their own reckless conduct while foraging. Certain Turkish knights, trusting to the speed of their horses, had issued forth from Damascus and were hovering about our lines. Sometimes they rode a little ahead of our ranks, and again they followed. Always watching for an opportunity to do us harm, these knights fell suddenly upon the incautious foragers just mentioned and in a furious onslaught slew them to a man. The Damascenes also emerged from their city and massed themselves about the orchards which surround the place in large numbers. From this distance they kept a close watch on our troops but did not venture to advance nearer. The Christians did not dare attack them, nor did they attempt anything against us, but when our people departed they too withdrew into the city.

After overrunning that part of the country and causing much damage, as already described, the Christian army returned home without encountering difficulty or hindrance. The king himself hastened to Tyre and there celebrated with us the Nativity of the Lord.[46]

23. *A census of the kingdom is taken as a protection against future mishaps.*

DURING all this time, indefinite rumors in regard to Saladin's activities had been circulating. Some reports indicated that he was meeting with much success in Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Mosul, where he had subjugated the entire region to his power; others, on the contrary, were to the effect that all the princes of the East had united in an effort to drive him from the land by force of arms and thus recover the territory which he had won from them by intrigue and bribes. His progress caused the Christians much uneasiness; they viewed the increase of his power with great alarm, lest with large reinforcements he should return against them.

Accordingly, in the following February,[47] a general assembly of

[46] The friendship of Baldwin IV for William continued despite the hostility of the court party. William's decision to stop writing must have been made before this time, December 25, 1182.

[47] February, 1183.

all the barons of the realm was held at Jerusalem to confer about the situation. There was great dread of his return, as has been mentioned, and for that reason it was resolved to use every possible means to resist him.

After much deliberation and expression of varying opinions, it was resolved by common consent that a census of all the lands of the realm be taken. If such a report were available, it would be possible in an emergency to obtain foot and cavalry forces so that the enemy, if he returned, might find us prepared for resistance. The king and the barons were reduced to such a desperate state of need that the revenues were entirely insufficient to provide for the necessary outlay. It was imperative, therefore, that money be collected from the people as a whole. A perusal of the rescript which was made on this matter will afford an accurate understanding of the method by which this levy was made. It was as follows: "This is the method of collecting the tax which, by the common consent of all the nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, and by the assent of the people of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the face of the present stringent necessities, must be levied for the common good of this realm.

"It is decreed on behalf of the state that in every city of this realm there be chosen four men of discretion and worthy of confidence, who, after taking a solemn oath that they will act in good faith in this present matter, shall first themselves give, and then compel others to do the same, one besant for every hundred besants which they own, or its equivalent either on things in their possession or on credits owing to them. From revenues also they shall give two besants for every hundred besants. They must so act in compelling others that each citizen, whether an inhabitant of a city or of other places over which he rules, shall pay toward this fund according to that which they shall judge in good faith that his substance is worth, and they shall assess this separately upon each according to his ability to pay.

"But if any man, on being told how much he must give, shall declare that he is overcharged and taxed beyond his means, he shall declare, according to his own conscience, the value of his furniture as seems just to him and, having declared under oath that he cannot give more, he shall go away in peace, according to the terms cited.

"The four men shall be held by their oath to keep secret what has been offered to them by each citizen, whether much or little, and they

shall be bound by oath not to disclose the wealth or poverty of anyone. They must observe these regulations in respect to those who are worth a hundred besants, of whatever language, people, or faith these may be, without regard to sex; for, whether male or female, all alike shall be subject to this ruling.

"If the four men thus chosen and assigned to this duty shall know for a certainty that the property of anyone is not worth a hundred besants, they shall receive from him hearth money; that is to say, one besant for every fireplace. If they cannot obtain a whole besant, they shall take a half; and if they cannot get a half, they shall take a raboin, according to what shall seem right to them in good faith. All whose goods are not worth a hundred besants, of whatever tongue, people, faith, or sex they may be, shall be subject to this condition.

"It is likewise decreed that every church and every monastery, and all the barons, as many as there are, and also the vassals, as also all others in the kingdom who have revenues, shall give two besants out of every hundred besants which they have in rents. Wage earners also shall give one besant for every hundred.

"All who own *casalia* are bound by oath that for every hearth which they have in villages or *casalia*, they shall give in good faith one besant in addition to that enjoined above; so that, if a *casal* has a hundred fires, the peasants must be made to pay a hundred besants. Afterwards it shall be the duty of the lord of the *casal* to divide among the peasants of that place in suitable portions the above named number of besants, so that each one may be made to pay the above tax in proportion to his means. Thus the rich may not escape lightly nor the poor be overburdened. The ratio shall be the same whether the *casal* has many or few fires.

"The money thus collected from every city from Haifa to Jerusalem shall be carried to Jerusalem by those who, as we said before, are over each city and castle. They shall pay it in a fixed sum and weight to those who are in charge of this work at Jerusalem. The latter, in the presence of the patriarch or his deputy, and of the prior of the canons of the Sepulchre of the Lord, and of the castellan of Jerusalem, shall place this money sealed and separate, just as they receive it from each city or other place, in separate sealed sacks, which shall be placed in a chest in the treasury of the Holy Cross. This

chest shall have three locks and three keys, the first of which the patriarch shall keep, the second, the prior of the canons of the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the third shall be in the keeping of the castellan and the four citizens mentioned above, who were appointed to collect the money.

"Those who are in charge of the cities from Haifa to Beirut shall carry the money collected in like manner to the city of Acre. There, under a fixed sum and weight, just as it is brought from each city and stronghold, it shall be handed over to those four in each city who are in charge of collecting the money, and it shall be put into separate sacks inscribed and sealed. These sacks shall be placed in a chest which shall have three locks and three keys, of which the archbishop of Tyre shall have the first, Joscelin, the king's seneschal, the second, and the citizens named above who are in charge of the matter shall keep the third. Those who have the keys shall receive the above-named money in the presence of the said lords.

"The money thus raised must not be expended on the ordinary affairs of the realm but only for the defense of the land; and, as long as this money shall last, the tax commonly called taille shall cease to be exacted from both churches and citizens.

"This levy shall be made only once and shall not be regarded as a precedent for the future." [48]

24. *Saladin besieges Aleppo and acquires it under a certain agreement. The prince of Antioch arranges an exchange of Tarsus with Rupen, duke of Armenia.*

DURING this time, Saladin, a man of tireless energy who ever acted the role of a vigorous leader in everything, had seized the land of Syria in Mesopotamia and taken by force cities of great renown. Among others, he invested and captured the famous metropolis of Amida, which, because of its large population, the massive walls which surrounded it, and the very nature of its site, seemed practically

[48] This tax, levied to meet a major emergency, did become a model for taxation in the West. It is of interest to note that the assent of the people as well as of the nobles, both secular and ecclesiastical, is specified in the opening of the document. It would have been even more interesting to learn just how the "assent of the people" was voiced. The document represents the most systematic and comprehensive scheme of taxation thus far devised by feudal authorities and as such impressed both Henry II and Philip II as a model for the "Saladin tithe" and later taxation. It is highly probable that William himself drafted this document.

impregnable. After its capture he gave it, according to agreement, to a Turkish noble, Nureddin, son of Carassalem [Kara-Arslan], whose loyal aid had enabled him to prolong his stay in those parts and complete the subjugation of that region.

In the following spring he recalled his forces, placed the entire district under the safekeeping of some of his loyal adherents, and crossing the Euphrates, returned to Coelesyria. Here he stationed his army around Aleppo and used every possible method of harassing the city.

The governor of Aleppo was well aware that his brother, the lord of Mosul, a much stronger and more powerful lord than himself, had not been able to keep this same Saladin out of his domain; in spite of all efforts to the contrary, the great prince had subdued all the provinces beyond the Euphrates river. Fearing that a similar fate might overtake himself, he secretly sent envoys to the prince without the knowledge of the people of Aleppo, to treat for terms of peace. If Saladin would restore Semar to him and certain other fortresses whose names I do not recall, he in return would surrender Aleppo.

Saladin received the embassy with great joy; from the very beginning of his rule his most earnest desire had been, by some means or other, to obtain Aleppo, which he regarded as the bulwark of the whole kingdom. He therefore graciously agreed to accept the terms, handed over the above-named city with its neighboring fortresses, and on the Nones of June received Aleppo.[49]

Redoubled fear took hold of our people on hearing this news, for the result most dreaded by them had come to pass. From the first it had been apparent to the Christians that if Saladin should succeed in adding Aleppo to his principality our territory would be as completely encompassed by his power and strength as if it were in a state of siege. They accordingly tried to strengthen the fortifications of their cities and towns in every possible way, especially those places that were situated near the enemy's borders. Above all, they increased the defenses of Beirut, which seemed to be particularly weak.

The prince of Antioch was greatly alarmed at the proximity of so powerful an enemy. Realizing that a most redoubtable foe was now opposed to him, he repaired to the king, who was at that time staying at the city of Acre. He took with him only a small escort, that he

[49] Beha ed-Din (*Saladin*, p. 89) dates the siege of Aleppo by Saladin as May 21 to June 11, 1183, and the surrender on that final day.

might not leave the land stripped of defenders, and had as his companion the count of Tripoli. There, in the presence of the princes of the realm, he asked for aid against Saladin and it was decided that his petition be heard according to his desire. Some three hundred knights of the realm of various ranks were granted him in fulfilment of his request. They followed him to Antioch prepared to fight under his command, but in a short time they returned, having taken leave of the prince. He had concluded a temporary truce with Saladin and seemed to feel somewhat assured of tranquillity. That he might have less anxiety and be able to watch more carefully over the land of Antioch, he had, in exchange for a large sum of money, transferred the city of Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, which he had received from the Greeks, to Rupen, a powerful Armenian satrap who possessed the other cities of that land. He showed much wisdom in doing this. Tarsus was far distant, separated from Antioch by the lands of Rupen; it was therefore very difficult and costly for the prince to care for it —a matter which was quite easy for Rupen.

After Saladin had arranged all matters in that locality to his satisfaction, he left for Damascus with his legions. This movement caused even greater fear to our people, especially because it was impossible to obtain any definite information through scouts as to his actual intention. Some thought that after summoning the naval forces he would endeavor to besiege the city of Beirut, as he had done the year before; others, that he meant to attack Toron and Chastel Neuf, two strongholds in the mountains above Tyre; still others believed that he proposed to devastate the lands beyond the Jordan, namely Syria Sobal, and to destroy the fortified places in that vicinity. There were even some who tried to assert that Saladin, wearied with long-continued campaigns in far distant lands, now that there was an interval of peace planned to go down into Egypt to rehabilitate his weakened army and collect the necessary funds for future campaigns.

These various conjectures, all so ambiguous, kept the king and the barons in a perpetual state of anxiety and suspense. Finally, all the available forces of the realm were concentrated at the fountain of Sephorie, where the armies from early times had been accustomed to assemble, and there the outcome of events was awaited. Messages were sent to the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli, who after urgent entreaty added their strength and counsel to the rest. In this

manner they waited, expecting from day to day that Saladin would suddenly invade some part of the kingdom with unusually strong forces.

25. *The king is stricken with serious illness at Nazareth. Guy de Lusignan, count of Jaffa, is made regent of the realm.*

WHILE the army was waiting in this state of suspense at the fountain of Sephorie, the king was suffering from a severe attack of fever at Nazareth. In addition, the leprosy which had begun to trouble him at the beginning of his reign—in fact, in very early youth—became much worse than usual. His sight failed and his extremities became completely deadened so that his hands and feet refused to perform their office. Yet up to this time he had declined to heed the suggestion offered by some that he lay aside his kingly dignity and give up the administration of the realm, so that, with a suitable provision for his needs from the royal revenues, he could lead a tranquil life in retirement.

Although physically weak and impotent, yet mentally he was vigorous, and, far beyond his strength, he strove to hide his illness and to support the cares of the kingdom. When he was attacked by the fever, however, he lost hope of life. He summoned his nobles before him and, in the presence of his mother and the patriarch, he appointed as regent of the realm Guy de Lusignan, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, his sister's husband, who has been so often mentioned in the preceding pages. He retained the royal dignity, however, and kept for his own use only the city of Jerusalem, with an annual revenue of ten thousand gold pieces.

To Guy he committed the general administration of all the rest of the kingdom without restrictions and commanded his faithful subjects and all the barons generally that they acknowledge themselves vassals of Guy and swear fealty to him. This was done. First, however, at Baldwin's command Guy is said to have sworn that, as long as the king lived, he would not aspire to the crown and would not transfer to others or alienate from the treasury any of the cities and castles at that time in the possession of the king. It is believed that this was enjoined upon Guy with the most careful forethought and purpose and that he was obliged to bind himself by an oath in the presence of all the barons that he would faithfully observe that stipulation. For he had promised almost all the most important lords of

the realm individually no slight portions of the kingdom in order to secure their votes and interest in obtaining his end. It was even rumored that he had taken a similar oath to these lords that he would carry out his promises. This can not be stated as a fact, for we have no definite information on the matter, but constant rumors to this effect were in circulation among the people.[50]

There were those who were displeased at this change; some were inclined to object to it because of their own personal interests and private reasons; others pleaded the public welfare and, apprehensive about the condition of the realm, declared openly that the count was not equal to the burden of so great responsibility and was not competent to administer the affairs of the realm. Others, however, who hoped that Guy's promotion might improve their own condition, maintained that it was well done. Among the people there was much murmuring and diversity of opinion for, as says the proverb, "so many men, so many minds." [51]

The count did not long rejoice, however, in this eagerly desired charge which was now committed to him according to his wish and in which he at first rather indiscreetly gloried.

We have said that he took this responsibility upon himself unadvisedly, for this reason: he did not sufficiently consider his strength with reference to the task laid upon him. Unequal to the burden both in force and wisdom, he assumed an insupportable weight. He had not learned the truth of that parable of the evangelist, wherein he advises that "one who intends to build a tower first sit down and count the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it lest he fail and it be said, 'This man began to build, and was not able to finish.' " [52]

26. *Saladin invades our land with mighty forces and encamps in the neighborhood of Scythopolis. The Christians march out against him.*

THIS, then, was the state of affairs in the kingdom, and meanwhile the greater part of the army was assembled at Sephorie. During this

[50] William is here describing the methods of party politics in the kingdom at this time. The king's mother, Agnes de Courtenay, and the patriarch are here specified as the leaders of the faction. That it was not William's party is indicated by his reliance upon rumor or report.

[51] This is one of William's favorite quotations, as it was also of the law schools of the West. It harks back to Terence, but it was so much used that few persons probably knew its origin.

[52] Adapted from Lu. 14: 28–30.

time Saladin, after much deliberation, had summoned his forces from the lands beyond the Euphrates and with all the cavalry which he could gather from every source entered the frontiers of the realm, followed by his great host armed to the teeth. After traversing the land of Hauran, along the sea of Tiberias, he suddenly appeared with his legions in several divisions at a place called Cavan in the plain of the Jordan. From there, following the course of the river, he proceeded toward Scythopolis. As has often been mentioned, this place, now called Bethsan, was once the capital of all Galilee. Many evidences of its former greatness are still to be seen in the ruins of the ancient buildings and in the quantity of marble which exists among them. It is now reduced to almost nothing, with only a few scattered inhabitants, only a sparsely settled hamlet situated in a marshy place.

Although the people dwelling there were well supplied with arms and food in proportion to their number and the size of the place, yet they felt no confidence in the defenses of their citadel. Before the hostile army arrived, therefore, they abandoned the fortress, leaving all their possessions behind, and repaired to Tiberias. So, on arriving at Scythopolis, the enemy found it deserted and were able to work their will upon it. Accordingly they bore off with them all the arms and food and everything that was of use in the place. From Scythopolis they set out in separate detachments. One of these, because of the convenient water supply, encamped by a spring called Tubania, which rises at the foot of Mt. Galboa, in the vicinity of a once famous city, formerly known as Jezrael but now commonly called Little Gerin.

The Christians were still encamped near the fountain of Sephorie, so often mentioned in this history, anxiously waiting to learn from what direction the hostile forces would invade our land. When they found that the Turks were already in possession of the plains of Bethsan and that their legions in many divisions had now invaded that country, they seized arms with one accord. Following the Life-giving Cross and the royal standards, they crossed the mountains where lies Nazareth, the city of Our Lord, and went down into the great plain, the ancient name of which was Esdrelon. Thence, with troops arranged in battle formation, fittingly disposed according to the rules of military science, they directed their course toward the springs of Tubania, where Saladin with a strong force of picked

knights distinguished for their prowess had established himself near the waters.

The intention of the Christians had been to drive out the foe and obtain the advantage of the water for their own use. On reaching there, however, they felt that it would be impossible to seize the place without great difficulty and hazardous combats with the enemy. But, suddenly, Saladin broke camp and most unexpectedly abandoned the springs. Following the course of the stream, he again encamped lower down opposite Bethsan, about a mile distant from us. Then, before the Christians could reach the place, the infidels, breaking off from the main army into small bands, began to scour and ravage the surrounding country in enemy fashion. One of these bands had attacked Little Gerin, the village named above, and utterly destroyed everything it contained. Few or none of the inhabitants were found there, however; forewarned of the enemy's coming, they had fled to places more strongly fortified.

Other bands reached a place generally known as Forbelet; this they took by force and in enemy fashion worked havoc with everything in sight. Others followed the highways, where their presence was attended with great peril to both knights and foot soldiers, so that those who were hastening from various directions to join our army arrived there at the peril of their lives. Some of these same enemies even climbed Mt. Tabor, a feat hitherto unknown. There they treated the Greek monastery of St. Elias according to their own good pleasure and even tried to break by force into the greater cloister itself. But the monks with all their household and the people from the villages near by retired within the monastery, which was defended by a wall with towers. Here they made a valiant defense and routed from all parts of the encircling ramparts the foe who had scaled the mountain.

Nothing daunted, however, some of these same bands climbed the height beyond which Nazareth lies, where from the hills towering above they could look down upon the whole city. Their appearance caused great terror to the women and children who, together with the aged men and the sick, had been left there, and it is said that many, while struggling to flee for refuge to the greater church, were suffocated in the crowd. The majority of the citizens able to bear arms were either following the campaign with the general expedition or

had departed with their households to the cities on the coast, especially to Acre.

27. *A terrible famine breaks out in the army. Both the Christians and the Turks finally depart without having engaged in battle.*

THESE detached bands from the army of Saladin, ranging far and wide over the whole district, caused serious danger to those who wished to reach our army. Through fear of them, no one dared approach the Christian camp either to trade or to bring assistance. As a result, famine soon broke out in the ranks. For in order to march without encumbrance against the foe, they had proceeded thither without baggage or impedimenta, hoping that the matter would be settled within two, or at the most three, days. The people on foot suffered the greatest distress, especially those from the coast who had been called at a moment's notice—namely the Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, and Longobards. These had left their ships and their preparations for sailing (it was already about the middle of October and the time of crossing was at hand) and, together with the pilgrims whom they had contracted to take back, had joined our forces. They had brought no food whatsoever and were scarcely able to carry their arms, for the camp was about twenty miles from the sea. Messengers were therefore dispatched to the neighboring cities to request those in charge to send provisions speedily. The royal orders were at once zealously and carefully obeyed, and all the food that could be collected was sent to the camp without delay. The greater part of these stores reached their destination safely and afforded a sufficient supply for the temporary emergency. One party, however, carrying a large amount of provisions, through lack of proper precaution, fell into the enemy's hands, for the Turks were also in great need. Some of our knights had been sent out to act as escort to protect the parties who were bringing supplies. Those whom they met they conducted safely to the camp, but those who had no such assistance, falling in with hostile rangers, either fell by the sword or were forced to serve the enemy ever after.

At that time, if our sins had suffered the Lord to be propitious toward us, the power of the Turks might easily have been turned to their own destruction and their intolerable arrogance have been made

a mockery. For nowhere is it recorded that such large forces of both cavalry and infantry were ever assembled from all parts of the East; nor do aged men remember that forces so well equipped were ever united into one body from a single kingdom. The Christians had cavalry to the number of thirteen hundred, and their force of well-equipped foot soldiers was said to exceed fifteen thousand. Moreover, the army was commanded by great and brilliant leaders, men of illustrious race, distinguished for prowess in battle: Raymond, count of Tripoli; Henry, duke of Louvain, a leader of high rank from the kingdom of the Teutons; and Ralph de Mauleon, a warrior of great renown from Aquitaine. In addition, there were the following barons of the realm: Guy, count of Jaffa; Renaud de Châtillon, lord of a domain beyond the Jordan, who had formerly been prince of Antioch; Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian of Nablus, his brother; Renaud of Sidon; Walter of Caesarea; Joscelin, seneschal of the king. In view of these facts, it seemed highly probable that our enemies had been very imprudent in crossing the Jordan and occupying our lands. In punishment for our sins, however, contention arose among the nobles, as the result of which matters of state which required the utmost care are said to have been carelessly and even wickedly handled. Those who, it seemed, would have been best able to handle the critical situation [refused to act],[53] it is said, through hatred of the count of Jaffa, to whom, two days before, the king had entrusted the welfare of the kingdom. For they took it ill that at so critical and dangerous a time matters of the highest importance had been placed in the hands of an obscure man, wholly incapable and indiscreet. As a result they too patiently, or rather, disgracefully, allowed the enemy to remain for eight successive days encamped in the vicinity of our army hardly more than a mile away—a thing which, it is said, had never happened before in the kingdom. During this time the Turks ravaged the entire region with impunity.

Plain people who were with the army and who had no part in the wickedness of the Christian leaders wondered why it was that when such an opportunity offered no engagement with the enemy occurred, nor was anything done about a fight. When the matter was openly

[53] There is an omission in the text at this point, the probable tenor of which is suggested within the brackets. It must be noted that William is here criticizing his own friends. Apparently he considers the needs of the nation as transcending the interest of faction, even his own.

discussed, however, the excuse offered for the delay was that Saladin, the commander of the infidel forces, was intrenched in a position surrounded by rocks and that it would be impossible for our troops to approach him without great danger. Moreover, he was said to have placed strong bodies of troops in a circle round about who had orders to fall upon our forces from every direction if we should attempt to engage his army.

Some said that this was, in fact, the truth and maintained that the leaders were justified in their position. Others, on the contrary, asserted that it was only an excuse, a trick deliberately invented to avoid battle, lest, if success should attend our arms, it might be ascribed to the count under whose leadership it would have been fought to a successful outcome.

We have stated these reasons as the varying sentiments of many people, but we assert nothing positively, for we have not fully ascertained the truth of the matter. It is a fact, however, that for seven or eight successive days the enemy remained without opposition in our territory in the vicinity of the Jordan and daily, with impunity, wrought much evil upon our army.

At length, on the eighth, or rather on the ninth, day Saladin recalled his forces and retired unharmed to his own land. The Christians, not as yet wholly convinced that he would not return, went back to the fountain of Sephorie.

A certain event worthy of record happened during the time when our army was waiting at the spring of Tubania. Up to that time it was thought that this spring and the streams flowing from it contained few or no fish, but during the Christians' sojourn there it is said to have furnished a supply sufficient for the whole army.

28. *Saladin lays siege to the city of Petra beyond the Jordan and takes it by force.*

Matters turned out very much as the Christians had anticipated. Scarcely a month had rolled by when Saladin, having recruited his forces, again prepared for war. Again he summoned his cohorts and mustered his legions, had his engines moved, and made ready with utmost care all the usual apparatus employed in siege operations. After all these preparations had been duly made, he marched through Basan and Gilead, traversed the land of the Ammonites and Moabites

beyond the Jordan, and prepared to lay siege to the city formerly called Petra of the Desert, but now known as Kerak.

As soon as he learned this through scouts, Renaud de Châtillon, who was in charge of these regions as belonging to the heritage of his wife, proceeded rapidly thither with a body of cavalry which seemed large enough to assure the protection of the place.

He had other interests also at Kerak. Humphrey III, son of Humphrey II, grandson through his father of the elder Humphrey of Toron, the king's constable, and stepson of that Renaud of whom we are speaking, was at this time about to marry the king's younger sister, to whom he had been betrothed almost four years previously.

Soon after Renaud's arrival at Kerak, when the nuptial celebration was barely over—in fact, on that very day, it is said—Saladin appeared before the place. He had with him a vast army and all the paraphernalia of machines and hurling engines which are commonly used in harassing a city under siege. The camp was immediately placed in a circle around the fortress, and the siege began.

Here, upon a very high mountain surrounded by deep valleys, the city of Petra had once been located. For a long time, however, it had lain in ruins, utterly desolate. Finally, during the reign of Fulk, the third king of the Latins in the Orient, one Paganus, surnamed the butler, lord of a domain lying beyond the Jordan, built a citadel on this site. It was placed upon the same mountain where the city had once lain, but on a less precipitous slope which ran down to the plain below. The successors of Paganus, namely Maurice, his nephew, and Philip of Nablus, had added a moat and towers to render the place still more unassailable. Clustering on the outskirts of this fortress, on the site of the earlier city, was now a village whose inhabitants had placed their homes there as a comparatively safe location. East of them lay the fortress, the best of protection, while on the other sides rose the mountain itself, encompassed, as has been said, by deep valleys. Thus, if the village had even a moderately low wall, the inhabitants need not fear any hostile attack. At two points only was there any possibility of reaching the top of the mountain, and these could be easily defended by a few men even against large hostile forces. The other sides were supposed to be impregnable.

When Prince Renaud perceived that the enemy had arrived, he proposed rashly enough, as it seemed to those experienced in matters

of this kind, to try to defend the outer place and the village next to the citadel.[54] He therefore forbade the people who wished to carry their goods into the fortress and to provide for their own safety there to forsake their homes or presume to move any of their least possessions.

Meanwhile the knights and the infantry detachments were vigorously engaged in trying to block the enemy's path up the mountain, but the multitude of the foe proved too much for them. Those who were trying to obstruct the passage were put to flight; Saladin's forces gained possession of the mountain and opened a path by the sword. Thus the enemy nearly succeeded in forcing their way into the citadel at the same time that the Christians were trying to retreat thither. Had it not been for the remarkable firmness of one knight, named Iven, those Turks who were already close to the fortress would without difficulty have forced a free entrance for their comrades over the bridge and through the gate next to it.

So through the rash tactics of their lord, the wretched citizens suffered the loss of their goods. All their household possessions, all their furniture and utensils of every description, were seized by the enemy. As an addition to their troubles, those who had fled to the citadel in dread of Saladin's onslaughts, had rashly and inconsiderately thrown down the bridge. Since this afforded the only passage across the moat, the one way by which those inside the citadel could come or go was destroyed.

Great crowds of helpless people of every description and of both sexes filled the castle within, a burden rather than a help to the besieged. There were many actors and performers on the flute and psaltery and other people who had flocked thither from all over the country for the festivities attending the wedding. The anticipations of all these were sadly thwarted, for where they had expected to find gains and wedding jollity they encountered martial combats and warlike doings, far different from the pursuits to which they were accustomed.

Moreover, many Syrians with their wives and children had come in from the surrounding country. The place was filled with them so

[54] Here again William criticizes military strategy, this time of Renaud de Châtillon, who had been the real commander in the victory of Baldwin IV over Saladin in 1177. This may reflect partisan opinion, for William's information doubtless came from nobles who were almost as much opposed to Renaud as to Guy.

that those who wished to pass back and forth could not do so freely on account of the dense crowds. Thus these too became a hindrance and an obstruction to the more active men and to those who were trying to defend the place. The fortress was well stocked with provisions, although the supply of weapons was not as large as seemed necessary for the defense of the place.

29. *King Baldwin removes the count of Jaffa as general administrator of the realm. He crowns his nephew with the royal diadem.*

MEANWHILE the king realized that in the conduct of affairs at the springs of Tubania, as described above, the count of Jaffa, to whom, as we have said, he had committed the government of the realm, had shown himself far from wise or valiant. Through his imprudence and general inefficiency, the condition of the kingdom had fallen into an evil state. By the advice of wiser counsellors, therefore, Baldwin took back into his own hands the charge of affairs which he had entrusted to the count of Jaffa. Other causes also are said to have been responsible for this action. The fact has already been mentioned that when the king conferred the responsibility of the realm upon Guy, he had retained for his own expenses the city of Jerusalem with a revenue of ten thousand gold pieces, payable annually. Later, he repented of this action and desired to exchange Jerusalem for Tyre on the same terms, because the latter was the best-fortified city in the entire kingdom and seemed better adapted to his needs. Since the count appeared unwilling to entertain this request, the king is said to have experienced an entire change of sentiment.

It was indeed just that one who was reluctant to show himself generous in a small matter toward the man who had given him everything should be deprived of the supreme control of affairs. Not only was the charge of the realm and the honor of administering it taken from him, but he was entirely cut off from all hope of succession. By the unanimous advice of the barons, especially of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, Raymond, count of Tripoli, Renaud of Sidon, Baldwin of Ramlah and Balian, his brother, and at the suggestion and urgent advice of the king's mother, Baldwin, a young child scarcely five years old, received the royal unction and was solemnly crowned in the church of the Resurrection of the Lord. This act was ratified by

the entire people and agreed to by the clergy present. The count of Jaffa was also present but did not dare to speak against it.

Immediately, without delay, all the barons swore allegiance to the boy under the customary formula and rendered him in the fullest measure the honor and deference due to royal majesty. The count of Jaffa alone was not asked to do him homage. This fact seemed to those of long experience, as doubtless it was, convincing proof of a deep-seated animosity—or, rather, plain hatred. This will be more clearly shown later.

The opinions of wise men over this great change were many and varied. Some said that the elevation of this boy could be of no benefit to the realm or advantage to public affairs; for, since both kings were hampered, one by disease and the other by youth, it was wholly useless. Far better would it be if, following the general advice of the more important men of the kingdom, the care of the royal business and the charge of affairs of state were committed to someone strong in war and wise in counsel. Others felt that even if the action taken in respect to the boy be judged of little utility, yet it might prove advantageous to the state in one respect, namely that it removed from the count all hope of succession to the crown. Since he was, according to all report, entirely incompetent and yet filled with intense longing to rule, he might become the source of disputes in the future and the incentive toward dangerous sedition which was to be feared after the death of the king. This it was hoped would now be completely eliminated.

Yet in the hearts of all there was but one thought and one desire: it was that a regent might be appointed to administer the business of the state and especially to lead the armies against the enemy who was even now threatening us more violently than ever. The sentiment was practically unanimous that the count of Tripoli, and he alone, would be capable of undertaking this duty successfully. This happened in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1183, of the first Indiction, on November 20.[55]

[55] William's own hopes and wishes must have inclined him to regard the choice of Raymond of Tripoli as "practically unanimous." Raymond's chief opponents were probably not present at this meeting.

30. *The king assembles his forces and hastens across the Jordan to the help of the besieged. Saladin raises the blockade.*

WHILE these events were taking place at Jerusalem, Saladin was harassing the besieged city with unremitting diligence and violence. His importunate perseverance denied all chance of rest to those shut up within the place. He had caused eight machines to be erected, six within, where the ancient city had stood, and two outside, in that place which is commonly known as Obelet. The attack was carried on indefatigably by night as well as by day, and stones of such great size were hurled that no one inside the walls dared raise a hand or look out of the openings or try any method of resistance. Terror and desperation had now taken such hold of the wretched citizens that they did not venture to show themselves even when the enemy slid down by ropes and killed with impunity the animals which the refugees had brought inside the moat around the citadel. Without encountering the least opposition or peril, the Turks cut up the carcasses into joints and drew the pieces up to be used as food for themselves.

Those who acted as cooks and bakers in the enemy's army and those who provided the market with all sorts of commodities placed their workshops in the homes of the citizens and there freely carried on their work amid conveniences of all kinds. These homes were well stocked with grain, barley, wine, and oil, all of which the enemy took by force in spite of the owners and used as they would.

At one time those besieged in the fortress tried to set up a machine of their own. The enemy in charge of the engines outside, however, aimed the stone missiles with such skill that the Christians, appalled by the constant blows and the fear of death which every stone seemed to threaten, abandoned the attempt. They judged it wiser to endure with patience whatever fate sent rather than to expose themselves to death by attempting any kind of defense.

These dangers, which caused men to shake with terror, assailed not only those who crept forth from their hiding places to hurl weapons or stone missiles from the ramparts or to gaze down upon the besieging forces. Even those who had fled to the innermost apartments, the most retired seclusion, shrank with terror before the crash and roar of the oncoming missiles. It seemed to them like thunder and,

ever in suspense lest the building be shattered and fall upon them, they momentarily awaited the stroke of the bolt.

During this time the king was earnestly endeavoring to procure help for them in whatever way he could and to send the desired relief as soon as possible. Summoning the strength of the realm from every source, he took the Life-giving Cross and marched thither himself. On reaching the sea of Salt which is now called the lake of Asphalt, after mature deliberation he made the count of Tripoli the leader and commander of the whole army.

But Saladin, on learning through his scouts that the Christian army was close at hand and that the count of Tripoli was in command of the legions, abandoned his engines and ordered his men to retreat. Thus, after molesting the city for an entire month in this way, he raised the siege and returned to his own land.[56]

The king, nonetheless, continued his march to Kerak where his arrival brought the longed-for relief to the people of that place. Then, sounding the call for departure, he reassembled his troops and returned in safety to Jerusalem.

[56] His departure is dated December 12, 1183 (see R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, p. 409).

HERE ENDS THE TWENTY-SECOND BOOK

HERE BEGINS THE TWENTY-THIRD BOOK

COULD JERUSALEM BE SAVED BY RAYMOND OF TRIPOLI?

Preface

WEARIED by the sad disasters which are occurring in the kingdom so frequently—indeed, almost continually—we had resolved to abandon the pen and commit to the silence of the tomb the chronicle of events which we had undertaken to write for posterity. For there is no one who is not reluctant to recount the failings of his country and to bring forth into the light the faults of his own people. It has come to be almost habitual among men, and indeed is regarded as natural, that each one should strive with all his might to extol his own land and not disparage the good fame of his fellow countrymen.

But now every source of glorious renown is taken from us, and the only subjects that present themselves are the disasters of a sorrowing country and its manifold misfortunes, themes which can serve only to draw forth lamentations and tears.

Up to the present time, in the preceding books, we have described to the best of our ability the remarkable deeds of the brave men who for eighty years and more have held the ruling power in our part of the Orient, and particularly at Jerusalem.[1] Now, in utter detestation of the present, amazed at the material which is presented before our eyes and ears, things unfit to be told even in the songs of a Codrus [2] or the recitals of a Maevius,[3] whatever they may be, we lack courage to continue. In the acts of our princes there is nothing which seems to a wise man worthy of being committed to the treasure house of the memory, nothing which can contribute refreshment to the

[1] The state of mind revealed by these opening remarks was probably upon him in 1182, when the repeated successes of Saladin, culminating in the crowning insult of his departure to the north without troubling to make a truce, must have been very discouraging. The hostile court party was still in control, and doubtless William blamed its incompetence for Saladin's success. Perhaps the fact that he was recording the beginning of this series of blunders—namely, the marriage of Sibylla to Guy—about this time (late 1182) accentuated his feelings.

[2] The allusion is to Virgil *Ecl.* VII. 22.

[3] Another allusion to Virgil *Ecl.* III. 90.

reader or confer honor upon the writer. Truly, we can lament with the prophet that there has perished from our midst "law from the priest, counsel from the wise, and the word from the prophet." [4] Among us it has come to pass that "like people, like priest"; [5] and to us also can truly be applied that prophecy which says, "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it." [6] For we have now reached a point where, "We can endure neither our evils nor their remedy." [7] Wherefore, in punishment for our sins, the enemy has become stronger than ourselves, and we who used to triumph over our foes and customarily bore away the glorious palm of victory, now, deprived of divine favor, retire from the field in ignominious defeat after nearly every conflict.

It is therefore time to hold our peace; for it seems more fitting to draw the shades of night over our failures than to turn the light of the sun upon our disgrace. There are some, however, who desire us to continue the task once undertaken, who earnestly entreat that every phase of the kingdom of Jerusalem, adverse as well as prosperous, be recorded in this work for posterity. For our encouragement, they cite the example of most distinguished historians, namely Titus Livius, who recorded in his history not only the successes of the Romans, but also their reverses, and Josephus, who made known in his comprehensive works not only the brilliant deeds of the Jews, but also those shameful things which were done to them.[8]

In their efforts to persuade us to continue this work, they offer many other examples also. We are the more readily influenced to acquiesce in this request, since it is indeed evident that chroniclers of past events have recorded without partiality adverse as well as auspicious happenings. For, by narrating successful achievements, they hope to inspire posterity with courage, while by furnishing examples of misfortunes patiently endured they may render later generations more cautious under similar conditions.

The writer of annals, by virtue of his office, must commit to letters not such events as he himself might desire, but such as the times afford. The outcome of worldly affairs, especially of wars, is ever

[4] Je. 18:18. [5] Ho. 4:9. This is another favorite quotation.

[6] Is. 1:5–6. [7] Livy, Preface.

[8] This would seem to indicate his familiarity with the other works of Josephus as well as the *Antiquities*, which he so frequently cites.

variable and uncertain; prosperity is never continuous, nor is adversity wholly without brighter intervals.

Accordingly we have given way and, abandoning our previous determination, by the help of God while life remains[9] we shall continue to record with the utmost care, as we have done in the past, whatever events the future brings forth. God grant that these may be happy and prosperous![10]

1. *The long prevailing enmity between the king and the count of Jaffa breaks out into furious strife. No hope of reconciliation seems possible. The count of Tripoli becomes regent of the kingdom and guardian of the king.*

MEANWHILE the hatred between the king and the count of Jaffa, nourished by secret causes, continued to grow stronger day by day.[11] Rancor, up to this time restrained, had now burst forth so violently that the king seemed openly to be seeking reasons for separating his sister from her husband and annulling the marriage. In pursuance of this intention, Baldwin went without disguise to the patriarch and demanded that, as he intended to make complaint against the marriage, a day be set when the annulment might be solemnly pronounced in the presence of the patriarch.

On his return from the campaign the count was informed of the entire proceeding. He immediately left the army and set out for Ascalon by the shortest way to warn his wife, who was in Jerusalem at the time, to leave that city for Ascalon before the king arrived, for he feared that if Baldwin should have her in his power he would not permit her to return to her husband.

The king then sent a messenger to summon the count to appear and to inform him of the reason for the summons. Guy resisted, however, and excused his nonappearance by pleading illness. When, after

[9] *Vita comite.* This phrase occurs both here and in the Prologue and suggests that the two were written about the same time.

[10] The ray of hope for the future is doubtless the result of the transfer of the regency from Guy de Lusignan to Raymond of Tripoli.

[11] These events must have occurred early in 1184. The evidence of the king's wrath was clear enough in the meeting of November 20, 1183. The campaign for the relief of Kerak probably distracted the king's attention for nearly a month. He could scarcely have resumed his antagonism toward Guy before the end of December. Thereafter, the series of events here recounted rolled on in continuous succession to the council of Acre.

repeated summonses, Guy still neglected to obey, the king resolved to go to him in person and solemnly deliver the call to justice by word of mouth. On his arrival at Ascalon, attended by some of the nobles of his court, Baldwin found the gates of the city closed. He beat upon them with his hand and three times demanded that they be opened to him. Since no one offered to obey his command, he retired in just indignation. This took place in full view of all the people of the city, who, on learning of the king's arrival, had established themselves in the towers and on the walls to await the result of the matter.

From Ascalon he proceeded directly to Jaffa. He was met on the way by many citizens of that place, the most important men of both classes. The city gates were opened to him, and he entered without difficulty. After placing a governor there to take charge of affairs, he went on to Acre, where he proclaimed a general council in that same city. When, on the appointed day, all the barons of the realm had assembled, the patriarch, with the support and coöperation of the two masters, namely of the Temple and the Hospital, addressed the lord king and on bended knees began to intercede for the count. He made an earnest plea that Baldwin should lay aside his resentment and restore Guy to favor. When the petition was not immediately heard, the patriarch and his supporters withdrew in great indignation and left not only the court but the city as well.

A proposal had been made before the assembled barons that envoys be sent to the kings and other princes beyond the mountains to invite them to come to the help of the realm and of Christianity itself. This matter should have been taken up first, but the patriarch, as has been said, interrupted the proceedings and, forestalling the principal subject, entered upon the speech mentioned above. Then, carried away by passion, he left Acre, as has been described.[12]

When the count of Jaffa learned that the king would not condescend to make peace with him, he aggravated his previous evil conduct by still more violent deeds. With the forces at his disposal he directed his course toward the fortress called Daron, where he threw himself suddenly upon the camp of certain Arabs who had pitched their tents in those parts for the convenience of the pasturage. The king had promised them protection and on this they were relying

[12] William is obviously not in sympathy with this conduct of Heraclius. This is one of the few instances in which William clearly indicates his attitude toward his successful rival for the patriarchate.

implicitly, but the count, finding them unprepared to resist, drove off their cattle and slaves and with this plunder returned to Ascalon.

When the news of this raid reached the king, he again called his barons together and committed the care and general administration of the realm to the count of Tripoli, in whose wisdom and magnanimity he had reason to trust. This act seemed to be satisfactory to the wishes of the whole people and to the majority of the nobles, for it was plain to all that the only safety lay in placing the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the count of Tripoli.[13]

[13] When Jubair visited Acre in September, 1184, he was told that the king, whom he calls "king of Acre," was kept confined from all gaze because he was suffering from leprosy. He adds that the "count," lord of Tripoli and Tiberias, was the most considerable and powerful person among the Franks. "He is worthy of the throne for which he seems born and has remarkable intelligence and astuteness" (see *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 451–55).

HERE THE BOOK STOPS

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for all but the first reference in the footnotes of each Book.

H. Chron. H. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la première croisade, (1094–1100)" and "Chronologie de l'histoire du royaume de Jérusalem, règne de Baudoin I," *Revue de l'orient latin,* Vols. VI–XII. Though the title of this work changes, the numbering is continuous throughout, and both parts are referred to as H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie.*

H. Ep. H. Hagenmeyer, ed., Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequalis ac genuinae.

H. F. H. Hagenmeyer, ed., Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127).

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